

1585.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boe-
tius in Latine, and afterward tran-
slated into the Scottish speech by
John Bellenden Archdeacon of
Murrey, and now final-
lie into English by
R.H.

Wherevpon is inferred the
historie of Scotland, conteining
the beginning, increase, proceeding,
continuance, acts, and gouvernement of
the Scottish nation, from the originall
thereof unto the yeare 1571, gathe-
red and written in English by Je-
phack Hollindshedd: and conti-
nued from 1571, to
1585, by o-
thers.

Cum priuilegio Regie
Majestatis.



To the Right worshipfull Maister

Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the

Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge

of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this

present, and in the world to come

life euerlasting.



Having by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges already finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindneses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, because I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoever it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any other wise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherefore I haue chosen rather, onlie

A.ij.

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expence of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiously *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpreter hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelic soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and bleffe you and my good ladie your wife with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie,
& your own advantage.





The contents of the chapters contained
in this booke.

- 1 **O**F the bounds of Albion, with the fundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie : and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddesdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things conteined in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Strathuerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.
- 6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fisse & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels and flouds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of fundrie Scottis dogs, and of the nature of salmon.
- 9 Of fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Claik geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other fundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, yniuersities, and counties in Scotland.





The authors out of whome this historie of
Scotland hath beene gathered.

Hector Boetius.

Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Fourdon.

Rogerus Houeden.

Richardus Southwell.

Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.

Albertus Crantz.

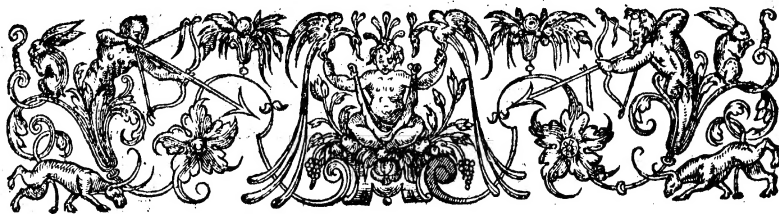
Aeneas Syluius.

Edward Hall.

Richard Grafton.

Iohn Stow: and others.





The description of Scotland, writ-

ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after-

ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by

John Bellenden archdeacon of Mur-

rey, and now finally into

English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with
the sundrie commodities thereof,
and of the great infirmities that
fall vnto the people there for
their intemperancie, and final-
lie of the religion vsed
there in old time.

The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-
bion containeth
in the whole cir-
cumference, 2
99. miles, ha-
ving in length
700. & in bredth
300. as appea-
reth well by the
coast therof that
doth lie ouer a-
gainst France
where it is broa-
dest, and from

whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it
come to the utter marches & last bounds of England
and Scotland. For betwixt the Pyle of Gallowaie
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,
and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane
ocean toward the east, are scarcelie 130 miles, and
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-
tie miles, as I noted befoze in the description of
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and
all other kind of cattell and cozne in most abundant
maner, except it be in such places where as God of
his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,
and quicksiluer, which for the most part are so plenti-
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessities of
the whole Island, but also of sundrie regions that are
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-
full and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But
the abundance of all other things requisite for the
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Island,
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-
ties, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, cozne and cattell, foules of
sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people
of the Island, if there were none other commodities
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which
lie nere vnto the coast) do saille hither with great
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of
such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they
sell the same at their owne wills, with very speedie
utterance. Many other rich and pretious commodi-
ties are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the a-
fozenamed nations do make no small account, be-
sides these common things. What shall I saie of our
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,
because of their necessarie uses, and whereof a great
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet
made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Diomphus A-
lexandrinus
saith that the
wool of Bri-
taine is often
spun so fine
that it is in
manner com-
parable to
the spiders
draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the
kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them
from aboue, as that they might once liue in unitie,
or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of
one prince, they should per long seele such a fauour in
this amitie, that they would not onlie liue franklie
of their owne, without any foren purchase of things,
but also resist all outward inuasion, with small tra-
uell and lesse damage. For as touching their per-
sons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for
the attaining of learning and knowledge of handi-
crafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. Where-
vnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, of-
fering themselves often vnto the uttermost perils
with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce
nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to per-
forme, if they would giue themselves to liue tempe-
ratelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation
of diet.

Wherefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in
his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined
their grounds (otherwise plentifullie indued with all
kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of
wine; as foreseeing that the said liquor, which bring-
eth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would
grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to
them.

them. For they are giuen to such unnaturall rauen-
ning and greedie desire of forreine things (whilest
they condemne or not regard their owne) that they
cannot reſtraine the immoderate vse of wine, and
exceſſe bleſed in drinke of the ſame; inſomuch that
we may ſee diuerſe to be ouertaken and haunted, not
onlie with ſundry kinds of grieuous maladies
common to vs and them of the maine, but alſo ma-
nie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing
at all acquainted with, as experience daile tea-
cheth.

Some by long ſickneſſe and languifhing græſes
do grow into ſuch deformitie onlie through excel-
ſiue feeding, and greedie abuſe of wine, that if you
knew them when they were children & yong men,
you ſhall hardlie remember them when they be old
and aged; and that which moze is, in compariſon of o-
ther that liue moze ſoberlie, you will hardlie thinke
them to be borne in the Ile, but rather ſuppoſe them
to be changelings and monſters, brought out of o-
ther countries to gaze and looke vpon: diuerſe of
them through the continuall vse of wine are mole-
ſted in their age, with phreneticall pangs and paſ-
ſions. Seldome alſo ſhall you ſee thoſe that are giuen
much unto wine and ſuch welfare, to become pa-
rents of manie children, ſith their naturall moiſture
and generatiue force is much abated, if not altoge-
ther extinguiſhed by ſuch immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpoſe, the Albanes or
Britains, as Caſar in his commentaries, and Ta-
citus in his annales do report, were very religious,
after the maner of religion vſed in old time. For in
thoſe daies the prieſts of Britaine named Druides,
were expert both in naturall and morall philoſophie,
and from thence came the firſt profeſſors of that
ſect and opinion into France. The principall ſeat of
their prieſts was in the Ile of Man, which was re-
puted at that ſeaſon for the welſpring and fountaine
of all learning and knowledge, and after that theſe
prieſts were once conuerted to the catholike faith,
they perſeuered in the ſame with great conſtancie,
without anie note of herieſie.

The deſcription of the eaſt, weſt, and
middle borders of Scotland, with the
moſt notable townes and flouds
thereof.

The ſecond Chapter.

THE Picts had ſometimes
the principall and moſt fer-
tile part of that countrie,
which now is vnder the regi-
ment of the Scots, and after
they had continued in the
ſame by the ſpace of 1171
yeares, ioined in maner in
perpetuall league with the Scots, and maintaining
mutuallie the warres ſometimes with the Britains
and Romans, and ſometimes alſo ſarring with their
Scottiſh neighbours, at the laſt they fell into extreme
hatred one of another, till it was brought to paſſe
by the diuine prouidence, that the ſaid Picts were
ouerthrowne, their name extinguiſhed, and the king-
dome vniited vnto that other of the Scots for euer-
more. After this time furthermore, although the
Scots haue bene verie oftentimes aſſailed with
moſt dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes
inuaſed by enimies from diuers regions, yet ſuch
bath bene the fauour of almighty God towards
them, that ſtill they flouriſh and reſeigne their eſtate
inuiolate.

Whatſoener we haue generallie ſpoken of Al-
bion, that is chieſlie to be vnderſtood of the Scots,
and farre greater, eſpeciallie among the Scots, as
they call them in the high land, as people that haue
leſſe to do with forreine merchants, and therefore
are leſſe delicate, and not ſo much corrupted with
ſtrange bloud and alliance. Whereby in like ſort it
commeth to paſſe, that they are moze hard of con-
ſtitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blaſts, to
watch better, and abſtaine long, wherevnto alſo it ap-
peareth that they are bold, nimble, and the more
ſkilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promiſe,
they hold it with greateſt conſtancie, as Hector hath
ſet downe. Towards the Almaine ſea, I find, that
Scotland hath the Picts, ſometime the moſt plenti-
ous region of the Picts for their march, which ſo long
as the ſaid people did inhabit it, was called Deera,
or Dere; but after their expulſion, it was named
Piers, that is to ſay, the marches or limits of their
countrie. In proceſſe of time alſo the Scots exten-
ded their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now
diuideth Northumberland from the Piers.

On the other ſide of the countrie towards the
weſt, ſundry ſmall bournes deſcend from the Cher-
iot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout in-
to the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Arman-
dale, and ſo being brought into one chanell, they fall
together into the Iriſh ocean, & ſtand for the bounds
of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The
Cheriot hilles are in like ſort taken for the middle
marches of the region, which with certeine ſmall
brookes that fall from the ſame, do ſeparate both the
countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The
Piers hath vnder marches at ſeueral places (whi-
ther it is extended) as ſometime the Germane ſea,
ſometime eaſt Louthian, ſometime the Tweed,
and ſometime the Forth, and among manie ſtrong
holds and caſtles, that ſtand vpon the borders, is the
towne and caſtell of Warwicke in time paſt called
Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci
(if Hector be not deceived).

The Tweed ſpringeth out from a meane head, and
after his augmentation with other ſmall waters
that fall into the ſame, it deſcendeth with a large
courſe into the Almaine ſea. Beyond the Tweed, to
the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Le-
uidale, that is to ſay, the vale of Liſſe: beyond it
is Elkedale, or the vale of Elke, of a riuer ſo called
that runneth through the ſame: ouer againſt Elke-
dale on the other ſide lieth Cudale, ſo named of the
riuer Cus that paſſeth thereby, and falleth into the
water of Annand: but Liſſe and Elke do run into
the Tweed: furthermore, on the weſt ſide ouer a-
gainſt the Iriſh ſea, lieth Annandale, wherevnto the
Annand water giueth denomination, which mar-
cheth ſometimes without the bounds of Middleſdale,
where all the three riuers aforeſaid, that is to ſay,
Cus, Annand and Sulway deſcend together in one
bottom into the Iriſh ſeas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochma-
ben, ſiue miles in length and ſoure in bredth, not
onlie verie full of fiſh, but of ſuch kind as few men
are acquainted with. Beſide this lake alſo there is a
caſtell of the ſame name, builded of purpoſe to re-
ſtaine the furious dealing of thæues which do great
hurt in thoſe quarters. For not onlie in Annandale,
but in all the dales or vales afore rehearſed, are ma-
nie ſtrong thæues, which often ſpoile the countrie,
and exerciſe much cruell laughter vpon ſuch as in-
habit there, in anie troublous time. Theſe robbers
(becauſe the Engliſh do border vpon their drie mar-
ches, and are their perpetuall enimies) do often
make forceable rodes into the Engliſh bounds, for
their better maintenance and ſuſtentation, or elſe
they

they
mean
life. I
theſt a
at bon
rie for
worth
truer
rich an
of cult
No
plentie
and the
the ſan
his life
Ordou
ancien
times
ſoners
verie b
lf at an
to their
men to
uentur
noth li
de. It
increaſ
land, it
meth a
courſe,
vale ſi
manie
are bzo
fland
great p

The
Can
1



dale, is
is aboue
nether
of a good
waie is
dedicated
his carca
ſuperſtit
ton tobo
lake of
by natur
do; but
all, which
In Gallo
ſallet ar
bredth
ſelfe, it
cape (wh
Iriſh ſea,
and by the
lakes, na

The description of Scotland.

9

they suffer paine from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so intyred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therfore, yet they thinke it praiseworthy to molest their aduersarie, as they call the tract for, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordoiuia, and the people thereof Ordoiuices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at any time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euery such adventure. On the west borders and also toward the northliech Fiddeldale, so called of the water of Fiddeldale. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broader in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restraineth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers do report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunitie, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cuningham, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

The third Chapter.

ABoue Fiddeldale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nereſt to Fiddeldale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubwzie, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbete dedicated to saint Ninian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honozed of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Spirtou, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and places do; but the other is neuer ſene to beare any yce at all, which vnto me doth ſeeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreouer are two other lakes, the Dalset and the Pentramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochmirkton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Kean and Lois, except I be deceiued,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herringes, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, ſith the Romans write that Span the Island lieth ouer againſt Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the bates or bates are now twome wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elevation of the pole that Ptolome ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, ſithens the Ile of Span lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spaniſh (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a newe companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilst they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth ſeeme to leane, who ſaith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the uttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Fiddeldale, and Gallowaie, beside fine wools and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carricke, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carricke, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carricke the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: hercin also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicate and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sapie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carricke is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Ayr, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth ſeeme vnpoſſible, neuerthelesse the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatſoeuer the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Dohne, from whence the riuier Dohne doth runne through the middelt of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Dohne, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is daillie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine HeGor. 12 foot in hith 30 foot in length, and three elns thicke.

The

The description of Scotland.

The situation of Renfrew, Clidesdale, Lennox, Lowmound, Argile,

Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.

The fourth Chapter.

The water of Clide divideth Lennox on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidow wood, from whence the Avnand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this river Cluda, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Clota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clide hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth some what inward, till it come to the mountaine of Cranzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidesdale. Betwixt Clide and Lennox lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Dubinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compass, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennox, that lieth next above Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Lelgonia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this lhin or pole are 30 Ilands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthy consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred do want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not adventure to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which fleteth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Cranzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmound to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Cranzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbzitteine named sometime Alclud, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmond is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that divide the region into three parts, that in the middelt being called Knapdale. In Lochfine is moze plentie of bering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Island, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vscallie had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are mozeouer in Argile two castels, Glenquhar and Enconell, & in it are 12 Iles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone

of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certeine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Carloll, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a greibound, and looked like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge oaks with his taile, & therevnto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three stroks of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselves in trees thereabouts, whilst the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beleeue that this beast is neuer sene but against some great trouble & mischiefe to come upon the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in manner of a cape or tong, full firtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose uttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authoers affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barlie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Louchquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie fiers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, as well of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certieintie. The Lochtie riseth not above eight miles from Lochmes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnoimozth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne named Inverlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their dailie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer his pishinate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repaire of this towne, proceeded of the slooth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons do beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncerteine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauerne, & Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers, and notable townes in them.

The fift Chapter.

Byond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middelt of

of the land, being enuironed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrie, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrie more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuertheless waring more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yieldeth it selfe to culture, and rendereth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether vnprofitable, fith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the ballies there, being watered with sunozie pleasant streames, do yeld a sweet and verie sauozie grasse, therewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Kos are sunozie lakes, but Lochbryn is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finally a notable firth of safe haven called Cromart, whereunto diuers in time of necessitie do resort, to auoid the danger of shipwacke, that otherwise would assuredly annoy them. The Scottish men call it Heill of shipmen. In this region moreover is the towne called Abane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) do rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole land) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Kos, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I do not find. Pert vnto the said Kos lieth the Stranauerne, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts thereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, do afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Deucalidon coast, and partlie Cathnesse by on the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossa on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are three great crags or points lieng on the uttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Hoie, Houtbryn (the greatest of the three) and Dohu nible, which because they thus farre off into the sea, do make two great firths and lakes, each of them being fenerallie distinguished from other.

Pert vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of prouision, but chieflie for the nourishment of bestiall, whereunto it chieflie inclineth, as do the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Shurrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betwene Spate and Fesse to the Irish sea, was named Shurrey, now it is knowne to be quite beyond the water of Spate & Fesse, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Kos and Shurrey land, is a great bay, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for therein fall the Fesse, Gardin, Findorne, Los and Spate, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the filds struing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Fesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie ice or anie frozen substance be cast therein; it will by and by relent and dissolve againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Fesse, standeth a towne called Inuernele, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be

gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuiling the commoditie of the poze inhabitants, will often seme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Whereupon (as they say) it cometh to passe, that the increase of stones decreaseth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochnesse, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in bredth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martins, beuers, foxes & wezels, whose skins and cases are sold vnto strangers at huge and excellent prices. In Shurrey land also is not alonely great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples; but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort do vse a strange manner of fishing: for they make a long woele of wicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide cometh, the fish shot themselves into the same, and so forthwith are so inclosed, that whildest the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreover is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and hereunto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be five miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stored with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiply vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by means whereof all the great fishes there be betterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcase hath bene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hand bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, whereby it appeareth what mightie people grew by in our region before they were overcome with gluttonie and excess. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spate, and therein is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeyes in Shurrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisterciars, and Blunecarde of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, dead into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, floods, abbies, townes, and other notable things contained in the same.

The sixth Chapter.

Next vnto the Shurrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notable indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

The description of Scotland.

of cattell, they yeld mozeouer excellent corne, and by means of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beastes of sundrie kinds and natures. There also into the Douerne water, which is a riuer maruellouslie stozed with fish, standeth a towne named Banse, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wolle excédeth that of the like beaste of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and fineness. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like manner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattra onellie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene scene: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere vnto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had bene oft removed heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled by with the same manie peeres agone.

This region is bold of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finally it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked fends do captivate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentiful of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Wapzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the Dee, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Pernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnoter the marshall of Scotland's house, and likewise the towne of Foridon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation. The water of Orkney is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Noxthelke, a verie dangerous channell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a brydge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernis, it was sometime part of Forreslie, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Noxthelke already mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southelke; and finally the Tais, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tan.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Tais also lieth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzben out of loch Tais, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Islands, with castells in them, but the water of the lake it selfe being most

fine and subtilie) is notable replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea betwixt Dundee, a towne called in old time Alecum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weaving and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Dountros, Bzechin, and Fozfaire, besides so manie castells as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed over with silence, that whereas Fozfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castells, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Spanie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Orke, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wolle, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Island.

After we be ouer the Tais, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Orkney. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse soilon of cattell. There are blake stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolute and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betwixt the Tais and the Tine within the whole Island. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie citis in the same, of which Dunnoter is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are mozeouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Lenin, and in this later are diuerse Isles, and in one of them also the church of St. Whillane, a Scottish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lothian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad channell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifully indued with cockles,ysters, mussels, seales, pellocks, merelwtne, whales, and great soilon of white fish: and among manie other Isles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Spais is of greatest fame, because Asaiah and his fellows were killed in the same. In the midst of this Ile standeth vpon a fontaine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, where vnto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a ship shall hardlie come thither by a stiffer bote, and there to but at one place. This rocke (called the Skale castell) is marvellous, and therein are manie times verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: there in also is great store of soland geese (not unlike to those which Phine calleth water eagles, or as we saie) sea herons, and no where els but in Albion and this rocke. At their first coming which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plenty of ducks and draughts together for the building of their nests, that the same do satiffie the keeper of the castell, for the perellie maintenance of his fellow, without anie other provision. These fowles do feed their young with the most delicate fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and haue

it fast in
they die
first fall
with gr
hold the
Some
keepers
to time
or rather
for moze
ceasing
one, and
that wh
ling the
pong; t
to the o
these ga
gular fo
from the
rie prob
in the l
crag m
and del
planted
bitterlie
ent in
The
rocke n
low on
salt wa
to run
saltnes
the mo
stone b
brough
of this
where
ther Al
in the l
month
heads
the bot
aboue
appear
murde
breds
berie

The
lin

infer
are n
ton,
burgl
ment
richer
of ap
thors

it fall in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they lie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, untill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their prey is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished by their pong with the other; so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their prey, and stealing awaye of their pong, they bringe yecelle no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these geese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and cleaving likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken by and planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or bitterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earth indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this roche much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had bene poyred thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fask castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the trial of this matter. In this firch also is the Ile Almon, wherein is an abbey. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are verie full of cories; and in the said firch are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with coloues hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight dooth haue great terro: vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncouth signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castles, and shouds thereof.

The seventh Chapter.



In the south of the forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loch, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & therefore for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castles and towne, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Forthberwtic and Leith; but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisdome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Wadens, remembered by the most renowned authors, & also the kings' chiefe palace, the which tri-

pleth the renoume of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oillie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the moze is caried from thence, the moze is refrozed: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometime the principall house appertaining to the earles of Sparch: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbey or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Pert vnto Louthian lieth Spers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go by higher into the land. Pert vnto Spers therefore lieth Tweidale, and aboue it is Eluedale: next vnto Eluedale is Druisdale, Walscopdale, Donglassedale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the Archbishops see, wherein is a notable church created in the honor of Saint Gorgow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie plentifully taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit reboundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either utterly neglected, or not very much regarded. Forth of Glasco lieth Spenteith, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennor. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Spenteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white buls with thack heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the same, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doe) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselves to death. Asone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these buls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which voiage he escaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebols, because he ouerturned the beast, and saved the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate

licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinewes and gristles, whereat some delicat feeders doe often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Pentecith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also vpon Fife. Through the vallies likewise of this region runneth the water of Cren, that falleth into Tay. This is moreover worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Cren and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soener it be laid, it will not be removed from thence by manuell practice, art, or engine, & yet one man may so some moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Cotwray lieth Strathmond, a region plentifulle inquired both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Strathmond is Athole, wherein are manie noble vallies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose felde are so plentiful, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat some into good and perfect rie, the like whereof I heare, to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Boorne lieth Bollsge-well and Garcoth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Garcoth also is an hill called Doundoe, that is to saie, the golden mountaine: for the sheepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreover is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same manner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng together in maner of a crown which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bzadalbane, Strabzaun, and Bazenoth, with diuers small territories and shouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer,
and other wilde beasts in Scotland,
of the strange properties of sundrie
Scottish dogs, and of
the nature of
samon.

The eight Chapter.

Having made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therfore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deer, fallow deer, roes, wild hares, wolues and fores. These hares are not gotten but by great flight and policie: for in the winter season the inha-

bitants turne certeine tame hares & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finallye home into their masters yards, where they be taken and some broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the herds and flocks in all parts of Scotland, sauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glenmoys dale, where these beasts doe no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but preiuaile vpon the wild.

Fores doe much mischief generallie in all lands, but chiefly in the mounteins, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath devised a meane to prevent their malice, and to preserve their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house, that doth not for certeine daies cherish by a yong fox, which the Scots doe call a *Wodde*; and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their foules and other little bestia, and by this meane so many foules and cattell as eate hereof are preserved from danger of the fox, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will. For the fores as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew; and knowe such a one, although it were among an hundred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are thre sorts with vs, which are not seene else where in anye quarter of the world. The first is an bound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruel vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against themes that offer their masters any violence. The second is a racy or bound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call *draving*) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any manner of foule, and find out what soener fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a thiefe, or thiefe stolen goods in most precise manner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. If it be so that he haue taken the water for his safeguard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entering and issuing at the same places wherethe partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue nosed his foting, & be come to the place wherein the thiefe is hid. The dogs of this kind are called *leuthounds*. Certes this report would seeme mere incredible, except it were bailie had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is god purchase in differentie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or sute of a leuthound in pursuit made after fellows and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessarie vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe thiefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as live by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, gohawkes, sparrowhawkes, marions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be seene, as the capercaille or wild harte, greater in bodie than the rauen, and living onelie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie more cocks and hens, the which absteining from corne, doe feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of *Cyprius*, which the Scots doe commonlie call *hadder*. These

Shel
is r
ble t
sanc
cock
I
mo:
tion
but
ring
ber
also
har
(wh
tho
fou
ma
the
the
lin

sm
the
ag
wi
ab
an
eli
fo
th
th
th
cc
sa
2
hy
ty
n
ti
o
ti
o
ti
t
r
t

3
1
1
1
1
1

These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and savor: at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another foule in Spers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a gusfard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be seene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and late in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and because the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doe know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in harvest time commeth by into the small rivers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore woodhille saith to be growne out of vse and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellows, during the time of this their leanness, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it commeth to passe, that a samon is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforesaid spawne and milke being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring doth yeld great number of little frye, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yel laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a marvellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnworthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnies or poles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow above, are yet depe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearse through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as commeth against him, he goeth so nere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and by into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaineth his desire, if not, he assaileth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little bod, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assaye often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do byrde themselves and become meafelled: others that happen to fall vpon drye land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallow & drye plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do offnest leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finally there is no man that

knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humoz.

Of the sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citulus, commonly called Fladder.

The ninth Chapter.

Here it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, whereof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not unlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are bitterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called horse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnworthilie called of old time, woodowes lustes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, where in (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their upper shelles and mouethes a little above the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braie or banke above them, do speake neuer so softly, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will descrite you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mostall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen do catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or five persons go into the river together, by vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more sauerlie, with they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clerenesse, and with their toes take them by (for the deapth of the water will not suffer them to stoape for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The pearls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naille of ones little finger, as I haue had and seene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

Cardane de
nieth this,
lib 7. de Sub
tilitate.

ing
int
fro
ere
the
nds
one
best
icall
the
nd
erie
red
fria
it say
cops
they
they
nd by
here
it by
ing
or
crops
and
hun
nditt
ill pro
e thie
e anie
great
nd cru
bines
ond is
be for
man or
e, and
among
where
er than
d, with
markis
west, or
and fin
ey will
hane sa
h not to
me pla
ac ead
be come
the dogs
this re
it were
of Eng
chafe in
among
denieth
all made
on as ac
there.
ie, there
falcons,
and such
foze, that
ill credit
countrie,
as the
than the
barks of
er manis
ing from
ies of Cy
ladder.
Chrie

without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many uncouth and strange shapen of fish likewise are scene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard scales, and divers round as a ball skinned like an yxcheon or hedgehog, having but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, with the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish upon our severall coasts, that although millions and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and cozne is scene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an herbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather vertie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bees especially. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple floure. Sweet as honie, whereof the Scots in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and vertie wholesome for the bodie: but for so much as the manner of making hereof is perished in the haucke made of the Scots, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shew they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnpromisable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed to the same.

Galen. lib. 7. de Antidotis saith that Citrus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it among trees.

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

BEing fallen at the last in to mention of our Isles, I will adde to my selfe to describe the same, in manner and forme as followeth. At the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fowre and thre Isles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar in his commentaries, and other Roman writers doe testifie at large. South from the Isle of Man lieth Arran, or therwise named Botha after S. Wandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rotheray, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Isle is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland geese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manye other distinguished by their se-

uerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Isle belonging to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Prouant cliffe (in secret the tongue of Lorne) within sight of Lochquhagie. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of cozne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Gula, sublie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In Gula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Nere vnto this is Zona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbey, wherein the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Cammo, who erected the monasterie of Dunfermlin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northmost west seas, ouer against Kelle is an Isle named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Isle is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yere, there shall no fauon be scene there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Skye and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be scene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and bittermost Isle is named Hirta, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrees, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Isle of Man the first Isle of Albion, to Hirta the last Isle hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degree, as Prolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirta, which in Irish soundeth so much as a sheepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue fine tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rockie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, doe watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest cometh vnto them out of Leuisa, and ministrereth the sacrament of baptism to all the children that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yere precedent: which being done, and a certaine number of masses said, he receiveth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Isle of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Isle, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there lateth a twise of straw, which being done they fall all to prayer, in the midst whereof fire cometh downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Isle, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certaine kind of beasts like vnto sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for hast and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, with the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulfie, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by means whereof many ships

that I come want daunge ther it, the

O

that I come want daunge ther it, the

that I come want daunge ther it, the

that I come want daunge ther it, the

that I come want daunge ther it, the

that I come want daunge ther it, the

that I come want daunge ther it, the

that by rage of wind and weather are enforced to come that waite, are either swallowed by the waues, or throught against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Cozebroke, where it will either strike, or at the least wise draw any ship unto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claik geese,
and sundrie maners of their pro-
creation, and of the Ile
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOW it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendored by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet with their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little travelled, and with no small diligence endeouored to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continually in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in proceesse of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceived at the first. In the beginning, these wormes do shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they sit in the aire as other fowles do.

This was notable proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Desdeg, whether the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who some after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude of wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but new shapen, others had head, feet and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect fowles. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Leith, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yerres after there hapned such another tree to come into the fieth of Tay betwix Dundee, inuication and full of young geese after the same manner: the shipp was come in the haven of Leith beside Edinburgh: and also within a few yerres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lian three yerres at anchor in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because her timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in her keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes, or bored with a bumble, and each one of them filled with such creatures, as I haue said before.

There if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onlie as groweth in these Isles, and that all cots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption do turne into these fowles, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example the which before mine eyes. After A-

lexander Galloway parson of Birkell, was sent by his in these Isles, & giuing his mind with attentiu diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took by a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Seat-angle, which hanged full of muske shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a soule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was verie inquisitive of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hither with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacks as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onlie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productur of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is bitterlie to be reiected. For so soone as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in proceesse of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknewne vnto the Romans, as may appere by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Island of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Islands lieng about the same. Ptoleme writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere vnto Norwey, and beyond the Orkades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Arctike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onlie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,
and of the maners and conditions of the
people dwelling in the same.

The twelfe Chapter.

BEYOND the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north-west, and partlie toward the Atlantick seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomona, wherein is a bishops see, and two strong castles. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venomous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue anye while.

whyle, more than in Ireland, which sufficeth no creature that is aduerfarye to mankind.ouer and besides this, there are no frogs: as for æles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Archades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and his commodities apperteyne not to this place) which farre passeth all that cuer I haue read in bookes.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or poole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which staueth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element retaining his former woddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, thre distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Archades, thereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be reherfed, for fith there is great abundance of barley thereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie foole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreme age in found and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Islands haue for the most part two or thre lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Brittain. Their horses are little greater than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fith there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horse, of a marvellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fith when they prouideth to sleepe, fasteneth his huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbereth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espiong, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conuete themselves to the fith, and boze a great hole through his taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and to make it sure, the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprife attempted per long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long per the fith awaketh, who feeling himselfe to be hurt, leapech at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shroud his in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and endeavouring in vaine to breake the cable, he laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last he windeth his selfe out of his skin (for the which he is commonlie taken) and some after also turneth by his bellie, yielding himselfe vnto the waues, and his bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent bile of his grease, and passing strong cables of his hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fith, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Archades are the

Shetland Isles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fith which is dyed in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Islands great store of sheeps felles, ore hides, gores skaines, and cales of martirnes dyed in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zealand and Germanie, fetch them pærelle by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Archanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Archanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verifed on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: fith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Islands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesch to feed vpon. These drie their fith in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such maner with this their poze kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most hapie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fith in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or kepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that deme strine peace and quietnesse, with mutuall lone and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole indendour. This finalie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischief, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yeere there cometh a priest vnto them from Archenepe, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrerh vnto them the sacrament of baptism, and after a certaine time (having taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fith, which is their sole increase, and verie trulle paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbered as parcels of worldlie riches and reuolynne, they are not without these also: for the people of these Isles are lustie, faste, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and greuous infirmities: for here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sicknesse to attach anie vntill extreme age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding behest naturallie appoynted vnto their cases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is as quiet as such as is constant, vnderstandable, and the rest, is comparable with any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for euery one not to covet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and more nate than the Shetland men and these Islanders: for nallie, if this be the true honors, and reuerend parties which the obedient Iohnie with great sinceritie and bold of all thatte, doth shew vnto his god parents, and therewithall the best of his marvellous

De Marchio-
bus upon the
first booke of
Dioscorides
capite de po-
pulo alba &
paga.

3 ga.

lie resolute and beliste themselves! And that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we easily say that these men do lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather asseme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can lustie with or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of untruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those lands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orkades, with whom one of these Islanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearfall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beantie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceived which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Isles groweth the delectable amber, called *E-lestrum*, *Chrysolestrum*, or (as Dioscorides saith) *Pterygophoron*, indued with so vehement an attractive force, that being chased it draweth straw, flor, and other like light matter unto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is thowen up by continuall percussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilst it hangeth on the rocke, asseme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Scatangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is drinen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it fliees to and fro in this maner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie house, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught by, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiving a sweet and delectable sanour to proceed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stufte which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir John had bene more cunning than themselves, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse unskillfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he took but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest unto them, whereby it came to little profe and lesse gain among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their unskillfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bene the late or flame of a candle. Herein also the proverbe was proued true, that the sow recks not of balie. But to come as I vnderstand of the matter, I shew such diligence, that our portion thereof is brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orkades*, and *Scheland* Isles subiect vnto the Scottish regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehearfall of diuers other strange things touching the nothing in this behalfe: but I haue made choise onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth & strange incident, wherof maister James Ogilbie ambassadour from James our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and wherof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constrained by tempest of weather to get to land in Norwaye. Thus standeth the case, being thus (as I said) vpon the shore of Norwaye, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging by & doونه in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, hearts and egies to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuertheless deable enemies to mankind: they vnderstood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flie and run away with no small hast and terror, wherfore the inhabitants are enforced to cherishe great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are moreover of such strength, that sometimes they pull by yong trees by the roots to fight withall among themselves. The ambassadours seeing these vncouth creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong garr to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they took the sea, and so departed thence. Finallie, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they pished vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mounteins, which coming downe from the snowe hills to graze in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie little boards to their feet, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to cline vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, where in that region there is verie great plenitie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaiour of the old, and such as liued long since withinachis

land. *The xij. Chapter*



Discomfited as much as noble men haue desired me to their apert the old maners of the Scots touchin in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these present daies are different in their maners and behau-

The description of Scotland.

behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe already that the revealing of these things will procure unto me the hatred of sundrie worthie or renowned personages (of which few will yeeld to heare their doings touched or their errorrs reproved) yet because I owe such duetie and service unto those that haue made this request unto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken unto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable unto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately giuen ouer unto their owne affections, nor so whollic drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoeuer offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices haue bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so many mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicat negligence rather than by our owne prouidence, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerwhelmed and wrapped vp in all auarice and excellence, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prouidence doth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beleue that by this meanes such as are of the more couragious sort (& yet retaining a fauour of the temperance of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great prouidence commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in seruile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle exerceise and riot) seeing their errorrs iustlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather aduersse themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their prouidence, than proue a reproch vnto their successors, through their lewd behaviours neuer to be forgotten. This I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the euill manners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but those onely whome blind selfe-love, couetousnes, intemperance, exerceise and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my late marche treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmities, by seeking reuenge on other men, but rather endeavour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdeeds, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuerfation & behaviour verie temperate, which is the fountaine & originall of all vertues. In sleep they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuffe as grew most readily on the ground without all manner of sowing and bolting, whereby to please the palate, but bared by as it came from the mill with out anie such curiositie, which is a great abating of the force thereof vnto

our daile nourishment. The first whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they took great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame catell as they bred vp at home, whereof beefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirkes or young beestes ungelbed, we either kill young for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterward for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onely so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands late often wast and untilld, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer overcharged, nor their bones desirous of rest though the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquauite void of all spice, and onely consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were forced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as remedie for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie fleshy in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so used to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their vsuall preies, or could not attaine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheefe, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shot-anchorage against extreme hunger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other prouision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles vnto the ballies, or from the ballies vnto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of beare onely left on their foreparts, and neuer covered, except when they were troubled with sickness, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was faine to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shoes, they dipped them first in the water yet they did put them on, especially in the winter when sharpest weather they wed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labour and daile trauell.

Their apparrell was not made for beautie and pompe, but as should seme best to conserue their bodies,

and
the
big
mo
ma
wa
mo
stra
fan
ant
the
for
ma
not
the
we
mil
bo
fea
kir
eld
pai
del
uel
hal
on
wi
by
the
ho
th
wi
lie
rei
ne
ble
de
lag
an
the
thi
to
se
of
ba
thi
thi
li
pe
so
bo
fo
foi
or
su
th
to
ge
pa
sti
the
ar
at
de
th
th
ca
to
in
ch

and serue their appointed vices, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or wollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clothes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept morouer either vpon the bare stowe or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancy to eschew ease, and praise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kinbly fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulness they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but trauelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their carriages and victuals trusted behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusal of anie labour intolned vnto them by their captains.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly feare conceived in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his valourage or feruice & manhood should readiest be seene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendly to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their capitaine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenly rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerlue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before thine in the field. If anie souldier had bene found in the field without his sint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then used they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an erle; he that fled or went from the battell without leave of his capitaine, was slaine whersoeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a backler, but afterward heavier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countie were of no lesse churage than the men, for all about maidens & viues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forthward, they slue the first living creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had already bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the sight, they wared neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egerneesse they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, salthood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by mere manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldiers) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some odd place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countrymen that offended, were oft severely punished and with incontinent rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesses should hardly be restrained but by extreme severity: such also was their nature, that so soone as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentle intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in private bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yeeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplusage about the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargain.

They used at the first the rites and maners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they used not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certein letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as retaine the ancient speech, they haue their aspirations, diphongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out thereon by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are

The description of Scotland.

are turned into the said language, are given by tradition from their elders, they chaste excell in physique, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such beards as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & unfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the providence of God all manner of necessities for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Fewer the lesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saron tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is utterlie left among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins retaine still their ancient speech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wher vnto in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of osiers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it please them.

But we will now leaue the maners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countrymen. In pprocess of time therefore, and chaste about the daies of Malcolm Cammor, our maners began greatlie to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to warre idle and slothfull, and there vpon driven out of their countrie into Wales by their enemies the Saron, we began to haue alliance (by proximity of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our daile trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their maners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be subged worthy of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English manner, it fell out per long, that wheras he in times past was accounted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went laden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of *Thanes*, so much in Latine as *Quaestores regis*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swayed from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such bitterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For wheras they gaue their minds to dooghtinesse, we applie our selues to drunkenness: they had plentie with sufficiency, we haue inordinate excellen with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and there to hath no pære if he can once find the beine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomack to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & polue in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selues with breakfast and supper onlie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinner's vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and vnto suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, with almost the whole daie and night doo scarcelie suffice for the filling of our paunches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as are necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for benefon, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doo now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Greece: nay Africke is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behaviour) as men that aduentsure their owne liues to bring home posson and destruction vnto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie bereft of his image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vgly sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe vpright, but must needs yeld as overcome, and to be torne in peeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Whereof also it cometh to passe, that our countrymen trauelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doo burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause wherof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and talking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these vnhappie steps of their parents, giue themselves wholly to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherunto they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse,

nesses
able to
the sou
ders. &
their p
them v
they m
by to tr
or finall
noble n

Ce
cessaril
taine t
which i
the fun
lect to p
table se
despair
hope th
countre
are not
haue co
manie
and me
of life
through
ligion

Thi
nation
to my
consta
haue b
clusior
but all
as our
sumpt
and fin
much
their
their fi

Th
of Se
tong,
from
a little
follow
such se
purpo
tion of
Heroc
onelic
hereal
this b
time
deem
heath

Th



same
an or
lie is
ther h
ges of
man

nelle which choiketh by their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So some also as they retorne home, because their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them by in pleasure and pampering of their matowes, they must fall to couetous and greedie practises, thereby to enrich themselves, or else proue strong thienes, or finally solvers of dissention and discord among the noble men, thereby to preie some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, proceede generallie from none other fountain than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would restraine, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholesome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of hir people. Certes I despair not of the redresse of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt manners of my countreimen will be turned into better frame. While are not yet become impudent, neither altogether haue cast off vnhamefastnesse, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with seruent deuotion increaseth euery day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowledge in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue bene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praise, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doe passe their ancestors in sumptuous and curious attire, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuent to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with speed, Amen.

Whitherto haue I translated Hector's description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English tong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator hauieth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for euere hereafter of anie historicall matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies utterly condemned, as vaine and fauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

The description of an ancient Pict.

The 14 Chapter.

The Pict (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparell, holveth the nobler sort of them doe wrap their heads and wombs in hops of iron, which they take for great brauerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any costlie icwels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the fairest man that had his skin most disguised in this maner.

Certes none of them regarded to incare anie apparel, because they esteemed it a great glorie to haue these paintings seene. In warres they were void, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves in stead of other armor with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for lacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, describeth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Preats, saing that the said countrie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shoes on their feet, their wines are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to scale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horses, which run also verie swiftlie, & stand at their feet with like steadfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little peece or two of iron, which ratteth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where manie of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but cheslie they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise fore labour: and if it hapen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marshes by to the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they sed on roots or barks of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Preats (which were the nextest vs) and the Calidons that diuelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

The number of bishops in Scotland.

The xv Chapter.

The archbishops of S. Andrews.		Albanie.	Viscounties.
The archbishops of S. Andrews.	Earldomes.	Cathnes	Berwick alias north Berwick.
		Sutherland	Wike
		Kosse	Korborow
		Spotaue	Selairke
		Buchanhan	Ewedale
		Garniach	Dunfrise
		Carmozan	Mididale
		Mar	Wigton
		Perinis	Are
		Angus	Lanarke
The archbishops of S. Andrews.	Earldomes.	Coloxi	Dunbritten
		Fiffe	Sterueling
		Parche	Loughian
		Athole	Clakmanan
		Stratherne	Bimos
		Spenteth	Fiffe
		Leucnor	Perth
		Wigton	Angus
		Duglasse	Perinis
		Carrike	Aberden
The archbishops of S. Andrews.	Earldomes.	Crauford	Bamph
		Annandale	Fozes
		Durmonth	Inuernes.
		Huntley.	FINIS.

Universities.
S. Andrews
Aberden
Glasco.
Dukedomes.
Kothlay

1585

THE
Historie of Scotland,
containing the beginning, in-
crease, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scottish
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in English by Raphael
Hollinshead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
contained.

M.Pal.in Ari.

Historiæ placeant nostrates ac
peregrinæ.

*Cum privilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.*



To the Right Honorable the Lord
Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron
of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order
of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes
Maiesties horffe, and one of
hir Highnesse priuie
Councell.



I may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottish historie, and other of diuers regions; considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I undertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call

him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue scene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowne, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilest any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humblie beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting

Cij.

ting

ting you with so meane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whom I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, moving you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scottish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be
commanded *Raphaell Hollinsbed.*



Enthius.

Enthius ge-
men to will
and pleasure.

Enthius
went into
Egypt, Anno
mundi 2416.

Enthius
interet
Pha-

Enthius
went against
the enemies.
Pholes cap-
tured generall
under Pha-
ras.

Enthius his
armies ad-
vanced.

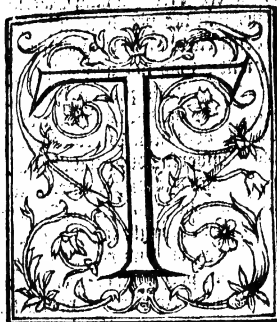
Pholes do-
ings not a-
danced.

Pholes ad-

the oli-
vinge
mede
the citi-
the son
Argu-
nie wi-
donia
ked by
fine di-
nition
he got
men,
with t
thither
king
glapfo
might
Aegypt
that h
Phara-
with h
Pholes
theret
Pholes
by for
stood ti
For
as Ge-
other
Phara-
But
dowing
raeliti
that ir
gouer
bellin
forma
that h
ger of
hands



THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



The Scottish men, according to the manner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their beginning of great ancientie, say that their originall descent came from the Greeks and Egyptians; for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers have left in writing) a certaine noble man among the Greeks, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pealus, the fourth king of the Argives. This Cathelus plaing in his youth manie wild and unrulie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achaea, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and wholesome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had used the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dynas as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most gladsome wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Egyptians held at that time with the Aethiopiens that had invaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopiens, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosyn thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefeft and principall citie which stood in the Ile Heroe.

For such tokens of valliance and worthie prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage. But Moses was rather enuied than honored for his doing, because the Egyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might surpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bzing it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no merrie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Madian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Israelites. Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter, which Cathelus thus married, was called Scota, of whose such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called Scots, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit Scotia, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being advanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharaos Dynas, in great honor. But after his decease, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Cheneres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israel then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible manner; and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that soer and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seek him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueance to be provided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he toke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Greeks and Egyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoisting vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the boiage, they arrived first on the coasts of Iunidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they toke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped post Cathelus of this Cathelus, and certaine yeares after Lusitania, and estonces againe in a manner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptly called Portugale. But who is able in a matter of such ancientie to auouch anie thing for truth?

T. iij.

Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Cathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus for leave to the authors. Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Madian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded.

Cathelus leaving Aegypt, seeketh other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portugale.

The inhabit-
ants resist
Cathelus.

A communi-
cation.
Cathelus
buildeth the
cittie Brigantia.
Cathelus.

A communi-
cation.

Cathelus left
Dorungale,
and went into
Galitia.
He builded a
cittie called
Brigantia,
and now
Compostella.

Cathelus.

He maketh
lawes and or-
dinances.

The Spani-
ards fight
with the
Scots in-
fortunate.

A peace con-
cluded.

Cathelus mi-
nistred iustice.
A description
of the seat.

Cathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had waisted all their purueuance:) whose arrivall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely encountering with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Cathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and vncertaine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortly after they began the foundation of a citie nere to the banks of the river called of ancient time Spundus, and afterwards Brachara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiving these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they perceived that Cathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to intaue, they offered to sell to a communication, a persuaded with Cathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the avoiding of variance, to remoue vnto the northside of Spaine, lieng vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the uttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indeuours in any manner of wise. This offer Cathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honoz of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Sponium, and now Compostella.

Here Cathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fenced with strong walles, but also with good and holisome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all cities and countries. And because he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to foresee remedie in time, and here vpon purposing utterly to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Scottishmen gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great bloodshed on either part, as the Scottish historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agreed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

Cathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, follow-

ing it, that wherefoeuer it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen, receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Si fallat fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare reuerentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old lawes doo faile,
and wifards wits be blind,
The Scots in place mult reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Cathelus. When he perceived that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of covenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Island lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into a haven nere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome he had by his wife Scota, the one named Hyberus, and the other Himeneus, to conuie them ouer into that Island, which afterwards they named Hybernia, after Hybernus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the haven of Dundalke, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certaine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they vnderstood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of any tillage. Here vpon Hyber with his brother Himeneus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, intending to ioine them in friendship so with their Scottishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inhabitants (perceiving the Scottishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in whole about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be converted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustentance, Hyber (leaving his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Cathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioicing of all the people there.

This Hyber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

Christian
sufficient to
find the
Scots.

The Scots
take new
seats.

The Scots
come in
Ireland.

Irishmen
by milke
and herbs.

Irishmen
gentle
created.

Hyber.

Hyber return-
ed into
Spaine.

Hyber suc-
ceeded his
father
Cathelus.

Robert a com-
parat.

A place.

Spaniards &
Scots becom
one people.

Himeneus.
Himeneus is
a Ireland.

Dundalke.

The Scots
find an am-
bulador vnto
Hyberius in
Spaine.

He sent to
aid the
Scots in Ire-
land.

Himeneus
returned into
Spaine againe

Himeneus
Duch.

Hyberius
came into
Ireland.

the same: Hy-
berius na-
tals, by rea-
son of parties: an
league for pea-
ce a league be-
Spaniards
within cert-
by marriage
together, be-
continued a
long season
neus, Hyol
were of mo-
as haue w-
at large.

Hyberius in
rememberet
there ruled
former in-
was possibi-
but that all
seuerall re-
them: by re-
amongst the
warres bet-
by truce (a
wearied) t-
cious strife
red their di-
the others
quietnes fi-
thus trou-
sage vnto
the Scotis
and succor
with tosh
out of Ire-
to passe, i-
through hi-
Hyberius
with a nat-
gaue care
his part
tutories:
sons, Hy-
a chosen p-
banquish-
tels, they
session of
lomeus an
inhabit th-
the eldest
there to li-
thereto.

After
yeares in
creasing i-
mother of
lities am-
cated the
lords had
persuade
who being
ons, mig-
whole, so
Spaine fi-
right fam-
well for it
rotall, as
of his no-
nesse. Hy-
led quickl

the same: Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and townes more adjoining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spread over all those parties: and in the end constrained his enemies to seeke for peace, which he willingly granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same took such good successe, that within certeine yeeres after, both the nations, that by marriage and other contraires, which they exercised together, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hiber decaisse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hiberus, and Simon Brechus were of most worthie fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

In the meane while that these things were thus a doing in Spaine, Himeccus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one; but that after his decaisse either of them would haue generall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling off from concord amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties happily were throughly wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so long as they had once recovered their decayed strengths, so that the one seeking the others destruction, they continued in great dissention for a long time. These Scottishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finally abressed an ambassage vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scottish men in Spaine, requiring him of aid and succor against their enemies, who went about with tooth and naile to expell all the Scottish nation out of Ireland, which they were like enough to bring to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage, gaue care to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinsfolke from all wrong and injuries: immediately therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hiberus, with a chosen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell battles, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolomeus and Hiberus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succeed his father when time should serue thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred by grudge and partialities amongst them, which thortlie would haue decayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient lords had not provided redresse in time, which was to perswade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the bloud royal, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiancie in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie Jewels and regall ornaments, the fatal stone of marbre, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Brechus being thus crowned, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons, account is after the flood 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our saviour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he died, after whose decaisse succeeded Pandusus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Clancus, which Clancus begat Potastilus, the father of Rothfay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appere.

This Rothfay (perceiuing the Scottish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Isles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the Iwerterne Isles, because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothfay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

This Rothfay had not bene long in those Isles, but that hearing of his fathers decaisse, he returned into Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Scottishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Isles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattall, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither daile in great numbers, with their wives, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles were not large enough to find them sustentance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred Isles, by them already inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they first began to settle themselves, they named Argathella, after the name of their first capitaine and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

At their first coming, because they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they seuered themselves into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes ministered, and iustice maintained: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yere, increasing in procelle of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enimie. In this meane time also, the Pictas, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came forth of the hether part of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathys, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Pictas, because they used to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they

Brechus.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.
Pandusus.

Rothfay.
The Scots
ferrie ouer into
the Iwerterne Isles.

They inhabit
the Ile of
Rothfay.

The Scots
inhabit the
maine land of
Scotland.

4617 H.B.
They inhabit
the countrie
called Arguile

They make
lawes and ordi-
nances.
Gouernors
had in reue-
rence.

They liue in
peace.
The Pictas
came into
Scotland out
of Germanie.

Industrious
efficient to
the Scots.

The Scots
the new
laws.

The Scots
reue in Ire-
land.

Irishmen
by milke and
yearely.

Irishmen are
gentle im-
ported.

Hiber.

Hiber retur-
ned into
Spaine.

Hiber succe-
ded his father
Cathelus.

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

4867 H. B. The Picts make strong holdes.

The Picts require wives of the Scots.

A league made.

The successi- on of the go- uernement.

Their alliance misliked.

Dissention a present de- stroier.

The Picts good husband- men. The Scots given to hun- ting and fow- ling.

The Bri- tains send

used gaine apparell of diuers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeeres before they entred into Brittain. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried ouer into Cathness, whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continu-
10
ance of time increasing in number, they passed fur- ther into the land, and got possession of Koffe, Spur- rey land, Orne, and Angule, and after that, en- tring into Ffife and Louthian, they droue such Bri- tains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that ap- plied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may ap- peare, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once
20
arrived, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such thicks; but perceiving they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteine their stocke and proge- nie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of wo- men to marrie with, that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need re- quired, they might the better defend them from their
30
common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and sur- prisers vpon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league rati- fied betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with cove- nants, that neither of them should seek to blauepe any peece of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be ac-
40
counted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be ready to ioin their powers in either o- thers defense. Also it was accorded, that if at anie time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admit- ted to the throne.

This alliance was euen at the first misliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparablie together, they
50
might in time to come increase to greater puis- sance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Wherefore studieng how to prevent that dan- ger, they thought the readiest meane to destroye both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst them- selves, that afterwards when their powers were by such means soe abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the af- finitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great lone and friendship was maintained among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their de- light in hunting and fowling, vsing about the same to go armed in iacks and light ieffernes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in o- pen warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiving happlie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they

sent solemne ambassadoers vnto the Picts, declaring that it were moze honozable for them to ioin in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruit- full and replenished with all commodities necessarie
10
hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of met- tall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and sauage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in no- thing but in the slaughter of men and beastes. And herevnto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by propheties, that the Scots through treason should utterlie in time to come ertinguish and destroye all the Pictish blood. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as
20
often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Bri- tains, incouraged the Picts so, that they sought dai- lie how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Sco- tishmen: wherevpon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such as they took within the same, they cruelle slue; other they ransomed at ex- cessiue summes: wherevpon the Scots being kin-
30
dled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: wherev-
40
pon the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the bet- ter able to mainteine their quarell, sent ouer their ambassadoers vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requi- ring them of aid in that present danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the vtter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it nee-
50
dull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sate also to haue some captaine of honoz with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Ir- ish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Fer- gubardus, who inclining to the petition of the Bri- tish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be le- uied, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fer- gusius to be general of the same, a worthy young gentleman, and an expert warrioz: whome he sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth vnto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this iourne, had their wiues, their children, and all their substance with them, as the manner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now
60
it came to passe that this Fergusius was no longer come into Albion among the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their eni- mies, and what order for gouernment should be ob- serued amongst them. Where finally for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obeie.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusius, and that the

ambassadoers vnto the Picts.

Prophecies.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenge them sure done vnto them.

Scots sent for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusius king in Ire- land.

Fergusius sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusius landed in Albion.

A parlement.

A king is to be chosed.

Fergusius

The Bri- tains are against the Scots.

The Bri- tains are about to de- stroye the Picts.

Creation re- ualed vnto Fergus.

Fergusius sent vnto the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts col- lects his coun- cill and com- mands.

that
clui
hin
wa
hin
rnl
reig
36.
befi
but
B2
gu
as
ent
Arg
the
ent
her
and
ent
red
wa
tbl
dsh
nif
by
hin
oth
we
con
litt
tell
(as
bpi
des
the
foll
to
mi
cor
of
pol
da
An
in
a c
he
nei
pa
of
am
tel
the
gei
am
fur
all
con
on
ga
in
the
cal
sta
tw
din
les
ent
con
pre

chaite of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge unto him, and so to the great reioicing of the people, he was placed upon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that ever ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chynologie) before the incarnation of our sauour 227, after the building of Roome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus took upon him to rule as king, making provision on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilst these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: unto whom also the Britains had joined themselves, and were now entered into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing herof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folded towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the manner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognifance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall upon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroye them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of araise in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enemies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certene daies together, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safeguard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araise, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weighed, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had understood the minds of his lordes and commons in the same.

Whereupon therefore returning to his campe, he called his counsell afoze him, declaring the substance of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuilles of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yield with all to auoid the imminent perill of their

bitter ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

Whereupon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a brauillie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroye all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdom to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by joining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to take new dwellinges in some other forraigne parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what bantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Dur and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and forceablest occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renewe againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

Whilst the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorrowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renewe againe the old league that was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mischief and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enemies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seeme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agreed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Fergus

A prophesie.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

The Picts are moued to pitie.

Britains reputed as enemies.

The meeting of the two kings.

balladry to the Scots.

crasie suggestion.

prophesie.

The Britains and the Scots.

The Picts come into the Scots.

The Scots charge the Britains.

Scots send out into Ireland.

They require gouernor.

Fergusus king in Ireland.

Fergusus sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusus landed in Albion. A parliament.

A king to be elected.

Fergusus.

In other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go home: Sward disapointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Picts returne home in peace.

This Coillus by the circumstance of the time, and other considerations, should seeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gut-tut-linc.

Coillus his subtiltie.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Picts for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Picts invade the Britains.

Coillus entred into Scotland with an armie.

Fergusse assembled a great power of Scottis-men.

Fergusse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so sone as the Britains had understanding of this agreement, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agreement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scottishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake up their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (sojourning in that season nere about Forke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, was nothing full of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelic watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruicable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch prizes and booties out of the Pictish confines. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains doe in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such inuoluntarie dissimulation, as well Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred sone after into the British confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all maner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he took grieuous indignation thereat, and thereupon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, waiking & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroye the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so sone as Fergusse heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their gods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about fife thousand nimble men, and such as had bene used to climb craggie hills, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Picts being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to doe; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Fergusse with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entred into the British campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilst the Britains (awaked with the noise) drem vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind fowd, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon another, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnlie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Sifellus, who with his mother Octia governed the same together by the space of manie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enimies hands, got them together in the next morning, perceiving what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herald vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet perswaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yield thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediately herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Fergusse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemble how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enimies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendly concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, as well with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this pece or that did belong. Which pollicie aduise of Fergusse, the Scottishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelic to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be surueyors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as nere as they could into a set number of equal portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulness or barrenness of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission secured forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusse then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, whome as Hector lieth slain, thus Coill took name.

Peace concluded.

A parlement in exhortation vnto quietnes and peace.

The land is partitioned.

Obedient subiects.

Then diuide the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

Statutes and laws are made.

Herzogin.

A place appointed for iustice.

Fergusse went into Ireland and in his returne Scots captured.

Which Fergusse otherwhise knoweth Fergusse.

Whom, Cumtinas, Comelous, This citie the Scottish saye to be Comelous, sum of the which there was often mention made in the Roman histories: but herie herein they do greatly erre.

Whom now called Comelous, The castell of Whodens.

The Scots consult about other election of a king.

as thou
shy
chance
people
the cou
uerno
little
this di
enue
subied
maint
theref
tutes
and of
Long
gains
to be l
the Al
might
of w
sone
neigh
all m
iects
tic. J
arbitr
bles
force
was
he hal
Albro
thus c
Ferg
Witte
Cda
Cam
bank
ters
the P
a sai
in at
fort
that
subu
shall
all o
vpon
nam
ters
Strai
till t
Wi
deatt
bled
chast
spectu
guse
pon
ding
be l
selu
ther
tony
A
thei
a chi
not
cont
real
the
due

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries took their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euē vnto this day. Fergus hauing thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied further more to deuisse lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbrie, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Longbuhabie on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westerne Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Isles might haue their access & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Brits and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finally, sailing afterwarde into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarked, was diuen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottis men in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euer since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enanlus, named by Hector Boetius Chadas, and amongst the Brits one Cruthneus Camelonius that builded a famous citie vpon the bankes of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottis writers asseme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Blathie kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haven apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed vp in such sort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that haven was: and the citie it selfe was finally subuerbed by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The fozenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Odenbrough, of Ethus king of the Brits, the castell was named the castell of Spaidens, for that the daughters of the Blathie kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & worke, till they came to yeeres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottis men. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succeed in his place. Anie of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yeeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not otherwise deliuer them selues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with long can be well expressed.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering vp all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so hapen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kinfolks more than reason happilie required, and peradventure do things otherwaies much displeasing to no small number of them by that his private authoritie. And againe, the king should no sooner come to yeeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he understood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fantasies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yeeres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeeres, they might succeed him in the estate and kingdome.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succeed him, then should one of his nextest consins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the rowne, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecesors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuisse for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vnkle to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vnkle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthy princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finally that ordinance was clearely abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortresse, signifying that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scottis kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achaius king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to indure for euer betwene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne four flower de lices, together with four crozlets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion, and sincere faith, maintained by the Scottis nation, might

Feritharis
chosen king.

The choosing
of kings was
not allowed.

Feritharis

A two edged
sword.

The crowne
great, emperor
changed.

The league
with the
Picts con-
firmed.

might be the more evident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortly after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solempne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie by rightlie, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe greeued: and thus continued he certaine yeeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephew Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staied them) to haue tozned him all in peces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughlie, till that all such as had bene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis liued not passing thre moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to sle first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominy. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Marinus the younger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeeres of age.

Mainus. This Marinus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memoire the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studieng to answer the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthie acts, maintained iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he vsed euery yeere once to haue a publicklie out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they each had committed.

Also for the more quiet of his subjects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Marinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreover this Marinus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured belief, that without their fauours all worldly policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certeine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge

stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched by in manner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honoz of their gods.

In witness of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chappels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that manner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goodesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this vse was taken vp, that so soone as anie of them got sight of the new moone next after hir change, he saluted hir with certeine prayers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Marinus did also appoint forth liuing for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finally, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aswell touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leaving the estate to his sonne Domadille, Eldurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Thara amongst the Picts.

Domadille. Domadille being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greyhounds, ordaining that euery holder should find him two hounds and one greyhound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eye or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in dew the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, vsed to pursue in all they might deuil, because the same is such an enimie to catfell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Thus the Scottishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordained, that he whose dog did teise and go through to the end of the course with the beare, so that he were seene to be at the fall, should haue the skin; the head & hornes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being dyest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the master of the game. The bowels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should chuse by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vsed euen vnto these daies.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Domadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certeine new, namelic diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

the custodi
consent th
lawes if an
do? should
tence read
stand that
ges hands
such offer
contented
was that
grew into
rogated a
that euen
mongst th
taken ou
lawfull.

These
dille, who
would at
ning behi
of sufficie
whereof
of comeli
to haue a
by force o
under ag

Thara. Thara
for such t
gainst th
as he bel
to reform
erced, &
Doualu
other no
Reuther
them, ar
cent fro
of their
fered th
soning i
gouern
not tari
vpon hi
of such r
enimie:

Reuther. A
the nob
thereto
offense
red, b
chasing
be vnk
& an bi
contrai
other o
gouern
of the p
were li
of Do
quhar
sembli
these;
his life
him o
him bi
with a
In
ons to
into &
compl
and c
thly

Feritharis
suddenly died.

Ferlegus
killed.

Election of
a new king.

Mainus.

Iustice main-
tained.

Small mat-
ters redress
among neigh-
bours.

Great mat-
ters determi-
ned by the
king.

Marinus con-
firmed the
league with
the Picts.

Marinus a de-
vout man in
his religion.

Domadille
referred to
the Scots
Domadille
of the
king.

The new
moone is
called
Chipp.

Marinus
was
under the
Picts.

Domadille
died.

Domadille
lower of
Domadille
happened
hunting.

The reuer-
end
of
a
small.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

Domadille
murdered.

the custodie of a graue counsellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offender should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offender might understand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offenders without repining willinglie were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the wessterne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decree taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Doual: who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Berregontium, now called Dunstaffe, leaving behind him a sonne called Keuther as yet not of sufficient age to succeed in the estate. By reason whereof Pothatus the brother of Doual, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law above remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

When all the people began to crye out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And for so much as he being admonished of his ductie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Brigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Keuther king Douals sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Pothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not taring till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Keuther king, and acrowned him with all due solemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murdered, but also saw hereby the ancient obedience of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an unskillfull young man advanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Pothatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantir, called an assemblee of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblee was made, and there slaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by slieing yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Jla, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard perswaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first joining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselves in certeine vessels, they entered the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willinglie resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host twise in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Berregontium with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the frate, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore travelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Pits, whose daughter king Keuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that took part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Kasse, Catheneste, Harne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the wessterne Isles which were there with him.

Keuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they took him within a castell in Catheneste whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in respect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwise than in that he had followed the counsel of malicious persons. By this cruell murder and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottishmen and Pits, both their forces were so greatlie infiebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happlie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains invaded the Pits: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselves not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Mkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no inuious dealing at all (if the Scottish historie be true.) Whereof moreover as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Mkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdom of the Pits.

In the meane while the Britains seising vpon such countries as these Pits had forsaken, that is to saie, the Pers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garrisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiecti on: and after entred into the confines of the Scottish kingdom, burning & waiking all afoze them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliue, being high-

D. J. lie

Douale's name.

Ferquhard is slaine.

Keuther the king fled.

Keuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Gethus king.

Why Mkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should seme to be that they were so called because the Pits inhabited there before they set foot in Brittain.

The Scots
overthrew.

He moved to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and encountering with their enemies nere to Lallender wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being soze chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they utterly despaired of all recouerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope utterlie to cypell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yett left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beregonium, where they held themselves as in the surest held. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enemies to Beregonium, cruellied the castell with a strong and vehement siege, untill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittells to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongst them.

Scots besieged
denuore one another.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing forth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortreffe, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Wherevpon by common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfully, though in the end both he and his whole band were bozne drowne and slaine with ptease and multitude of his enemies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilste he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

The Scots
come forth
and fight.

Keuther escape.

Keuther passed
into Ireland.

They inhabit
the mountains.

Keuther is
sent for out
of Ireland.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such benefon and fleshy of wild beasts as they killed in the wildernesse: and sometimes they came drowne and made raikes vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lardes, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Cethus king of the Picts kept his siege totall in Pomonia the cheefest Ile of the Orkenies. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Cethus and such Scots as were yett remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships togither, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Rosse at Lough Bannum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first talked thereof after their manner, then holding vp their weapons into the aere, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Cethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staied there abiding for his comming, to the intent that joining their powers togither, they might be the better able to furnish their enterprise.

The thirde daie after they met togither with great joy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) daile resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Stillicus king of the Britains, who succeeded after Denus, as then latelic deceased, hauing knowlege hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he hastied forth to encounter with their powers, and so joining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great baliance and manfull prowesse of Keuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath bene euer since called Keuthirdale, as ye would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuoluate betwixt these nations. The yeare that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Keuda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, foren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Beregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

After Keuther his deceasse, his nieces son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agreement of all the states, because that Thereus sonne to Keuther vnneth come to the age of ten yeres, was thought unable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had atchured any notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetual memorie, and buried in soleme wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hills or mounteins,

The Scots
maine in
of the Picts.

Keuther and
Cethus met
and wonne
their power
togither.

The Picts
tame are
discomfited
by the Scots
and Picts.

whereof the
third daie was
the name.

Keuther
cloned.

240 H.B.
499 H.B.
Keuther
Beda is named
Keuda.

499 H.B.

Keutha.

An opinion
for buriall
of their
nobles
dislikes
pointed
there.

The nobles
conspire
against
Keutha.

upon the
pointed
stones: when
to this daie.

This Ke
all manner
as were
great num
for, so inha
strut them
as vnto off
pointed ho
be recetue
euerie ma
further, ech
and barlie
yet the vse
Scottishm
their beast
led in the i

Keutha
skillfull
and disea
ordeined
that none
physician,
practised
a time they
sicke of
pen place
as came
declare th
with the l
ped the d
For no n
passe by
was acc

Keuth
commor
estate to
himselfe
well in th
he cause
pference
ged of th
be comm
was not
but also
opinion
prowesse
Keutha
to a priu
vnto th
suasion
consent
Thereus.

Thi
of his
copie ir
of vert
lawes
selfe to
res, so
is in fo
ces) t
uings
thered
kindes
meane
the tri
There
meane
But h
and de

upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had slaine enemies in the wars: whereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

This Xanthus also understanding of the lacke of all manner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Unto these also as unto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest livinges; by way of fees, assigned to be received of such oren and beestes as were killed, to euerie man of science and artifice his part. And further, each of them had certein measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the use of coine was not knowen amongst the Scottishmen. The which custome of distributing their beastes, which they killed in this wise, is still used in the westerne Isles even to these our daies.

Xanthus perceiuing furthermore that through skillfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take upon them as a surgion or physician, unlesse they were by long experience well practised aforesaid in those sciences. For before that time they used to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vered with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recouered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Xanthus thus studing for the advancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finally perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to traueil in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Therens, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the probesse of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Xanthus, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Therens, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

This Therens for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such manner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vices of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious livinges, and namely the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those sillie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Therens should reigne, conspired together, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequelle thereof, conuised himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, fleeing so: succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leading a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Poike, he finally there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the Nobles and peeres chose one Conanus lord of Calolway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieflie imployed how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Therens each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuing; of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wooded them forth, in such wise that per he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was understood that Therens was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Berregonium, where by common consent, Josina brother of Therens was chosen to reigne as king, for that Therens had left no issue behind him to succeed.

This Josina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Brits and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he understood the vertues and properties of herbes, where with in those daies the Scots used to heale and remedie all manner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now knowen amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and exesse of meats and drinks used in our time, whereas our eldres sufficed with a little, liued without surfeiting, the chiefest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Josina his daies it chanced that a Portugale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streimable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whome were two ancient and faithfull old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Berregonium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanish priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certein it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most iofullie, doing them all the honoz he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordingly ministered vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of coze and graine, as conteining far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue; this they said that

Therens fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate.

Josina elected king.

Josina.

Surfeiting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwrecke arrive in Scotland, and are iofullie receiued of the king.

240 H.B.
4995 H.B.

Reuther by Beda is named Xanthus.

4997 H.B.

Reutha.

An opinion for buriall of their princes by pointed stones.

The Scottish
religion re-
proued.

Upright li-
ving well re-
warded at
Gods hands.

Florus depar-
ted this life.

Finna-
mus.

Prelates orde-
red in reli-
gion.
Druides in
the old Sco-
tish tongue cal-
led Druceglis.

The Scots
mistake Spain
for Angleseie.

The authori-
tie of the
Druides in-
creased.

they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it late. And as for the rites and blages of the people, in one point they could in no wise com- mend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Egyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of brasts and fowls, whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cause or begin- ning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise any similitude of living thing that might in any wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the living God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe holmes: at whose hands such as liued chastie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

With these their sensible instructions they persuaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow any other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could any of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the moone, and stars, but that there was a certaine diuine power or godhead in euery one of them. And thus much of these strangers brieue and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Florus had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Berregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers decesse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made pri- uie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by mekenesse and gentle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to reframe the old religion somewhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constrain any man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fantasie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelats, which gouerned after the manner of bishops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tongue Druceglis in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleseie, in the Brit- tish tongue called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great livings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all intunations and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

These Druides afterwards applied themselves so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, as well natu- rall as morall, that they were had in no small re- uerence of the people, as they that were both ac- counted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie daile so far forth increased, that finally iudge- ments in most doubtful matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their dis- cretion punished, and such as had well deserved ac- cordinglie by their appointments rewarded. More- ouer such as refused to obeye their decrees and ordi- nances, were by them excommunicated, so that no

creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cleared by the same Druides absolved.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Ce- sar, with diuers other approued authors, make men- tion of these Druides, signifying how the first begin- ning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all whole vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in so full rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a lit- tle advanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durfus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that alliance he wan- diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Fi- nallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Scots as then soe disca- sed, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Berregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

After him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durfus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altoget- her giuen to banquetting and excessive drunken- nesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuires could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or any kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he sought the com- panie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous manner.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the westerne Isles with them of Cantire, Lozne, Argile, and Kofle, conspi- red together in the reformation of such disorders as were daile vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed coun- cellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarrell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remoue from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beleefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such counsellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whom he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

He further also in presence of Dozo the gouer- nour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, swore in solemne wise afoze the image of Diana, to per- forme all such promises and couenants as he was a- greed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloyed dissimulation they being decei- ued, came without suspect of further guile vnto Be- regonium, where at their first comming he was readie to receiue them (as seemed by his fained cour- tesance) with glad some hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinfolke, caused

Arto-
milit.
king Dur-
fus being.

Durfus is
slain.

Durfus.

Edwin is cho-
sen king.

wicked con-
sellers.

Edwin.

conspire.

Shewing of
his first be-
gins.

craftie en-
cloked dis-
simulation.

Edwin's reue-
rence.

craftie dis-
simulation.

The battle of
the good prince.

A notable op-
portunity.

A cruel mas-
sacre.

caused a n
after, in
came vnto
straightlie
danger as
soz with
incountre
beaten do
both king
reigne. W
doubting
gainst the
perill fled
nobles of
for the cho
to haue a
them, lea
uenge his
at point to
contrarie
through a
mour of A
sons for the
commit the
promising
name. W
the peres
les sonne
Edwin and
Durfus h
him, for t
maners. I
for that the
continued

Edwin.
A
regonium
great refo
with also
hands in h
and faithf
custome o
command
died yeare
in somuch
red the fan
in their lib
this day a
such as in
tion of a n
capitaine,
ended, at
proclamat
in his iuri
by any of
ancient &
haue bene
him name
make a co
him, in su
uice, when
sacred nan

But no
die was to
nison, and
about to fr
thermore,
ded throug
ton delites
should be
trauell, as
therbeds o
themselves
and to bear

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies
after, manie thousands of men in furious rage
came before the castell, and besieged the king most
straighthe therein. When perceiving himselfe in such
danger as he knew not well how to escape, came
forth with such companie as he had about him, and
incounting with his enimies, was straightwaies
beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there
both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his
reigne. Durfus being thus dispatched, his children
doubting the indignation of the people conceived a-
gainst them for their fathers fault, to avoid the
perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the
nobles of the realme assembled themselves together
for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding
to haue anie of Durfus his race to reigne ouer
them, least they would seeke by some means to re-
venge his death: howbeit at length when they were
at point to haue fallen at variance in sustaining of
contrarie opinions about the election of their prince,
through a iustitie oration made by Coranus gover-
nour of Argile, who alleged manie weightie rea-
sons for the avoiding of sedition, they all agreed to
commit the free election unto the same Coranus,
promising firmitie to accept whome soeuer he should
name. Whereupon Coranus consulting a little with
the peres of the realme, named one Ewin the vncle
sonne of Durfus, who as then remained in
Ireland, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in
Durfus his daies, being banished the realme by
him, for that he could not awaite with his corrupt
manners. This election was acceptable to all estates,
for that thereby the administration of the kingdome
continued in the line of their former kings.

And Ewin shortly after was brought forth of
Ireland with all regall solemnitie, and at Ber-
regonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the
great reioysing of the people there assembled. Here-
with also the nobles of the realme, putting their
hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall
and faithfull subiects unto him in all points, which
custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins
commandement, begun and continued manie hun-
dred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie;
in somuch that the capitans of the tribes also requi-
red the same kind of oth of them that inhabited with-
in their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto
this day amongst those of the westerne Isles, and
such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the crea-
tion of a new governour, whome they name their
captaine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being
ended, at the next saire kept within that countrie,
proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting with-
in his iurisdiction, shall name this new governour
by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the
ancient & accustomed name as such rulers sometime
haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare
him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and
make a certaine courtesie in signe of honour due to
him, in such manner as we vse in hearing diuine ser-
vice, when anie holie myserie is in doing, or anie
sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest stu-
die was to mainteine iustice throughout his domi-
nion, and to weed out such transgressours as went
about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Fur-
thermore, considering what inconueniencies proce-
ded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wan-
ton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme
should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and
trauell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie sea-
therbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise
themselves to throw the dart, to shot, to wrestle,
and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of

warre; that when need required, trauell and such
kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure
vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might
make the same intollerable. Whilist Ewin is thus
occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordi-
nances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the
Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require
his aid against the Britains, who were entred his
countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, lent
an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward
to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the
old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who
likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the
Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that
both the armies incounting together (the Scots
and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the o-
ther) there ensued a sore conflict betwixt them, con-
tinued with vnumerous slaughter till night parted
them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who
had the better, but either part being pitie to their
owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from
the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts
the same night got them into the mounteins of Pict-
land, and the Britains so lone as it was day made
homewards with all speed towards their countrie,
leaving no small preie and botie behind them, which
the Scottishmen and the Picts recovered, committing
downe with all speed from the mounteins, when
they once heard that their enimies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from this iourne,
determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and
quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his
realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of
lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of
the same. He appointed also such as should watch for
the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high
waies, assigning them liuings of the common trea-
surie to liue by. And there he enen vnto this day that
hold still such liuings, though the office be become out
of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant
from Berregonium, which he named after his owne
name Enontum: but afterwards it was called
Dunstaffage, which is as much to say, as Stephens
castell, which name it beareth at this present. Final-
lic, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great
weale of the realme, about 19 yeares, he departed
this life, leaving behind him a sonne begotten, na-
med Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be
executed with all solemne pompe and ceremonies,
raised vp some after sundry obelisks about his graue
nere vnto Dunstaffage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of
Durfus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time
had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were
in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, be-
cause they were twins, and not knowne whether of
them came first into the world, looked to be king af-
ter Ewin: their names were Dathan and Dorgall.
And such malicious emulation and enuious spite
rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of
their purpose, that greater could not be desired, which
Gillus, like a craftie & subtil for, by couert means
sought still to augment; and in the end causing them
to come together for some conclusion of agreement,
at length when he had set them further at odds than
they were before, he procured a number of souldiers
appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as
though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and
there to slaue them both.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he
came for, shewed in countenance as though he had
bene much offended therewith, and done what he
could.

A doubtfull
battell.

Dunstaffage
is builded.

The craftie
working of
Gillus.

Durfus two
sonnes are
slaine.

could to haue appeased the matter; and herewith he cometh running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good shift for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Douthan and Dorgall, who fell into such mischæse themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he requited his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in so much that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstafage, where being receiued into the castell with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuectiue oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

The nobles through feare consented to create Gillus king.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might haplie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to swiure vnto him fealtie, and to doe him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreeable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he won the greater fauour of manie, but yet not indging himselfe altogether in lucke, by reason that Douthan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing by of the Wyndes, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iourne thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all lone and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismozus, being about twelue yeres of age, and the other Cosmacus that was two yeres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought by like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaving certein of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his coming home to Dunstafage, he caused them to be murdered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they brought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, provided more warlike for his safeguard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders by into the mounteins, and there with in a secret den susteined his languishing life for certein moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous success of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continuallie, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: in so much that he can-

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

So the people seeing the daillie slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be vertie sore moued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Baile, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Loane, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such assistance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enemies with more speed than good success: for per the two armies came to joining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole priuilie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowen, his souldiours yelded themselves vnto Cadall gouernoz of Galloway, who was capitaine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernoz of the realme till they had chosen a king.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Berregonium, Dunstafage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Zla, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he should attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Isles. Whither was brought with him also, the yong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honorable conueied vnto Epilake the chiefest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, in so much that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Jfinnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gouwere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Zla, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernoz of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstafage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enemies, he put them to the worse, in so much that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saved himselfe. His souldiours also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yelded themselves vnto Cadall, who took them to grace, and forthwith sent

The Scots rise against Gillus.

Gillus taken.

Gillus beheaded.

A ship drack by a tempest.

Cadall for his good & faithful seruice is rewarded.

Gillus tyranteth secretly and getting ouer into Ireland. Cadall of Galloway is chosen gouernoz of the realme.

An interview betwixt the nobles of Scots and Ederus. The people of Wykney in the Earle of Arles.

Ireland another take Epilake must be so late north.

Gillus proclaimed king in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name proclaimed king.

Widow king of Wykney slayeth himselfe.

Emmerio: who is built.

Ewin.

Emmerio: who is built.

Cadall for his good & faithful seruice is rewarded.

sent c
foun
and b
was
him i
the fa
the co
Th
passe
turne
temp
all the
volage
of so
nie w
of thei
toke i
sensu
land, t
him in
also m
way, i
sundri
made
rie tha
After
the kir
there r
men a
Suzora
Pidas,
lemin
thus ac
where l
of Ros
Pidal
robbin
of Ros
sted to
his suc
not, ha
small
soure i
of who
tries, t
thow
Bladu
come i
ended
ney: i
mong
After
and at
a citie
the san
dore, i
with m
of the g
other fi
this citi
where i
other ci
water
nesse, a
times p
manie,
the cou
same ix
surre,
tie is ac
rich ant
dise, so
for his
bois in

sent out certeine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien his certeine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie strooke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioicing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterprise with good successe, he took the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voyage. Which mischance fore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioicing of manie was turned into dolefull moorning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall take it to grieuouslie, that nothing could be more of seruice vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castles in Galloway, in recompence of his good faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th ancient league betwixt the Scottish men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Sutora the daughter of Gethus the third king of the Picts, was iouined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Cpiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Dunfalgae, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rosse, that the Islanders of Orkney had passed Pictland first, and were entred into Cathnessle, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Rosse, he leuied an armie with all speed, and hastid towards the enemies, confreining them by his sudden coming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leisure to get awaile, so that with small resistance they were vanquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by boates ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden overthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Blasius the king of Orkney, for that he would not come into his enemies hands, slue himselfe. And thus ended this enterprise against the enemies of Orkney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchising the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. This citie after wards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochnessle, which he named Enuernessle, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such furres, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin proued a most famous prince for his warlike exploits right fortunatelic atchiued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderstan-

ding the death of his verie deare and intirelle beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Cpiake, as well to giue order for the pacifying of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to do the more honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Cpiake, and setting an accord betwixt the young men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market stee, commanding the same to be honored with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deare a friend, he began to wax sicke himselfe, and at length perceiuing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholesome aduertisements how to use himselfe in gouernement of his subjects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his decesse he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seventene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the decesse of Ewin, Ederus was, in manner before exprest, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose chiefe delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and greihounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the wolfe the hearomans so, by meanes wherof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike state of the realme being maintained by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politike lie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Isles, nere of kin to Gillus that vsurper and murderer, who with a power of Irishmen, and other of the westerne Isles landed in Argile, waisting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hasting to the place where his enemies ships late at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaile all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and crucillie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the westerne Isles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Bredus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and depriuing some vnto the end of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoys sent from Castillane kings of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie hostile to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seignorie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoys verie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemblie together the next daie, afore whom he willed that Androgeus, chiefe of the British ambassadoys, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall de-
ceased.

Ewin resigns
neth the estate.

Ederus de-
ceased.

Ederus.

Bredus in-
uadeth the
Scots.

Ederus bur-
neth his ene-
mies ships.

Castillane
king of the
Britains re-
quirth of the
Scottishmen
aid against
the Romans.

Androgeus
chefe ambas-
sador of the
Britains de-
clareth the
effect of his
message.

Scots
against
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Cadall for his
faithfull
seruice was
rewarded.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

Ing
be-
tweene
Scots
and
Ing.

The Scots
grant to aid
the Britains
against the
Romans.

Cadallane &
Donald with
ten thousand
Scottishmen
send to aid
the Britains.

c. 129 H.B.
60 H.B.

The Brit-
tains refuse
aid being of-
fered them.

Julius Cesar
invaith this
land the se-
cond time.

The Brit-
tains are over-
throwne.

Julius Cesar
his message
to the Scots
and Picts.

The answer
of the Scots
and Picts un-
to Cesar his
ambassadors.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scottishmen upon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king with the advice of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates unto Cethus king of the Picts, to move him to do the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Thus the British ambassadors having sped accord-
ding to the desires, repaired homewards: imme-
diatlie upon whose departure, both the kings Ede-
rus & Cethus leued their armies, & sent them forth
towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojour-
ned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men
under the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Gallo-
way, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and
one Donald gouernor of Argile. But what successe
followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into
Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of
England more at length expressed. The yeere that
Julius Cesar came to invade Britaine, was the
fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of
the world 3912 complet, which is after Spalster Ha-
rilions account 54 before the coming of our Sau-
our, and 692 after the building of Rome.

The Scottishmen and Picts having their part of
the spoile which the Romans at their departure left
behind them, were sent home to their countries with
great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the
Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure
of the Romans, that they beleued verelie they shuld
haue no more to do with those enemies, or if they had
they thought themselves strong enough to repell
them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when
king Cethus was informed how the Romans pre-
pared to invade them afresh, and had sent them word
thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no ac-
count of that offer, but answered that it was not
necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of foreign eni-
mies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of
puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same
well enough.

But of this refusal of so friendlie an offer, it was
not long per the Britains fore repented them. For
shortlie after Julius Cesar with a farre greater po-
wer than that which he brought with him at the first
time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe:
and being at three sundrie times fiercelie incountred
by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cas-
sibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and tak-
ing a great number of them. Amongst other of the
prisoners were three of their chiefe captains, An-
drogeus, Silentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason
of which overthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged,
that doubting further mischese, he yielded himselfe
vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as
were appointed him, and for performance of cove-
nants, belucred sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent
his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scottishmen
and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as
Cassibilane had done, or else he had them loke for o-
pen warres at the Romans hands, which they might
assure themselves they should in no wise be able to
sustaine, considering their mightie and huge puis-
sance, hauing the most part of the whole world at
their commandement alreade. Wherevnto aswell
the one king as the other made this or much what
the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose
their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution,
if they were put to the trial, should be euidentlie

proued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these
two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them
with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats
but also by great reasons went about to persuade
them vnto submission. But they persisting in their
former opinion for defense of their liberties, and ut-
terlie refusing all manner of bondage, would incline
by no meanes to come in any bond of friendship
with the Romans. After the returne of these last
messengers, Cesar was fullie resolu'd to enter into
their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of
sword, therewith to treatie he might not induce
them: and had set forward on that iourne shortly
after indee, if he had not bene called backe into
France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised
by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those
countries, where the Picts and Romans, with
other the inhabitants nere about Chartres do now
dwell.

The common Scottish chronicles record, how Ju-
lius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there
wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish
kings used most to sojourne. Herevnto the same
chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone
house of 24 cubits in heigh, & of 12 cubits in bredth,
of square hewen stones, right workmanlie framed,
which house they saie Cesar caused to be vfed in stead
of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the ri-
uer of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of
Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie
had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such
an house there remaineth to be seene euen vnto this
daie, and is called Julius hoff, that is Julius hall,
or Julius court. Holowbeit, other more agreeable to
the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was
sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudi-
us Cesar, and of the goddess Victoria, by the Romane
capitaine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars
in that countrie, before his advancement to the
empire.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same
time, in which he looked to be invaded by Julius Ce-
sar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent
for them of the westerne Isles to reinforce his host, he
was now informed to conuert it another waie, for
there was one Burketus, nephue vnto the aboue
remembred Gilius, that came with a nauie out of
Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute
as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing
thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into
those parties for defense of his subiects: which Ca-
dallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this ex-
plot, that setting vpon the enemies as they laie at
anchore, he took them in the night season, without
making any great defense, and after hanged them
vp along the shore side within the Ile of Colvye:
Burket himselfe being honored with an higher place
to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was
their chiefe head and leader in that voyage. The rem-
nant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie o-
ther notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38
yeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23
yeare of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was
buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & so-
lemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome
then was) erected and set vp about the place where
he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of
that name, nothing like in any princelie quali-
tie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise
infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeres of
his reigne he was wholly drownd in lasciuious leche-
rie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering
amongst

among
uer the
ried. At
at all, I
sed to t
fratlie I
ving w
had all
that he
mongst
full for
some si
qualiti
appoint
and fur
the byo
toke su
it coul
former
ceding
aduate

Ewin is pur-
sued and for-
saken by his
subiects.

Ewin con-
demned to per-
petual prison

Ewin is
strangled.

30 H.B.

Metella-
nus.

Calpurnia
king of the
Britains.

Metellanus
commeth
vnto the
king.

Aft
Ca
gentle
subiects
maner
ked lato
that he
as delig
stood so
he was
time all
Britain
roz, with
ment of
toward
his sub
whole to
was not
some tu
These
the Is. of
ledge a
whome t
the east
to presen
being pa
the Rom
sents to
in signe

Cesar sendeth
new messen-
gers vnto the
Scotts and
Picts but they
refuse to com-
much like to
the Roman.

Kalendar wood
Camilon house
Cesar came
be true, for
Cesar came
not nere there
land, as in the
historie of
England
appeareth.

Julius hoff

Burketus
nephue vnto
Gilius was
with the west-
erne Isles

Burketus
hanged vnto
the shore side
within the Ile
of Colvye

38 H.B.
Ederus re-
igned thirty
yeres

Ewin
Strangled

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more freely without gainesaying haue his vile trade of leuening with their wiues and cosins. Such delight he had also in his filthy and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawful for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflowre the bride after his marriage: which last ordinance took such effect, that of manie hundred yeeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortly after this Ewins decess, taken alwaie and reuoked.

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vices, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there took him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succors: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarrell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Caballan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Wherewith the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous yong man, in hope to haue thanks of Caballan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stead of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Caballan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seventy yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, being the 9 yeere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behaviour. This Metellanus maintained his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie manner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessour had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such yong gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Rimbaline king of the Britains an ambassadoz from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernment of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, with the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

These ambassadozs went also vnto Metellanus the son of the Scottishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiouritie in the Romane emperor, vnto whom the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadozs with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherewith Metellanus being partly moued to haue a frendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperor, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obtained an

amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning through out the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlein in the tribe of Juda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeere of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yeeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, neuer more readie to doe the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finally, he passed out of this life in the 29 yeere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauour, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Wherewith he left no issue alieue behind him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Caballan, and nephew to king Metellanus by his sister Europela, was proclaimed king; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the peeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litle to doe in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellanus.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Carictonium, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situate within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilst these things were a doing in Scotland, Rimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guderius succeeding, disdaind to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and invaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life; but such as saued themselves within castles & fortresses.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hercof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Sertius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, banquished Guderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadozs returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guderius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yet the Walls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Walls to raise their intended rebellion. Shortly

The birth of our Sauour Christ.

10 H.B.
320 H.B.
5109 H.B.

Metellanus departeth this world.
29 H.B.
14 H.B.
Caratake proclaimed king.
Caratake take all the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

Caratake.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Rimbaline king of the Britains died.

Guderius the British king rebelled against the Romans.

Plautius & Sertius.

Guderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Guderius slaine.

or sendeth himselfe vnto the king, but he like to former.

people lawes

Mender of albedon would his cannot true, for clear come n neer shot no, as in the storie of England it appeareth.

Julius Cezar.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Ewin constrained to perpe- tuall prison

Ewin was hanged.

10 H.B.

Metellanus

Guderius rephue vnto Britius inuaded the westerne Isla.

Marketh is hanged with manie more.
48 H.B.
26 H.B.
Guderius departeth this life.

Rimbaline king of the Britains.

Ewin.

A licentious king.

The emperour Claudius cometh into Britaine.

Claudius saileth into the Dykenies.

How Kirke-Wale.

Claudius taketh the king of the Dykenies.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Dykenies. Dion Cassius.

Arutragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

Moada imprisoned.

Moada is delivered out of prison, and conuied into Wales.

Arutragus giveth his enemies an overthrow.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obedience, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Isles of Dykenie, purposing to conquere the same, for that they had aided the Britains in their last warres against the Romans. But approaching nere to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entred the streit betwixt the Dykenies and Dungisbie head in Cathnesse called Pictland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arrived, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in caues and dens amongst the rocks & mountains.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Bomonia the chieftest of all the Dykenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Isles named Carinus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finally causing him to yeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie. ¶ But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Dykenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staied not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Dykenie and conquere the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth? But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should seeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errors, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant worthy of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arutragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsoke his wife named Moada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottishmen, and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britains disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Moada, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plancius, thereby to breake all friendship and alliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Moada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conuied hir into Wales together with hir children.

With which dealing Arutragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiving that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that abioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Plancius assembling together with such of the Britains as took part with Arutragus, set forward towards the enemies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Darbshire, were by in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Arutragus and Aulus Plancius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer they pleased. And to reeferce their power, Aulus Plancius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselves, now being certified of all their enemies doings, thought best to make themselves so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates assembled together at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Cominum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Arutragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance together, there rose a doubt whome they might chuse for their generall capteine, for that it was feared lest there might grow some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of one Cornus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Arutragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister queene Moada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit, to the end such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane blood) might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprize, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the fuertrie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weleng the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto that place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to provide for themselves, as their enemies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioicing at the newes, made provision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as the spring approached, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkshire, in purpose to encounter with their enemies in battell, wheresoeuer they found them.

Arutragus and Aulus Plancius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them,

for a sell the talker that will refuse field nor vitt the man for their arm force ease with mirth bett all i sent too vnr wit par ter nite mo: the the to f time man trie after ter ble aid decl mal terj enli it u than

caratake his cau ries stur and to n tho clea fair hau to b the the and at f tur of ti celu rate real from tim man Arcu

for a while forbare to ioin in battell, through coun-
sell of Plautius, who perceiuing the most part of
the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers,
taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by
protracting time they would be some out of heart,
through watching and euill harbozough, in such sort
that in the end they should be easie enough to deale
with; and euen so it came to passe. For the Romans
refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the
felds on eich side abroad, that neither the Britains
nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or
bittels, but they were still snatched by, so that what
through hunger, lacke of sleepe, and other diseases,
manie of the Britains began to conueie themselves
from the campe home to their houses, of whome some
being taken by the enemies; declared that the whole
armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and
fore infiebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and dis-
eases as they were enforced vnto in the campe.
Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plautius deter-
mined the next day to giue battell. And so in the
morning they arraied their people, & marched forth
betwixt towards the campe of the confederats.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of
all the confederates, vnderstanding the enemies in-
tent, was as readie to receiue batell as they were
to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and
vnmerefull slaughter betwixt them on both parts,
without sparing any at all, till such time as the night
parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that af-
ter they were once got in sunder, neither part had a-
nie haile afterwards to ioin againe: so that in the
morning there appeared none in the field but onelie
the dead bodies, those that were left alieue as well on
the one part as the other being fled and scattered in-
to the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plau-
tius got them vnto London: and Caratake com-
manding his people home each man into his coun-
trie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Powke, and
after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly af-
ter there came vnto him ambassadoz from Aulus
Plautius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did
aid the Britith rebels against the Romane empire,
declaring that if he would not be conformable to
make a worthie amends for so presumptuous an en-
terprise, he should be sure to haue the Romans his
enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue
it were much better for him to seeke their friendship,
than to abide their enmitie.

Wherevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust
cause to doe that which he did, considering the iniu-
ries which his sister Woda with hir sonne Guide-
rius had and were like to receiue by their counsell
and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded
to make anie amends for that was done, that he
thought it more reason that the Romans should
clearlie auoid out of the whole possession of Bri-
taine, either else they might assure themselves to
haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts
to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for
the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedom.
The Romane ambassadoz being returned with this
answer, Plautius took no small indignation there-
at, fore menacing to be reuenged of so high and con-
tumelious words pronounced against the maiestie
of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust con-
fused by ioining his power with the other confede-
rate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the
realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, resolting
from them, fled into Shyewburie, where, at the same
time such Britith lordes as were enemies to the Ro-
mans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom
Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lordes, trusting by his meanes
to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Ce-
nistia being at the same season great with child, took
such thought for this resolting of hir husband, that
trauelling before hir time, she immediately died ther-
with. But Aulus Plautius, perceiuing now the
roughlie how litlle trust there was to be put in the
Britains, dispatched a messenger in all hast with
letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then so-
lourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what dan-
ger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie pouision
were not the sooner made.

Claudius welcing the matter by god aduise of
counsell, ordeined by decree of the senate, that Vesp-
asian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent
higher with an armie, to tame the proud and losse
stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats
the Scots & Picts. Vespasian herevpon departing
from Rome, came into France, & increasing his le-
gions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found
there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where con-
trarie to the report which he had heard afore his com-
ming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished af-
ter the warlike order of the Romane vbage, and
moreouer all such companies of men of warre as
kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he
could not but much praise the great diligence and
politike gouernement of Plautius.

Now when Vespasian had a little refreshed his
men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing
of the Britains to their former obedience, he set for-
ward toward Aruiragus & other the enemies, whom
he vnderstood as then to be at Powke, making their
assemblie, not generallie of all that were able to
beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of
all parties a chosen number of piket men were sent
for, as out of Denonshire & Cornewall there came
6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000,
and the like number out of Wendall, Westmerland,
and Cumberland. Out of Wyfordshire and other the
parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there
came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto
Powke, euerie man bringing his pouision with
him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the
same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scotish
men: and Alithara otherwise called Charan, king
of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Vespasian being certified still from time to time
of all the doings of his enemies, hastied with all speed
towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides
comming to the place where they were incamped
within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from
Powke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden setteth vpon them
within their campe, yer they thought he had bene
nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manful-
lie stood to their defense: insomuch that those in the
right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue
bene distressed, if Vespasian perceiuing the dan-
ger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, whereby
the battell was newlie in that part reformed. The cap-
teins on either side did what they could to incourage
their folkes to sticke to their tacke, without giuing
ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came
by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the o-
uerthrow.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like enraged li-
ons, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire
of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through
vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still
vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that
they might requite him with the like againe. But
yet would not all that their fierce and desperate har-
dinelle preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment
being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the domi-
nion

Genista the
wife of Arui-
ragus d. cth.

A messenger
sent vnto
Claudius the
emperor from
Plautius.

Vespasian
commeth into
Britaine.

The Brit-
tains gather
an armie.

Acen.

The Scots &
Picts come
to aid the
Britains.
Alithara or
Charan king
of Picts.

Vespasian
assailth the
Britains in
their campe.

The desperat
hardinelle of
the Britains
and Scotish-
men.

Fortune fa-
uoureth the
Romans.

A conuention
against Arui-
ragus.

The Bri-
tains make
themselves
strong.

The Bri-
tains alleu-
a ble them-
selves at
Shyewburie.

The confe-
derats them-
selves togie-
ther.

Caratake
chosen to be
captaine of the
Britains.

Arui-
ragus should
dile his
children
which he had
by Woda.

non
if it
be
s of
then
hole

Caratake
promised and
to the Bri-
tains.

re-
used
e be-
e, but
lent:
red,
e for
e ad-
an
relief
clous,
ainst
tallie
with
e fo-
ge of
they
e as
ains,
ther,
with
ound

now
etwile
them,
for

The Brit-
tains receive
the overthrow

Caratake
escapeth.
Charan king
of the Picts
is slain.

Messengers
sent by Aru-
ragus unto
Vespasian
with sub-
mission.

Arutragus
cometh in
unto Vespasian.
Arutragus
restored again
to his former
dignitie.
The Brit-
tains are par-
doned, but yet
deliuer new
hostages.
Their lawes
abrogated.
New lawes.

Camelon be-
sieged by
Vespasian.

Camelon
surrendered.
The kings
regall orna-
ments taken.

Camelon peo-
pled with
Romans.

nion of the whole world, shewed his selfe so fauoura-
ble vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though
the Britains with the confederats did what lay in
men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they
beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a
few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Arutragus seeing the slaughter of his people,
would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his ser-
uants caried him by force out of the field, that he
might be reserved yet vnto some better fortune. 10
Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie,
but Charan king of the Picts, not counting to liue
after such losse of his people, threw away his armor
with all his kingle ornaments, and sitting downe
vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there
slaine by such as followed in the chase. Arutragus be-
ing conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke,
considered how by reason of this great discomforture,
it was impossible to resist the Romane puissance,
and therefore with consent of the residue of his no-
bles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an
herald vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in
most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions
of peace and agreement. Whereupon Vespasian com-
manded that Arutragus should in private apparell
come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie
peace, except he had Arutragus present, and there-
fore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him
safetie both to come and go.

Arutragus seeing no other remedie, came in vn-
to Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon
his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses,
and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and
good townes also that were partakers in the rebel-
lion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fin-
ning or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all
the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better
assurance of their loaltie in time to come, they deli-
uered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were
abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place
established. For the administration of the which, in
euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to
see good orders obserued according to the forme there-
of. By which means the British nation at last was re-
turned vnto his former obedience of the Romane
empire. All the winter following, Vespasian late
at Forke, making his apperils against the next
spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So some
therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian set-
teth forward with his armie, and entering into the
marches of his enemies, he did put them in such feare
that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves vnto
him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which
were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through
strength of that town to defend themselves from all
assaults. Vespasian being certified therof, came & be-
sieged them within the same citie, not minding to de-
part till he had them at his pleasure. This siege con-
tinued till they within, being in danger to famish
through want of vittels, surrendered themselves
with the town into Vespasians hands. In this town
were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne
& sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of
the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a pur-
ple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed, Vespasian
used to weare in all the warres wherein he after-
wards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good
successe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictish lords
which were within Camelon, were commanded to
deliuer pledges: and after licensed to depart with-
out anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remain-
ing at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the
towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the
liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome intioed. Also ouer against the towne
vpon the bankes of the riuer of Caron, he builded a
temple in honoz of the emperoz Claudius, wherein
he set by two images, the one representing Claudi-
us, and the other the goddesse Victoria.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to
him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had as-
sembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts
and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to
revenge the last overthrow. Whereupon Vespasian
with all speed sent forth a strong power under the
leading of Aulus Plautius to encounter the eni-
mies. Plautius being approached within foure miles
of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as
though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian
with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his
aid. Fewerthelesse, night was no longer come on,
but that he gaue generall commandement through
his host, that euerie man should make him ready to
depart at a certeine houre under the standards of
their captains in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set for-
ward, following certeine guides (which knew all the
stratts and passages of the countrie) till he came to
the place where Caratake with his armie was lod-
ged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend
his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon
the whole campe, and though he found such resistance
that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from
the dawning of the day, till it was his none, yet in
the end the victorie remained with the Romans: and
the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were
on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake es-
caping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him
to the castell of Dunstaffage. Diuerse of the Brit-
tains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted them-
selves, were put in such dread through hute of this
overthrow, that immediatlie thereupon they came
in and yelded themselves vnto Vespasian. And in
semblable wise the people of Galloway utterly des-
pairing any longer to defend their countrie against
Plautius (who was now entred into their confines,
and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become
subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer
be brought vnto before that time.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by
a purcuant, he rode straightwaies vnto Carrike, &
there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the in-
habitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambal-
sadoz vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie
means to become friend vnto the Romane em-
pire, in acknowledging some manner of subiection
therevnto: but this denise was to small purpose, for
Caratake was determined rather to end his life as
a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to be-
come thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to
liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came
anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they
would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselves.
60 Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his an-
swer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto
him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vn-
to Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was
informed what dangerous passages he must march
through, all full of desert mounteins, bogs, and
quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or
forage to be found by all the way as the armie
should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterprisse, he caused to be
nie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided of
all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile
of Man, into the which there were gotten together a
great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped
the Romane hands. But this iourne also was bro-
ken

hent by another
newes were l
might, with
the inhabitant
and had slaine
sons in those
cure this wor
ted the rebel
eng the rebel
nished accord
the
Claudius, h
rie for his vo
Plautius to
of Britaine
ring that Ca
Scots, and
not yet subm
purpose to
Vespasian h
red to meet
ring togthe
tell with gre
the victorie
full polic
and Britan
bogs and m
daies for the
chanced to b
After the
for two yea
one vpon an
loway. In
of the str, a
him at leng
travell at al
that he wor
dies, signif
thereupon
might be se
receiued hi
the same, fi
linage, and
to haue the
About t
Aulus Ple
melon, whe
ned, and
those daies
ed within
(as is said
vpon the
taken by
thinke) to
the allies
kens and
1521 at Afi
from Abe
two ches
of them
which so lo
to dust.
called the
Aberdine
teine plo
squared
manship
two. Pa
found in
but it is t
were the
Picts.
But
the com

he towne Julius Hoff
built a Castle
therein
Claudio

came to
en had at
ots. Pias
mans, to
Nepasian
under the
r the ent-
ure miles
y place, as
Nepasian
one to his
come on,
nt through
n treadie to
ardards of

t he set for
new all the
he came to
ie was lod-
d to defend
he set upon
ch resistance
cruell from
none, yet in
comans; and
ins as were
Caratake esca-
and got him
e of the Brit-
mitted them
ute of this
in they came
ian. And in
vitorie del-
ntrie against
yet confines
ed to become
might neuer

Nepasian by
ito Carrike, &
d other the in-
ye sent ambas-
might by anie
Romane ene-
r of subiecti-
all purpose, for
end his life as
tie, than to be-
n, in hope to
cast if he came
romans, they
to themselves,
stood by his an-
were sent vnto
h an armie vnto
ut that he was
he must march
is, boges, and
n of vittells as
the armie

re caused so him
be prouided on
uer into the fle-
tten together a
at had escaped
ie also was bnd-
ken

the people of
Galloway

Caratake
fembly an
armie.

Plantius
sent forth with
an armie a-
gainst Ca-
ratake.

Plantius
fettered vpon
the Scotish
campe.

Caratake
eth vnto
Dunstaffage.

The people
Galloway
submit them-
selues to the
Romans.

Caratake
fembly an
armie.

Caratake
fembly an
armie.

ken by another incident, for enen at the same time,
newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of
Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others
the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were revolted,
and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in garri-
sons in those parts. Nepasian therefore, minding to
cure this wound per it should through the fester, ha-
sted thither with all speed; and with little ado pacifi-
eng the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be pu-
nished according to their deserts.

Shortlie after both left for by the emperor
Claudio, he returned vnto Rome with great glo-
rie for his noble and high achieved victories. Aulus
Plantius was left at Warg with the gouernement
of Britaine after Nepasians departure: who hea-
ring that Caratake had assembled a great armie of
Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had
not yet submitted themselves vnto the Romans, in
purpose to recover againe those countries which
Nepasian had latelie conquered, he likewise prepa-
red to meet them, so that both the armies encounte-
ring together, there was fought a right terrible bat-
tell with great slaughter on both parties, till finally
the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through
skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts,
and Britains were discomfited and chased into the
bogs and marshes; the common refuge in those
daies for the Scots: when by anie aduenture they
chanced to be put to flight.

After this overthrow the warre was continued
for two yers space, by robes and incursions made
one vpon another in the confines of Hile and Gal-
loway. In which meane while Plantius fell sicke
of the flux, which still continuing with him; brought
him at length in such case, that he was not able to
trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So
that he wrote his letters vnto the emperor Clau-
dius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and
thereupon required that some sufficient personage
might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudio hauing
receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of
the same, sent one Drorzius Scapula, a man of high
linage, and of good experience both in peace and war,
to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arrivall into Britaine,
Aulus Plantius departed out of this world at Ca-
melon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was bur-
ned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in
those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and bur-
ied within the church of Claudio and Victoria, which
(as is said) Nepasian builded nere vnto Camelon,
vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome
taken vp amongst both Scots and Picts (as some
thinke) to burne the bodie of the dead, and to burie
the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse to-
kens and monuments in this our age. As in the pere
1521 at Findos, a village in Perne, five miles distant
from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue
two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either
of them being ingrauen with Romane letters,
which so sone as they were brought into the aire, fell
to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne
called Benbaten in Parre, ten miles distant from
Aberdine, about the same time were found by cer-
taine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and
squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of woike-
manship, bignesse and inscription like to the other
two. Whan the semblable monuments haue bene
found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past:
but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there
were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor
Picts.

But now to our purpose. Immediatlie vpon
the coming of Drorzius into Britaine, the people

of the west countries rebelled, procuring the no-
therne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the
Picts to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake,
requiring him in this common quarell against the
Romans to put to his helping hand for recoverie of
the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion,
considering it was like they should match well to-
gether with this new Romane capteine Drorzius
Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and
vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding,
Drorzius being informed of all these practises, and
remembering that furtherance it were for a cap-
teine in the beginning to win a name by some praise-
worthy enterpryse, he made first towards the we-
sterne Britains, whom he thought to surprisye per
they should assemble with the other rebels, and so
meeting with them, he chased and toke a great num-
ber of them, as they fled here and there out of all
order.

After this, he went against the people called Ico-
ni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now
called Drfordshire, but other take them to be North-
folke men, who being gathered together, were gotten
into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch
as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no horse-
men should breake in vpon them: yet this notwith-
standing, Drorzius assailed them within their
strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire,
with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst
them, slaying and taking the most part of them: for
few or none escaped, they were so kept in on ech side.
But of this battell, and likewise of other enterpri-
ses, which Drorzius and other of the Romane lieute-
nants achieved here in Britaine, ye shall find more
thereof in the historie of England according to the
true report of the Romane writers, the which herelic
make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the
yere of our Lord 320, at the sonest. And as for the
Silures and Brigants remoued by Hector Boetius
so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Hum-
frey Llhoide, and others, that they inhabited coun-
tries contained now within the limits of England:
The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Drdonices
where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Car-
rike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but
it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the descrip-
tion as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of
this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such o-
ther of the Britains, as were readie to haue revol-
ted. But they of Galloway would not at the first
giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Cara-
take continued in their rebellion, till Drorzius came
thither, and beate downe such as made resistance,
whereby the other were sone pacified. After this he
entred into the confines of Hile and Cantire, spoi-
ling and wasting those countries, and brought from
thence a great number of captiues. With which in-
surie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assem-
bled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40
thousand men, what of his owne subiects and other
such as came to his aid. For after he was entred in-
to Dialand, there came vnto him out of all parties
no small number, of such as desired either to be re-
uenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and
libertie both at once, for the tall of bondage was so
bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this sea-
son, that they in maner were wholie conspired toge-
ther to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their
shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose
forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one
side with the course of a deepe fowldesse riuer, and on
the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the
steepnesse

The Brit-
tains yet effe-
sones rebell.
The Brit-
tains requie
aid of Cara-
take.

The Brit-
tains of the
west part are
chained.

Icent.
Drfordshire
to assailed.
Some take
the Icent to
be the North-
folke men.

They of Gal-
loway are bea-
ten and paci-
fied.

Hile and Can-
tire wasted
and spoiled.
Caratake as-
sembled an
armie.

The strength
of the place
where Cara-
take was in-
camped.

Of this mat-
ter ye may
read more in
England.
Women in
camped.

Women plac-
ed in order
of battell.
Caratake and
his captains
exhort their
men to fight.

Ofhorius in-
courageth his
Romans.

Caratake
overthrowne
by the Ro-
mans.
His quene
taken.

Caratake be-
trayed by his
stepmother.

Caratake is
sent to Rome.

He is shew-
ed to the people in
triumph.

Caratake
departeth this
life.

54
Strange
lights seene.

steepnesse of the crags and such senting as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any wate to enter. All such women as were somewhat kept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to encourage the men to do valiantlie with shouting and hallowing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe arate amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Ofhorius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to stick to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to encourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thalidome to them and their posteritie for euer. On the other part Ofhorius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in arate after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whom they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Hereunto upon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Brits, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Ofhorius. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Ofhorius vied him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him unto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Roman puissance.

At his comming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with any other atchieued enterprise against whatsoeuer the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius upon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, upon his oth received to be a true subiect unto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning unto him the gouernance of Gallorway, with Aile, Carrike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studying most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserve his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeeres after the decesse of his vnckle Artellan, in the yere of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of hoisemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awate, that no appearance of them could any where be perceined. Also a sort of wolues in the night season set upon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and carried awate one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffered him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his limbs saving the head, which was like unto a rauens. These vniuersal signes and monstrosities put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decesse, his yongest brother Corbheid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbheid was a stout man of stomack, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the Westerne Isles, also in Koller & Cathnes. In the meane time the Brits hauing created there a now king called Conist, gouernour of Pers and Louthian, they set upon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next townes and castles adjoining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues there.

Shortly after also, the same Brits overthrow a number of foragers, with such companies of hoisemen as came to defend them. Hereunto Ofhorius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and hercelie incouraged with the Brits, who defended themselves so bigeonlie, that the fore ward of the Romans was nere hand discomfited. Whiche danger Ofhorius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene slaine. The night comming upon parted the state, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Brits with such other Britains as were come unto them out of the Ile of Span and other parties, incouraged with the Romans in battell, and upon the first joining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them into such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streits of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Brits as returned from the battell.

Ofhorius understanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortly after sent a pursuant unto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Brits, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to provide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Brits should be estons received upon their submission, if they were giuen to make late for pardon, but utterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment wherof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe over into Britaine. But in the meane while Ofhorius departed this world, wherof his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or thorough sickness (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it foorth not. After whose

Ofhorius
slaine in
the
Brits.

The Ro-
mans are dis-
comfited by
the Brits.

Julius Did-
us cometh
into Britaine.

Corbheid

The Brits
more than
gained the
day.

The Brits
overthrow
the Roman
foragers.

Ofhorius
wounded.

The Romans
trained by
into ambu-
shes and
discomfited.

The Brits
sent to the
Caesar.

Claudius Ma-
ximian
with an armie
into Gallo-
way.

Claudius the
youngest
of Cariman-
dua.

Claudius re-
solueth.

Cariman-
dua
quits.

those de-
charge, by
the Brits
fought
bidden on
come suc-
cessfulle
fresh on
sed unto
of them at
there war
About the
other Ro-
mans
dus, wit-
bred. At
old crewe
blaming
entines
ger of los-
of coura-
wane an
conduct of
them to
with them
they had
brought
full Roma
gouernan
informed
his new
them, the
of Scotla
reputed a
bertie, at
which res-
descend
assemblie
of Aulus
to him to
depart on
there, &
unto Car
force of
of the
of the
empire.

The
wood can
mans vn-
entred in
terro: of
and robb-
in dange
to the la-
host whid
way, he
the coun-
in all
one
timandu-
ye haue
fell with
king
much
suppor
from all
being
mans
with his
prehend
his kin-
But
not one
sed Car

fields, and
and in the
longst them
was a child
head, which
signes and
e: but after
rtie & coun-

igest brother
his place, in
for his elder
y change of
Corbreid was
ling his bro-
of his reigne,
on of such as
ing and spo-
aner people
ere was no
ic in the we-
in the means
i now king
and Louth-
bout to make
bat succours
to castles ad-
nber of them,
if the campe,
diuers offi-
as, lost their

ouerthrew a
nites of horse
with Morius
ie his hands,
s, who defen-
foze ward of
sited. Which
e came to re-
amongst his
great danger
ing upon par-
ghter on both
d still betwixt
thes. At the
rins as were
dan and other
ns in battell,
e gaue backe,
sue them vnto
mbushes, and
at number of
stretches of the
sited by such of

matter went,
to his campe,
ito Rome, to
things stood in
of the Picts,
sons could be
to prouide re-
hat he would
receiued vpon
make late for
und extenuate
of be appoin-
as sojourned
aine. But in
his world, the
monies make
s should rather
rtly not. After
whose

Corbreid

The Picts
more war-
gaint the
means.The Picts
ouerthrew
the Romans
by rages.Morius was
wounded.The Romans
trained to
into ambu-
shes and so
succeeded.Morius
was
killed
by
the
Picts.The Ro-
mans are
defeated
by
the
Picts.Julius
Didius
is
confronted
by
the
Picts.The Picts
were in
the
bushes.Morius was
wounded.The Romans
trained to
into ambu-
shes and so
succeeded.Caelius
Pascia
was
killed
by
the
Picts.The
Picts
were
in
the
bushes.The
Picts
were
in
the
bushes.The
Picts
were
in
the
bushes.The
Picts
were
in
the
bushes.

whose dectasse Panlius Valens had the chiefest
charge, who bringing his armie forth to encounter
the Picts that came to seek battell, was fiercelie
fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had a-
bidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not
come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400
housmen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose
fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and cha-
sed vnto their campe, there being slaine about 3000
of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Picts side
there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arrived in Britaine an
other Romane captaine to be generall in place of
Morius now deceased, his name was Aulus Di-
dius, with him came the two legions afore remem-
bered. At his first comming ouer he murthered the
old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much
blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the
enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great dan-
ger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse
of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been
wonne and conquered by high prowes and balliant
conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted
them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine
with themselves to recouer againe the honor which
they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be
brought to passe, if they would take vnto them main-
full stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the
gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being
informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with
this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against
them, they thought good to send vnto Corbreid king
of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans,
reputed as common enimies to all such as loued li-
bertie, and hated to liue in seruile bondage. For
which respect Corbreid was the sooner moued to con-
descend vnto the request of the Picts, and there vpon
assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Where
of Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto
him with all speed, commanding that he should
depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right
there, considering that Galloway was assigned
vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by
force of the emperours grant, and now by the death
of the same Caratake was reuerfed againe vnto the
empire.

The herald had vnnearthly done his message, when
word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Ro-
mans vnder the guiding of Caelius Pascia was
entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great
terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled
and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald
in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard
to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The
host which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway,
he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in
the countrie for more safeguard, but he himselfe rode
in all hast vnto Eptake, to haue the aduise and aid of
one Cennius that had married the forenamed Car-
timandua that vnkind stepmother of Caratake, as
ye haue heard before. This Cennius was of coun-
sell with his wife Cartimandua in the betrailing of
king Caratake, and therefore was growne into
much hatred of the people for that fact, but through
support of the Romans he was for a time defended
from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end
being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Ro-
mans, he revolted from them vnto Corbreid. Where
with his wife being offended, found means to ap-
prehend both him and his brethren with certeine of
his kinsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did
not onlie set them at libertie, but also took & cau-
sed Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane

while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few
foragers of the Romans, but following the chase
somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies
and slaine. This mishance put the Scots in great
feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Pa-
sica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine
strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen
were gotten, and had fortified the entrees, had not
other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how an
other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts,
and were approached within three miles of him, he
brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered
his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the
Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hastied forth to-
wards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the
Romans, but that with great violence they gaue
the onset, most fiercelie beginning the battell, which
continued till sun-setting with great laughter on
both sides; at what time the Romans were at the
point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not
those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as
is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe
instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means
the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the
mirk night parted them in sunder. The Romans
withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts
got by into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the
parties, with these conditions; that the Romans
should content themselves with that which they had
in possession before the beginning of these last wars,
and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his
brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts pay-
eng their former tribut for the finding of such gar-
isons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should
be no further charged with anie other exactions.
Moreover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor
Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour a-
nie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should
aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the
Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displea-
sures to the Romans during the last warres. This
peace continued a six peares during the life of Aulus
Didius, who at the end of those six peares, depar-
ted this life at London, leauing behind him all
things in good quiet.

After his deceasse the emperour Nero, who succe-
ded Claudius, appointed one Gerannius to be
lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and
much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope
to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue
warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing
that certeine of them being borderers had fetched
booties out of Ireland, he did send a great power of
Romans to make a rode into the next marches of
the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile,
both of men and of goods. With which inturtes the
Scots being moued, sought daillie in semblable sort
to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre
was renewed. But before anie notable encounter
chanced betwixt them, Gerannius died. His last
wordes were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to
haue liued but two peares longer, that he might
haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Ro-
mane empire, as if he might haue had so much time
he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a
man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace.
He first confirmed the ancient league with Cor-
breid king of Scotland: a recompense being made
in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on
euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath ga-
thered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much
as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that

The darke
night parted
the fraie.A peace con-
cluded.Aulus Didius
departeth
this life at
London.Gerannius
is made lieut-
enant of Bri-
taine.Gerannius
departeth this
life.Paulinus
Suetonius,
Angletrie and
not Man
was thus in-
uaded by
Suetonius.

C.ij.

it was not Span, but the Ile of Angleſeie which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after that ſort Suetonius both attempted & atchieued this enterpriſe, which being brought to end, he was ſent for into Gallia, to reſpreſſe certaine tumults raiſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in requiring the Ile of Angleſeie, as in the English chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtrange fights and wonders which happened about the ſame time, whereupon the ſoutherly ſailers (as Heclor Boetius ſaith) declared that the Romans ſhould receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon truſt of whoſe words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, ſet upon ſuch Romans as inhabited there, and ſlew a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of a nic rebellion. The reſidue which eſcaped, got them into an old church, where they were ſlaine ech others ſonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis being ſlaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quene Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Charanach king of the Picts.

The Romans ſlaine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horſemen to their ſuccours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, loſt all his footmen, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the campe. Shortly after he toke by his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then ſolourned, who vnderſtanding how the whole Ile was on ech ſide in an uprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quene Moada ſent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans, who had ſo vſlie ſled hir and hir daughters, to the great diſhonor of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of ſuch injuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the courteous dealing of the procurator Catus, being riſen in arms to recouer their ancient liberties.

Corbreid being highlie diſpleaſed towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his ſiſter, determined either to ſee hir ſatiſfied by worthy recompence, or elſe to be reuenged on them that had miſled hir: and hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procurator: that was as then returned into Britaine with a powder of men of warre. Corbreid receiuing but a ſcornfull anſwere from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other, purſued the Romans and their aſſociats, ſlaing downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo burned and deſtroied diuers towneſ, ſuch as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans ſtood earneſtlie to their deſenſe, as Bertuik and Carlell with others. About the ſame ſeaſon there arrived in the ſiſth a number of Dutch ſhips, fraught with people of Hertherne or Polonia, a region in Germanie ſituate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and aſſembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making ſhift for veſſels, they toke the ſeaſ to ſeek them ſome new habitations; and thus arriving in Wiſland, were ſolfullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne injuries againſt the Romans. ſpecially with the Picts they were much eſtimated, for that they came forth of the ſame countrie from whence their anceſſors were deſcended.

Their huge bodies and mightie lims did greatly commend them in the ſight of all men before whom they muſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enemies, they were highlie welcomed, and upon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of quene Moada againſt the Romans. With this Moada was aſſembled a mightie hoſt of the Britains, amongſt whom were ſue thouſand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies done to their perſons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the firſt that ſhould glue the onſet. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in their enterpriſe, they thought it good to make haſt to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new powder of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was ſtriken a right ſierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horſemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech ſide; Catus himſelfe being wounded, eſcaped verie hardlie by flight, and ſhortlie after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchieued this victorie, purſued their enemies from place to place, ſo that there died by the ſword, what in the battell and elſewhere in the chaſe, ſeuentie thouſand Romans and other ſtrangers, which ſerued amongſt them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were ſlaine thirtie thouſand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things ſtood in Britaine, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two legions of ſouldiers, and ten thouſand of other Vigants as aiders to thoſe legions. Moada the quene vnderſtanding of his arrivall, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Pictians came with all ſpeed vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Picts, Scots, & Pictians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of ſword, being earneſtlie exhorted thereto by their gouernours on either ſide. So that ioining puillance againſt puillance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being ſlaine and bozne downe on both ſides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chaſed out of the field. Where were ſlaine of them at the point of ſoure ſcore thouſand perſons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Pictians, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Moada the quene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enemies, ſue hir ſelfe. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought aſhore, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

The eldeſt of them within a ſew moneths after was married vnto a noble Roman named Martius, who had beſoured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereb the ſtate of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He ſied to lie moſt an end in the parties of Berdalc, and named a part thereof

Quene Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Women come with the quene in aid.

The Romans are put to flight and overthrown.

Catus was ſlaine.

70000 Romans ſlaine, and 30000 Britains.

Moada eſcaped and fled into France.

His ſiſter Catus was ſlaine.

The Romans rebell.

The Romans overthrown the Scots and Picts.

Dardanis beheaded.

Corbreid ſlaine.

Quene Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

where in hun though led, a Scots which tion of bit in Speie Co; his pol ſidue c ing tr the So ſouth f Corb 34 pe nere t about A fo the gre who to comm onelie in his great nie toe moel Corb inſop t in all, had be Britai vſages ſurnar vnto t men t ſtrang But his rei ſuſtice ſpace o of vice right t nancin The ne as tho where ſie in ſ neſſe ſt lay har rable p his doi way th traitor the nob gainſt ſonne o the ſle thed beating that cri ging bi head to peare a of the e his ovi Catoſ Dardai a princ pozt. It ſuch as

are allie
the home
lace be
npe with
the en
upon their
ited to go
da against
Icimbled a
hem were
uenge the
mans, or
were they
apons, to
oada bea
g of Pias
accompa
Britaine,
at toy and

mselves in
the hant
anie new
is als forth
upon mar
the field,
fierce and
of the Ro
were bea
ing woun
ozlie after
s and Pias
this victo
lace, so that
all and else
omans and
jen; and of
aine thirtie

i in Wallia,
ger things
came ouer
houland of
is. Moada
, assembled
s and Pias
Pozauians
were thus
Pozauians
s on the o
ither with
it of wood,
gouernors
ce against
ell, manie
downe on
de with the
bans were
of them at
is, as Tac
ians, tog
ere in that
o come into
Two of hir
brought ar
y in the bat

oneaths after
ed Parius,
as also cre
authoritie,
ght be rcu
most an en
pat therof
(where

Williamland

Williamland
the house
of the house
of the house
of the house

Corbzeid dead
Anno Christi
11. H. B.

Dardan.

Corbzeid his
the sonnes.

Dardan fal
into all
kind of vices.

Williamland
the house
of the house
of the house

Williamland
the house
of the house
of the house

Williamland
the house
of the house
of the house

(where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Pozauians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the rivers of Forne and Speite, called euen vnto this day Purrey land. Corbzeid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie inteebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, needed neither with the Scots nor Pias, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finallie Corbzeid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere vnto Dunstafage, with manie obelisks set by about him.

After Corbzeid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended fro Metellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onlie for the good opinion they had conceived of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchieued vnder him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the roime, considering the sonnes of Corbzeid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to insup the same. For the said Corbzeid had three sons in all, Corbzeid, Tulcane, and Wzake. The eldest had bene brought by with Moada, queene of the Britains, wherby he had learned the maners and vices of the British nation, and thereupon was surnamed Gald; for so do the Scottishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countreymen that hath learned the courtlike and maners of strange countries.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, removing from offices such as were upright bearers of themselves in the same, and advancing to their places bzibers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelie such as though flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was prouoked beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was to little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceived to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbzeid, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbzeid Gald the eldest sonne of the former Corbzeid, remaining as then in the Ile of Span (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating do wne all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Saviour, being the first of the emperor Domitian, & the fourth complet of his owne reigne ouer the Scottishmen.

Corbzeid Gald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Calgacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors mis

gouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the Iuesterne Isles, where he appeared certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the commonwealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Isles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Kofse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdemeanors of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and here vnto he was mightilie aided by the Pozauians, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this meanes was the state of the commonwealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next ensuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstafage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewin, as before is partly specified: but he could not obtaine more, than that poxe men from thenceforth should haue their wiues free vnto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus busied about the establishing of holsonne orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine, being sent from Iustitian the emperor to haue the gouernment of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded hostilie to inuade the borders of his realme, as Amandale and Galloway.

With these newes Gald being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certentie of the enimies doings, befoze he made anie sturre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light hailemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Wialand, and had giuen the Pias already a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approach towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, befoze they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armes, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was scene almost all a whole day, flicng vp and downe ouer the Scottish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was scene flicng round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like manner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with blood. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerse, some construing the same to signifie god successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefest capteins amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weleng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrie befoze that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought with, all, but rather to suffer them to wearte themselves, till bittels and other prouision should faile them, and then

See more of him in England.

Gald punished such as disturbed the quiet state of his subiects.

The Pozauians helped to apprehend tyuens and offenders.

Gald labored to abrogate wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine sent by Iustitian into Britaine.

The Ordnances and Britagants mistaken by the Scottish writers.

The Pias overthrown by the Romans.

The Romans purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald determined to fight with the Romans.

Strange sights appeared to the Scottish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (with the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deserting time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should war faint and decaye: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to encounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cherefull exhortations of their king, and other their captains, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldlie set vpon the Romans, whereof ensued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, hotobeing it in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Wald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor, went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced effionnes to haue received the ouerthrow.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imployed chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie thereto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countrymen doe place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But nevertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in manner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authoys it shall seeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Arutragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partly touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partie of the inhabitants, and partie of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shee toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past received at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallois, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, staid their har-

dic for wardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arraie, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sporing, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, used such diligence, that lateng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought alieue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, she was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marius, so that without speeche succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the sir and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperour sent one Julius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not banquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and bisting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affairs there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Herunto the king of Picts mudy suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederates the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his pères & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruite bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Aile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Wald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leauing his poluer behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but thostlie after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which overthrow those countries submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Aile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is won by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficientlie in the historie of England.

Moadicia reuengeth wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Epiake is taken & burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebel.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Romane is gat death.

Julius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scottishmen.

Frontinus purpoeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Gallowaymen.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amaine with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amaine with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amaine with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amaine with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amaine with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amaine with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Frontinus being bereaved with sickness cometh to Rome.

Julius Agricola is sent into Britaine. The Scots of Annandale beat rowne the Romans. Agricola purpoeth to go against the Scots.

Marcomach & the Picts are banished by the Romans.

ter for superi such si gouer Rom Juliu taine there of the so the Carr

made and duce like to was Pict lie be citie, his p nini most vpon ber o

Ag ther reco ses o out o ter o Agr lost king ned in ti

wer mer the i

far ran les fort of s one kne past der sea har ref sel sub

ter del of the m ga hi bi an th th te co br se of

the Ile of Anglesey is subdued by Agricola.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

ining lea,
ded the en-
ong, and
they put

ged, haffed
at citie the
the found
not forth a
pts. Those
s sent, bled
o: hie in a
d hie, that
was taken
unto Verti-
tin, as he
plices, the

at the inha-
r southerne
king Pa-
were like to
upon he ha-
nd subduing
er and faie:
re after, he
lie whereop-
tinus to suc-
ht with him
ad taken o:
of the Wis-
purposed to
within and
yet not ban-

ap, and biff
Vertinus had
r, he com-
that they had
entime had
hilest the ar-
out other al-
to the king of
to renew by
his people &
the Scots as
& hindrance.
ating the mat-
no cause why
his confeder-
ht to destruc-
therefore he
eres & coun-
as fought no
whole Ile of
bage.

otwardlie an-
s as were yet
rders of Bile,
rs skirmishes
to defend his
aled with sick-
to withdraw
r behind him
ttle after his
were fought
ed, three thou-
By reason of
mitted them-
to hope othe-
r.

Coningham,
e armie was
s for the with-
ter

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Julius Agri-
colus first
the Scots
Annandale
was come
Agri-
colus spe-
cally to go
against the
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

Frontinus
was bled
with sickne-
essantly to
Bile.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of
superfluous abundance of flegme, which bereft him in
such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then
gouverned the Romane empire, sent for him home to
Rome, and appointed a right ballant personage, one
Julius Agricola to succed as lieutenant of Brit-
taine in his come. About the time of whose arrivall
there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number
of the Romans, with which successe they procured al-
so the Picts with the inhabitants of Calloway, Aile,
Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported unto Agricola, he
made his prouision with all speed to go against them,
and first entring into the borders of Picland, he re-
duced such as inhabited about the confines of Ber-
wikke to their former subiection, and after marching
towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the
Picts encountered him by the waie, but being fierce-
lie beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the
citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced
his power, he effrones gaue battell againe to his e-
nemies; but then also being vanquished, he lost
the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie there-
upon was Camelon towne by force, & a great num-
ber of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and fur-
ther through fame of this victorious beginning, he
recovered the most part of all the castles and fortres-
ses of Picland. The forenamed Karanach escaping
out of that present danger, got him beyond the wa-
ter of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person.
Agricola hauing sped thus in Picland, marched
south against them of Annandale, who at the first ma-
king resistance for a time, at length were confre-
ned to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where
in the night following by their owne wiues they
were murdered each mothers sonne: for so the wo-
men of that nation used to put awaie the shame of
their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of
the field from their enemies.

Agricola understanding that by winning him
fame in the beginning, it should be no small further-
rance unto him for the attaining of other enterpri-
ses in time to come, determined to pursue his good
fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Ile
of Pan; but wanting vessels to conuey his armie
ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and
knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to
passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great won-
der and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the
sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for
to haue arrived upon their shore: but now despairing to
resist such kind of warriors as endangered them-
selves to passe the seas in that manner of wise, they
submitted themselves unto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing cer-
teine garisons to keepe diuers holds and places of
defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue
of his people into Calloway, where he sojourned all
the winter following: which being passed, and sum-
mer once come, he assembled his men of warre a-
gaine, and visited a great part of that countrie with
Aile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants
whereof he put in such feare with the onelie sight of
his warlike armie, disposed in such polittike order
and wise conduct, that there was none to be found
that durst aduance themselves to encounter him, so
that he spent that summers season in keeping such of
the Scots as had bene aforesaid subdued, from at-
tempting any commotion. And when winter was
come, he assembled the iobles of the countie, ex-
horting them by gentle persuasions, to frame them-
selves to a ciuill trade of living, as well in building
of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Ro-

man maner, as also in wearing of comelie and de-
cent apparell; and about all things to set their chil-
dren to schoole, to be brought up in eloquence and
god nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine
them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win
them the sooner to be content with bondage, though
he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of huma-
nitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next
summer commen upon, Agricola inuaded such coun-
tries as were yet vndiscovered by the Romans, en-
tring by the nether side of Calidon wood, euen unto
the dolorous mounteine, which afterwards by the
Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the do-
lorous mounteine, for that in the night season there
was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though
the same had bene of some creatures that had be-
wailed their miserable cases: which vndoubtedlie
was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe
mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and su-
perstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this
mounteine, with the site of an old ruinous castell
that stood thereon, he caused the same with all dili-
gence to be repaired, and a bridge to be made ouer
the forth there, by the which he passed with his whole
armie ouer into Fife: and the date after, hearing
that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a
castell thereby, standing upon an high mounteine
cleped Benart, he inuironed the same with a strong
siege, but he it his hoped prey was not as then with-
in it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of
the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the
fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night
to haue broken the bridge, which Agricola had made
ouer the forth at Sterling, but being repelled by
such as were set there to defend the same, in his re-
turne from thence he was encountered by Agricola
himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his
enemies, had lentied his siege, and was coming to-
wards them, so that both the hostes meeting together
in the fields, there was fought a forebattell betwixt
them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited,
and their king the foresaid Karanach chased unto the
riuer of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the
further side of that water. By reason of this over-
throw, Agricola brought in subiection those coun-
tries, which lie betwene the waters of forth and
Tay, as Fife, Forthike, and Ernedall, and so iour-
ning there all the winter following, he built sundrie
fortresses in places most conuenient for the keeping
of the inhabitants in their covenanted obedience, af-
ter his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept
him at Dundee, whither resorted unto him a great
number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped
the Romans hands. These comforted their king in
all that they might, willing him to be of good chere,
and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe
by some good fortune, and meanes that might happen
to come ver ought long, promising to the furtherance
thereof all that in them late, as well for counsell as
aid of hand: and hereupon they took aduise which
waie to worke, inso much that at length it was by
great deliberation thought god to seeke for succor at
the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots,
and so incontinentlie there were certeine messin-
gers dispatched with all speed unto Calde the Scottish
king, requiting him in that common jeopardie to
come in league with his ancient friends the Picts,
against the ambitious and most cruel Romans, who
sought nothing else but the utter subiection of the
whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeared by their
proceedings, hauing already occupied and brought
sublie

Kalendar
wood.
Agrico-
la commeth
to Sterling.

Agricola build-
eth the castles
of Sterling
with the
bridge.

About
Benart.

Karanach ef-
ficiently Ster-
ling bridge,
which the Ro-
mans defend-
ed.

Karanach is
effrones
chased.
Fife with o-
ther countries
brought into
subiection of
the Romans.

Karanach
comforted by
his nobles.

The Picts
send for aid to
king Calde.

Gald promi-
seth to ioin
in league with
the Picts
against the
Romans.

The Scots
sea the Ro-
man souldiers
lieng in cer-
taine garisons
The river of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.
Agricola re-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win
the castell of
Dunbretton,
ancientlie
called Beld-
cluch, or Bi-
clark.

Agricola
inuaeth
Lennor.

Agricola re-
turneth into
Pictland, to
appease a re-
bellion of the
people there.
He returneth
vnto Clide.

Agricola per-
sueth his en-
terprize
against the
Scots.

All the Scots
assemble.

fullie surprisid a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scotch dominions, minding still to go forward in such unrighteous conquests, if by timely resistance they were not staied. Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladly consented to ioin his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enemies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herewith the assent of all his pères and chieffest counsellors.

Thus whilest the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league together for defense of themselves and their countries, certaine Scots entered into the confines of Bile, Carrick, and Coningbairn, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certaine garisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whom they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went straightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those injuries, some he took amongst the hills and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the river of Clide, but the castell of Dunbretton he could not by any means obtaine, though he assaied to win it euen to the uttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scottishmen being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired such castles and fortresses as they had ouerthrowne and beaten downe.

In the yeare following, being the first after the first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about fro the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enemies in utter despair of escaping his hands either by water or land: and thereupon passing ouer the river of Clide with his armie, and finding his naue there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennor, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were ready to rebell, by reason wherof he left off this enterprize against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he appeased the rebels with small adoe, punishing the chiefe authors according to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

The summer following he appointed his naue to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks of Argile, and of the Ilands nere to the same. Whil实现 he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to conquer townes and castles, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, deepe marshes, fens and moles, with the great riuers which with his armie he must needs passe, if he minded to attaine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their worthy generall and other the capitains and so inuading the countrie took townes and castles, of the which some they beat downe and rased, and some they fortified and trusted with garisons of men of warre.

About the same time by commandement of king Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Loche, Murray land, Rugemarch, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

a place not passing five miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Maranach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining together in one armie, they might work some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftene thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mounteine of Granzberne, in times past cleped Mons Crampius, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the

10 eares, Maranach himselfe comming amongst them unarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presently at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iourne was broken, for the Picts being utterly amazed and discomforted herewith, slaked and departed asunder.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chiefe aid, durst not leopord to trie the chance of battell with the enemies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withholding of 20 vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to provide against the next summer new aid and succors to keepe the field, and so to encounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselves, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligently behaue themselves, in bringing their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioin in friendlie amitie one with another, and to chiose one Carnard to their king to succede in the roome of Maranach. They also confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enemies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wherefore the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent 40 ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as fro them that esteemed themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for ever.

Whil实现 these things were thus in doing, Galdus diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterprize anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no longer come (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one another againe with all their forces.

Joseph of Ireland there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being there already assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. Whither came also Carnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled together by common agreement amongst them, Gald king of the

Maranach
king of the
Picts
slaine by
one of his
owne
subiects.

Gald setteth
vpon one part
whis enemies
with night.

An ambassage
sent to the
Picts
from the
Scots.

The Picts
brought to
agreement
amongst
themselves.

Agricola
dis-
conduct his
enemies.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Danes and
Irishmen
for aid.

The Ro-
mans passe
through Cal-
idon wood ouer
the river of
Atholl.

The Scots
burne the
line of
Caline.

The place
where Cu-
lme stood is
called by the
inhabitants
at this daie
Culmechill.

An aid of
Irishmen
sent to the
Scots
against the
Romans.

Gald chiose
to be generall
against the
Romans.

the
ring
into
three
miles
of th
to th
coin
of hi
abor

orde
tpoi
to hi
cunt
nie i
right
and
ente
cert
assai
ed, t
ple t
shin
be h
tpoi
thos
maz
den

Agricola com-
meth to the
succors of his
men.

And
ning
plain
chin
of h
the
fear
foll
of th
Scot
the f
Dei
fend
raile
tie si
be h
wer
dell

an e
haile
pitt
from
ged
ting
Tul
thou
grea
citie
built
appe
stor
ture
Ind
ued
mon

At
the di
amo
ouer
num
eng
appo
ning

The Ger-
mans coming
to see the
Romans re-
sist against
their capitain
and leaders.

the castell abide the to the end night work ed fifteen ed alongst s past cle mutinie a her by the right them : Name pre ot what he urnie was ed and dis d asunder. disappointed are to trie it determini zaving of om further a the mean r new aid encounter if they re its resting some hono them unto hemselfes, unmon ru inger to be

e, did so dil eir purpose to ioine in achuse one ome of ka leage with nt messen , requiring unmon en in libertie, n anie part re also sent e Scots for laces there at esteemed spect, to suc e ancestors w like to be fathers had , and lest the ter. ing, Calbus d what was e Romans. unce, rather rant fight o emselfes in all that sum tream, by e, that they t on neither er come (be Agricola in uade one an

ding as was arre, and lo boll, being hers out of ns. Whither ith his po d together by Cald king of the

Karanach h. of the Idus Name by m. fortune of one of his owne subiecs.

An ambassag fro the Scots to the Idus.

The Idus brought to agreement amongst them selves.

Emballabod sent unto the Danes and Brittaines to aid.

The same of Cald his gance putte the Romans in feare.

An aid of Brittaines com to the succor of the Scots. Cald chosen to be generall against the Romans.

Calpurnius sent one part of his army to the Idus.

Agrippa com with the Idus to the Idus.

Agrippa de- sidered by his names.

The Romans passe through Calpurnius to the Idus.

The Idus sent the Idus to the Idus.

The Idus sent the Idus to the Idus.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entered into Kalendur wood, divided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enemies in purpose to encounter them. Agricola being of this advertised by spies, parted his people also into three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some comber some place by reason of the great multitude of his enemies, that were esteemed to be in number about 50000 of one and other.

Cald on the other side understanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next unto him, and finding meanes to lea the watch, was entered into the enemies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his coming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell even among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprise of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprise according to the devise in that behalfe appointed, gave a right fierce & stout charge upon the Scots and Idus, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall fore amazed and disordered by reason of the enemies sudden invasion.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to apere, shewed to the Scots and Idus the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approaching under the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Herewith were the Scots and Idus put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This overthrow did so abash both the Scots and Idus, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their towncs and countrie, by making sundrie raifes upon their enemies, as occasion and oportunitie served. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their undaunted valiance, but that they were able to overcome whatsoever should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Isle of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendur wood, and over the river of Almond, they pitched their field nere to the river of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendur.

The Idus, by reason that their enemies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tulline, least the same enemies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Idish kingdome. This citie stood upon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towres, as may apere even unto this daie by the old ruines thereof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Indutivill. All their wives and children they removed into the mountains of Cranybene for their more libertie and safegard.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come over to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish by such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These slaying their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the ma-

ner was, got certeine pinnesses which they happened upon in the river of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arrived in Taie water, offering themselves to the Scots and Idus to scue against the Romans, whose malice they deead for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cloyed Idspites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Gullie.

Their offer was accepted most thankfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Burraies, because they were defended as it were of one nation. Whilst these things were thus a doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, under the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his naue first arrived in the strith betwixt Hfe and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the river of Taie, where he landed all his people, for provision wherof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Garnard king of the Idus hearing of their arrivall there, forthwith upon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and coming into the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, received him in most ioyfull wise, feasted and banqueted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie love and friendship that could be devised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king unto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were provided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painfull iourne by the seas.

Shortlie after there came unto Dundee the Scottish king Cald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay unto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioyfull and glad of his coming, yielding unto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as served best to the purpose, and received no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certeine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Cald & Garnard, together with this Gildo, went unto the castell of Fozfare, there to consult with their captains and gouvernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their enterprise against the enimie. At length they resolved to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconvenience that might insue, by reason of the extreme cold intemperance of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they took order for the furniture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onelie to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strae abroad to fetch in vittels and other provisions to their owne gains, and to the undoing of the poore inhabitants. Upon this determination when the councill was broken up, Cald withdrew into Atholl, to defend those parties; and Garnard with the Danish general Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in Angus over against the river of Taie, to stop the passages of the same, that the enemies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without anie great exploit on either part achieved.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola appointed his naue of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie creeke & haven alongst by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, sailed

These Idspites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mountains of Hellen and the Rhene, now called Hoching, from whence they removed into the nether countries. Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Idus. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriveth in Taie water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of any foraine aid to come to the succours of his enemies comprehending them all under the name of Britains.

Garnard the king of Idus ioyfullie received Gildo. Cald cometh into Dundee to welcome Gildo.

Cald & Garnard and Gildo assemble a councill at Fozfare, where they devise how to proceed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre onelie.

Agricola sendeth forth his naue of ships, to discover the furthest points of Britaine northward.

sailed round about the north coast, discovering manie of the westerne Isles, and likewise those of Orkney, till at length they found out Orkney, being a streit of the sea of twentie miles in breadth, which separateth the Isles of Orkney from the point of Cathness, passing with so swift a course, that without an expert pilot the ships that shall passe the same are oftentimes in great danger, by reason of the contrarie course of the tides. The Romane mariners therefore, finding certeine husbandmen in the next Isles, constrained them to go a shipboard, & to guide them through that streit, promising them high rewards for their labour; but they upon a malicious intent not passing for their owne lives, so they might be reuenged of their enemies in casting away such a notable number of them together with their vessels, entred the streit at such an inconvenient time, that the ships were bozne with violence of the streame against the rocks and shelles, in such wise that a number of the same were drowned and lost without recouerie.

The Romane ships through want of pilots are lost in Orkney and Frith.

Agricola making a bridge over the river of Tay, passed by the same with his host, and incamped nere to the foot of the mountaine of Granzbene.

Some of them that were not over-hastie to follow the first, seeing the present losse of their fellows, returned by the same way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had caused a bridge to be made over the river of Tay, by the which he passed with his whole armie, and incamped on the further side thereof nere to the roots of the mountaine of Granzbene, leaving the bridge garnished with a competent number of souldiers to defend it against the enemies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, dispatched forth a messenger with all hast vnto Cald the Scottish king, signifieng vnto him the whole matter, and therupon requied of him aid.

Cald hauing mustered his people aswell Scottish as Irish, assembled them together to the number of fortie thousand persons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all speed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and so within a few daies passing over the mountaine of Granzbene, he arriveth in a ballie beyond the same mountaine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped together not far off from the host of the Romans. Here taking aduise together, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Cald (vnto whome as before is expessed, the gouernance of the whole was committed) assembling together all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pishie oration, exhorting them in defense of libertie (the most pretious ietwell that man might inioy) to shew their manlie stomachs against them that sought onlie to deprive them of that so great a benest. And sith they were diuied to the uttermost bounds of their countrie, he perswaded them to make vertue of necessitie, and rather chose to die with honor, than to live in perpetuall shame & ignominie, which must needs insue to their whole nation, if they suffered themselves to be banquished in that instant. With these words, or other much what of the semblable effect, Cald so moued the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to ioine with their enemies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceived a great desire amongst his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with most cheerefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in arate. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disaduan-

tage. On the other side, king Cald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compasse in the enemies on eich side. At the first approach of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrows and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined together to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, committing once to fight at hand-blows, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorte light bucklers to defend themselves with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth into the warres, though the same haue bene so used among the Scottishmen, euen till these our daies.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, flue downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage a gaine at their hands, till king Cald appointed his sparemen to step forth before those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlie, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were nere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Romans) rushed forth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen, where most danger appeared, and so restored againe the fainting stomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great rusty it was to behold that bloudie fight, and most vnumerfull murder betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scottish side than anie warlike skill, till finallye the night comming on, toke the daies light from them both, and so parted the fraie. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left alieue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in all points with the Scottish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Julius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The number of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Romans not passing three hundred and fortie. Amongst whom was one Aulus Agricola, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scottish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederats at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Romans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreover, the night following, when Calus with the residue of his people which were left alieue was withdrowne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was vnder stood by the wives and kindred men of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

But Cald, doubting least the same should come to the eares of some espials, that might lurke nere to the place where he was withdrowne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had bene in token of some reioicing, till the

The Scottish men's Picts break by their campe.

The Scots mens violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his name.

The Romans set fire to the north point of Orkney.

Strange things.

See more here of the history of England.

The number of them that were slaine at this battell.

Donnithan the emperor's prof- persons success of Agricola.

Agriola is slain by the Romans.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

The Scottish men's Picts break by their campe.

The Romans men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his name.

The Romans set fire to the north point of Orkney.

Strange things.

See more here of the history of England.

The number of them that were slaine at this battell.

Donnithan the emperor's prof- persons success of Agricola.

Agriola is slain by the Romans.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

The Scots men's violence, by reason of their disaduantage.

reason of
multitude
ter wistly a
e upon the
in the eni-
the one ar-
egun right
of darts,
to trie the
ots & Picts
re archers,
rig once to
oad swords
send them-
ose for men
verred forth
ene so wed
ur daies,
dinted with
ght a great
s slenderlie
damage a-
pointed his
ers & kerna,
ilmen came
he Romans
se that they
nited, had
mongst the
nce upon the
ed, and so re-
he Romans,
ides againe
t was to be-
refull mur-
ith more vic-
like still, till
e daies light
he Romans
its and Picts
dozwegians,
ot them into
s cruell con-
s,
l points with
he wrote of
intreateth of
rtie thousand
the generall
that time a-
tion of anie
s, or Danes,
mber of them
(as the same
out ten thou-
ing three hun-
me Aulus At-
s. But as the
that day of
derates at the
Romans and
twelve thou-
when Calvus
were left aliv-
and that the
s and his wo-
l noffe among
miferable case

The armies
approch reg-
ther to fight,
e by pisme.

The Scots
mens disad-
vantage, by
reason of this
unit wea-
pons.

A cohort of
Germania re-
fused the Ro-
mans side
nere at point
to have had
the sword.

The night
seuerely the
armies in for-
der & partly
the frey.

The Romans
withdrew to
their campe,
the Scots to
the moun-
teins.

See more
herof in the
hystorie of
England.

The number
of them that
were slaine at
this battell.

women be-
sailed their
friends.

The Scots
went forth
by the campe.

The Romans
reporting
that the Scots
were distressed.

Agricola sub-
stant Angus
and his army
went.

Agricola is
amiable of the
nature of
humans.

The Romans
in faintly
about point
of Calidon.

Drum-
mours.

Drum-
mours were
heard
by the
Romans.

Domitian the
emperor en-
vied the pro-
sperous suc-
cesses of
Agricola.

Domitian
sent to
Agricola
to come
home.

Domitian
appointed
Cn. Trebel-
lianus to
succeed
Agricola.

Domitian
sent to
Agricola
to come
home.

The Scots
went forth
by the campe.

the women bewailing thus the death of their friends, might be removed out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsel what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morning, every man should dislodge and withdraw himself into such a place as he thought most meet for his safeguard, save onelie such as were appointed to attend Calo and Gernard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

Thus leaving a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made away with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them unadvisedly adventuring too farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hills and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite delivered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth unto Angus, where (forasmuch as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the country, he took pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most convenient.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nanie (as then riding at anchor in Argyle) what mishap had chanced to the same in Pictland frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gave order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessary provision, and manned throughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them againe to come round about by the Dykenes, and so by along by the east coast: which enterprise they luckily accomplished, and in the water of Tate they burnt the Danish fleet lying there in harbor.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore-reinforced overthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Cranzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnlike and strange fights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared shewing in the aire certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great pece of Calendar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner scene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne having both shapes, so fitlie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offend- ing others eyes. These prodigious things were di- verslie interpreted, according to the variable fancies of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he took such envie thereat, that shortly after, under a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home unto Rome, appoint- ing one Cneus Trebellius to succeed him in the go- vernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour unto one Trebellianus being cousin to A- gricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldi- ers, so that in the end after certeine bickerings be- twixt them, Trebellianus took a sort of the best sol- diers away with him, and went over with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiving no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Caius Silius (brother to the forena- med Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it upon him.

In the meane time came the enemies under the lea- ding of Calo ready to give the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this dis- cord amongst themselves, set forward yet right va- liantlie, to give battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Silius received a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awate, the Scots and Picts fol- lowing in the chase right fiercelie.

This atchued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioiced the appalled hearts of the Albions, having bene continuallie in maner now for the space of fiftie yeeres through aduerser fortune grievouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this overthrow, withdrew themselves wholie unto Tuline, and shortly after for their more safeguard, they got them over the river of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should have no passage in that place. But Calo having got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the advice of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delaye, not suffering them to have time to prouide for resistance. And hereupon comming to the castell of Calidon other-

wise Calendar, they got over the river of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid over the same river, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffs forcing the banks on either side to a steeplanesse.

The Roman captieins also not ignorant of the pal- sage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves ready to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Silius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds received in the last battell, they chose one Titus Cilius, a valiant gen- tleman of Rome to be their leader, and so under his conduct setting upon their enemies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Roman part in this encounter to the number of nine thousand, and of the Scots and other the con- federats two thousand. After this victorie thus obte- ned by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Roman obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaying & chasing awate such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent unto Calo king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich jewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him further more such aid as they were a- ble to make against the Romans the common eni- mies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Ca- lidon castell direct their messengers with letters un- to Marius king of the Britains, signifieng unto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scottishmen and Picts, whom fortune had advanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, inasmuch that if timely re- medies were not the sooner sent, the losse would be ir- recoverable. Hereunto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subjects, so far forth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small like- lihood: considering the slender provision there through the misgovernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots
set upon the
Romans.

The Romans
are distressed.

The Romans
withdrew un-
to Tuline.
They retire
backe over the
water of Tay
and broke the
bridge after
them.

The Scots
got over the
water of Tay
nere to Cali-
don castell.
The Scots
elkones gine
battell to the
Romans.

The Romans
are againe
discouraged.

The Bri-
tains hearing
of the cruell ad-
ventures
fallen to the
Romans, re-
volt fro their
obedience.

The Romans
send unto
Marius king
of the Bri-
tains for aid.

Marius king
of the Bri-
tains doub-
teth rebellion
of his sub-
jects.

Marinus coun-
teith the
Romans to
leave the
north parts
unto the en-
emies, and to
draw unto
him into the
south parts
to keepe the
same.

The Romans
withdrew in-
to Cantire, &
after into
Galloway.

Gald pursu-
eth the Ro-
mans.

The Romans
determine a-
gaine to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
secretly assaile
the Scots.

Strange dea-
ling in womē,
and contrarie
to their nature

The Romans
sle to their
campe.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane campe.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

rising up in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leaving the north parts to the enemies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, sith their puissance might not suffice to retaine a rule the whole.

These newes greatly abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scottishmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arrived, and perceiving themselves as yet to be in no great suertie there, they went awaie from thence with speed into Galloway. In the meane time king Gald, supposing it best effoines to fight with them, per they might have anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diverse castles and fortresses furnished with stronge garrisons of his enemies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be done, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselves with offering their service unto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselves favourable in this their relieving of the oppressed Britains. Hereunto Galdus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentlie, making his talke with most comofortable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous successe, as that shortly they should thereby be restored intierlie unto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren seruitude and bondage.

But to proceed, at length he did so much by his courties, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all speed (seeing none other remedie) resolved themselves to giue him battell, and thereupon exhorting one another to plaie the men, sith their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercely gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts whole into the worst. In which wing, according to their maner in those daies used, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Gald therefore perceiving the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till need required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiantie than the men, and therewith much more cruel- tie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preferred.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their overthrow gaue occasion to all the rest due to flee backe to their campe, being pursued so eagerly by the Scots and Picts, that they had much ado to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right eagerly, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselves to rest, but provided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enemies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanour and purpose being understood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some perswaded Galdus to the contrarie) upon depe considerations of fortunes fraille fauour, was at length granted unto them, and soure an- ci-

ent Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Garmard of the Picts] unto whom with humble submission they acknowledged themselves as vanquished, and that by the lust wrath and reuenge of the celestiall gods, which against them they had conceived for the wrongfull situation of that which in no wise of right appertained unto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to bryde and refraine their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resonanting so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could bee more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

Herewith falling prostrate at the feet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pittifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald took upon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should cease from that day forward in anie wise to molest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and also to depart whole out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remaining in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles as they had lately taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladly accepted, sith they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselves out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Marinus king of the south Britains sojourned as then. Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of threescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but so at their departure out of Galloway, there remained onely twentie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before twome and taken away from them, as the Agers, Louthian, the marches about Berwick, Fife, and Angus, with Aile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leaving the same unto the former owners.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, took order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the commonwealth, visiting daily the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre breedeth god souldiers, so peace by inlice riddeeth them out of the way, if they be not the better provided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons nere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, he came to an interuiew with Garmard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Balenbar, to repress certain troubles raised betwixt their subjects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiving a sort of euill disposed persons to be

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

who depart-
eth this life
in peace.

H.B.
H.B.
H.B.

who depart-
eth this life
in peace.

The com-
muni-
cation of
peace be-
tweene the
Romans
and Scots.

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

The Romans
depart out of
Galloway.

his small re-
uerence to
the
advice.
was
tho-
men of
bale
moultion.

Of
the
Romans
maintained.
Justice is
denied.

The Romans
giue by all
their habits
and
horne-
which they
hept
the
the
of
the
minions.

Agrikake
would
have
not
to
death
such
as
spoke
against
his
gouern-
ment.
Agrikake
is
murdered
with
a
num-
ber
of
his
men.
Agrikake
ne-
ver
to
Galdus
is
admit-
ted
king
and
tho-
derly
to
repulse
aba-
use.

Galdus
died
with
his
souldiers
in
god
and
now
after
the
warres
were
ended.

Agrikake
is
murdered
with
a
num-
ber
of
his
men.
Agrikake
ne-
ver
to
Galdus
is
admit-
ted
king
and
tho-
derly
to
repulse
aba-
use.

Such
as
sought
to
make
the
peace
betweene
the
Romans
and
Scots
were
punished.

Agrikake
is
murdered
with
a
num-
ber
of
his
men.
Agrikake
ne-
ver
to
Galdus
is
admit-
ted
king
and
tho-
derly
to
repulse
aba-
use.

be
thol-
scale,
ant
trauell
a
shed
the
et,
and
si
friend-
ship

Thus
to
aduan-
his
coun-
mour
of
a
sel-
dome
displea-
sure
than
the
reigne,
of
A-
and
from
buried
1
man-
ner,
with
m
of
obel-
man-
er
in
the
Koi-
which
by
lot-
way
Scots
a
truth

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

Agrikake
being
sent
for
his
kind
of
was
I
this
I
con-
tin-
ued
but
en-
dured
th
comm-
muni-
ted
th
and
si-
agair
what
forge
prou-
cont-
that
spoil

ble and verie rich
nitted to the pre-
Scots, and Cal-
th humble submi-
ies as vanquished
enge of the equall
d conceived for the
in no wise of right
ie if it might please
ne their displeasure
i vnder some reaso-
to depart, it should
their fame and glo-
re; considering so
the orators of those
vanquishers of the

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

at the fact of those
roon, in such pittul-
ers began somewhat
oke upon him to an-
e of the Scottish and
concluded, that they
are on these combi-
ceale from that day
disquiet by way of
Scottish borders, and
ile countries, respo-
les as they held with
victuall all prisoners,
fewer as then remai-
ith such goods & spoiles

The combi-
ons of peace
prescribed to
the Romans
by the Scots
and Picts.

tified to the Romans
accepted, sith they saw
er themselves out of
liuering sufficient ho-
the articles of agree-
tracting time, mar-
to went, where Ma-
ns sojourned as then.
micles report, left at
e, to the number of
Romane armie, what
their departure out of
vnneth thentie thou-
ched by one meane o-
peace then, the Scots
le possession of all such
ad before woman and
e Pers, Louthian, the
isse, and Angus, with
and Galloway: all the
ag out of the fortresses
same vnto the former

The Romans
depart out of
Galloway.

ed the warres with the
od directions amongst
eaceable gouernement
ing dalle the countries
stand the state of them,
re it was needfull. Fur-
re byedeth god souldi-
th them out of the way,
uided for. Such as had
wars, and had not anie
e whereby to get their li-
nere to the borders of
e countrie. After this,
with Barnard king of
lenbar, to represser cer-
irt their subjects bring-
mits of their countrie:
will disposed for sors to
be

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Such as
sought to re-
ble the peace
were punish-

be tholie in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to
scale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such
travell and labour sought to restore, they puni-
shed the offendours, and set all things in god qui-
et, and so departed in sunder with great loue and
friendship.

Thus Calbus applieng all his studie and diligence
to aduance the common-wealth and quiet state of
his countrie, liued manie yeres so highlie in the fa-
mour of all his subjects, that the like hath bene but
10 selome heard of: finalle, to their great griefe and
displeasure he ended his life, more deere to them
than their owne at Epistake, in the 35 yere of his
reigne, which was about the 15 yere of the empire
of Adrian, the 4098 yere after the worlds creation,
and from the birth of our Saviour 131, and was
buried with great lamentation in most pompous
maner, and laid in a godlie tome which was raised
with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number
of obelisks set by round about it according to the
maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should
euer indure, the countrie where he fought last with
the Romans was called Caldia, after his name,
which by addition of a few letters is now called Cal-
loway, and before that time Brigantia, as the
Scots do hold: but how that seemeth to agree with
a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

Calanus the
ch to please
his subjects
in good quiet-
now after the
swares were
ended.

After this famous prince was thus departed
hence, his sonne Lughake succeeded in rule of
the Scottish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men
30 for his detestable and filthy vices, ioined with all
kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father
was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues.
This Lughake went so farre past the bounds of all
continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that he
forced and ransished not onelie aunt, nece, and sister,
but euen his owne daughters also. Such as were
honorable personages, and met to gouerne in the
common-wealth he nothing regarded, but commit-
ted the administration of things vnto vile persons,
and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarrels
against the rich, whereby they might be flaced of all
whatsoeuer they had: and oftentimes vpon some
forced cause cruellie put to death. So little did he
prouide to keepe offendours in anie wise corrected, that
contrarie he maintained them in such sort therein,
that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but
spoil and raine exercised.

Thus he continued aboue two yeres, to the
great ruine of the common-wealth. Finalle, when
50 he went about to put vnto death such as in an as-
semble called at Dunstaffage spake against the mis-
ordered gouernement of the realme, he was there
murdered amongst the people, with a number of
those also whome he vsed to haue attendant on his
person for safeguard of the same. His owne bodie
was solemnelie buried by appointment of the no-
bles, hauing respect to his fathers benefites, but
the carcasses of his gard were cast out into the
fields, there to be deuoured of beasts and birds of
rauine.

After Lughake was thus dispatched, one Mo-
gall the nephew of Calbus by his daughter was
admitted king in his place. His cheefest studie was
to reforme the decayed state of his countrie, and first
he caused such wicked counsellors of his predecessors
and vncle Lughake, as had escaped with life (when
their maiester was made a waie) to be put to death,
according to their iust desertings. He restored also
the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neg-
lected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers.
The Scottishmen in like maner conceiuing an affi-
red hope of a good redresse in all their grēdes and op-
pressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince,

began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen
the like as they had done his grandfather Calbus.
In the meane time came certeine ambassadours from
the Picts, vnto this Mogall, requiring him of aid a-
gainst the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden
invasion had done much hurt in Pictland, to the great
distresse of the inhabitants.

At the same time they of Galloway certified him
also by letters, that the same Romans had made a
rode into their countrie, and led awaie a great botie
of goods and prisoners. Mogall hauing a mind no
lesse giuen to deeds of chivalrie, than to the studie of
ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiced
that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some
proue of his valiant inclination, and so hereupon
sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requir-
ing to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries
thus by them committed. The herald doing his
message, receiued nothing but scornfull words, and
disdainfull menaces, whereby Mogall being thorough-
ly kindled with despite, assembled his polver tog-
ther forth of all the parties of his dominions, and
comming with the same into Galloway, visited his
grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great
reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as
it were his aid against those enemies, which had vio-
lated the league made betwixt him and them, by so-
lemne oths and other accustomed means of ratifi-
cation. This done, he dreynt into Annandale, where
Antipannus as then king of the Picts abode his com-
ming. There ioining their powers together, they
marched forth into Cumberland, and so forward in-
to Westmerland, with fire and sword wasting and
spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the
Romans.

The Ro-
mans invade
the Scottish
borders.

Mogall re-
quently resti-
tution of
wronges done
by the Ro-
mans.
Mogall pre-
pareth to the
warre.
Mogall visi-
teth his grand-
fathers se-
pulchre.

The Picts
and Scots
ioine their
powers to-
gether and enter
into the lande
of their en-
emies.

Lucius Antenous the Romane lieutenant, lieng
at the same time at Yorke, being certified hereof by
such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inua-
ded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of
all the countries of Britaine, and halsted forth with
the same towards his enemies; of whose approach Mo-
gall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his
people to incourage them to fight manfullie against
the Romans, perswading them effectualle thereto
by manie familiar examples brought in of the val-
iant enterprises atchiued by their elders, in the de-
fense of their countrie and libertie of the same. In
like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted
the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to re-
membrance the victorious exploits of their predecess-
ors, and how that as then they should fight but with
a rude and barbarous people, running to battell
more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than
with any discretion or aduised order, saieing furth-
more, that it laie now in their hands with no great
adon to recover that which through the negligent sloth
of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they
should attaine great honor and famous renowne
for euermore.

Lucius Ante-
nous lieuten-
ant of Bri-
taine.
Mogall exhor-
teth his men
to be valiant-
lie.

By this meane the armies on both sides being
kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they
drew nere together, and began the fight right fierce-
lie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts
and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneth see an-
other. The place was more for the aduantage of the
Scots than of the Romans, because they were com-
pelled to fight as it were by companies and parts,
by reason of bogs and marishes, with such floeing
banks on the sides that they could keepe none a-
re: yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this bat-
tell was fought so far forth to the utterance, that in
the end, after a wonderfull slaughter on both sides
made, when their swords and other weapons were
spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

The battell
beginneth be-
tweene the
Romans and
Britons.

A cruell fight.

¶ F. J.

¶ Finalle

The Ro-
mans retire.

Lucius Ante-
nus is wound-
ed.
The Ro-
mans are put
to flight.

Women as
ready to the
battell as the
men.

Adrian the
emperor pre-
pareth to go
into Brittain.
Adrian trans-
porteth into
Brittain.

Adrian com-
meth to York.

He passeth
over the river
of Tyne.
Adrian find-
eth nothing
abroad in the
countrie of
his enemies.

What maner
of people he
had to doe
withall.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antenus perceiving, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gave occasion to divers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselves as well as they might, though some companies perceiving that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselves together and departed by another waie, which they took at adventure, not knowing towards what parts they drew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in manner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enemies were lodged so nere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yield. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yield themselves as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulness, they were slaine in the end euerie mothers sonne.

Lucius Antenus hauing thus receiued the overthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole manner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason thereof things stood in great danger here in Brittain, if speedie succours were not the sooner sent, for the enemies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Brittain. Causing therefore an armie to be leuiued, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and coming to Calice, he transported ouer into Brittain, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late wasted and spoiled the countrie euen to the river of Tyne. Wherewith Adrian being sore offended, joined the powder which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Brittain. This done, he removed to Poike, where sojournig certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and coming to the river of Tyne, he passed ouer the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mountains and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hills and woods, he grauoulie assailed them, and that in sundrie maner. In the end esping the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tyne, there to restraine the Scots and Picts from inuading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Roman empire, he caused a great trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tyne to the river of Ouse, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. The Scottish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therefore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Brittain, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authours whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Brittain nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part thewed them such friendlie intertainment, that they could not with any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antenus with him, because he could not awaie with the aire of Brittain, in whose place he left one Aulus Uictorinus lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places nere vnto the fore-remembered wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, builded those lands and countries (which they had latelie wasted on the further side of Tyne) in such sort betwixt them, that all whatsoeuer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almaine seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Apogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enemies. But being possessed by in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne brutish appetites; but that drowned in the filthy lustres of the bodie, he spared neither maid, nor widow, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such inuincible couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, whereby to bereue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit all their lands & goods without any consideration had either of wife or child, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue unpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certaintie is not known) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his household.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspirators pursued after him, who perceiving them to approach, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were as ready as he the first to breake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediately murdered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our sauiour 169, Antoninus Pius then governing the Roman empire, and Pius surnamed Albus reigning amongst the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

ried together in nobles, not without much trouble. M^gall bet his sonne (as is reported) sed against his ment by twicke the much wa began for a tin he began at the right colours, station of pation and vile nether in banket the ancient te his worthie an In wastling such riotous er quize in an op to be granted, all there, as hane battie in rents that bele ent to furnish contribution acc rieferson acc tention of sw bled in erecti to heare him dering witha spit to make fl ing granted, ded secretlie t onelie to deni all kinglie go quired no less The next d downe in the name of the r ring that the l uelled not a l the king hau his treasure tallage for m his household; to rest in such to rule thing: did nothing t to spoile his fessions, the he as they sh and so adua other mens l paire of gal shame, as a ten done bel fith his skill office, shoul ther, and su realme, as n lords most n The king lost voice if they went deuelie abt these wood: him betwixt ned, where stance. In bnder him, the most pa their offensi demerits.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

Adrianus
the emperor
of Rome
well remembered
his father.

id therefore re:
the Scots and
tains as were
caused a great
from the mouth
wall to be made
and loda. The
that it was be
he daies of the
d of it, and ther
wall of Septi.

the north parts
Wales with the
amongst such
the magistrates
he punished ac
came to Lon
it number of the
in honor, accor
art shewed them
they could not
d into France,
because he could
in whose place he
it there, who dis
in places were
ncense of the in
e Scots & Wales,
romans, diuised
p had latelie wa
such fort betwixt
as the Irish sea,
I coasting vpon
for their porton.
ares in good qui
But being pus
tozies as he had
querours of the
ace maister his
owned in the fil
After maid, wi
giveness to such bi
ing might suffice
against the rich,
e and substance,
bat such as were
me, should forsit
onfideration had
serued at the full
before it was o
so notable vices
nue unpunished,
sed against him,
whether by witchy
friends, the cer
of the night he ar
servants onlie
otice of his depar

nowledge had how
ours pursued af
o appooh, sought
hands; but such
other that were
beir malice vpon
nebiatic murthe
being the 4136 of
our saulour 169,
the Romane em
bas reigning a
g smitten off, was
about in derision;
linage it was bur
ried

ried together with the hodie by appointment of the
nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it
most unworthie of anie such honor.

His sonne Conarus was admitted king, who
(as is reported) was pfitie to the conspircie deu
sed against his father, and as he came to the govern
ment by wicked means, so in the end he used him
selfe much what accordingly in the same; for after
he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature,
he began at the last openlie to shew himselfe in his
right colours, committing first of all the admini
stration of publike affaires unto men of base condi
tion and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogi
ther in banquetting and costlie fare, not regarding
the ancient temperancie in feeding, used amongst
his worthie ancestors.

In waiking therefore his kingle revenues vpon
such riotous exerce, he was nothing abashed to re
quire in an open assemblie of his nobles, a subsidie
to be granted, towards the maintenance of such cot
all chere, as he iudged to stand with his honor
to haue daillie in his house. And therefore whereas the
rents that belonged to the crowne were not suffici
ent to furnish the charges, he requested a generall
contribution to be leuied through the realme, of eu
rie person according to their abilities, for the main
tenance of such superfluous expences as he ballie
used in exccellue banquetting. The lords maruelling
to heare him moue anie such demand, and consi
dering withall the occasion thereof, they asked re
pit to make their answer till the next day: which be
ing granted, in the night following they commu
desecretlie together, and in the end concluded, not
onlie to denie his request, but also to depose him of
all kingle gouernement, sith his naughtie life re
quired no lesse.

The next day therefore when they were againe set
downe in the counsell-chamber, one of them in
name of the residue toke vpon him to speake, decla
ring that the lords and commons of the realme mar
uelled not a little how it should come to passe, that
the king hauing no warres wherewith to consume
his treasure; should yet be enforced to demand a
tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of
his household; but the fault was knowen well inough
to rest in such as he most unworthilie had preferred
to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught
did nothing but deuisse means how to cause the king
to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and pos
sessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith
he) as they shalbe provided for well inough per long,
and so advanced as they shall not need to thirst for
other mens liuings, that is to wit, euen to a faire
paire of gallowes, there to end their liues with
shame, as a number of such other losengers had of
ten done before them: so it is conuenient that the k
ing his skill is so small in the administration of his
office, should be shut vp in some one chamber or o
ther, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the
realme, as may be thought by common assent of the
lords most meet to take it vpon him.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a
lowd voice began to call them traitors; adding, that
if they went about anie hurt to his person, they shuld
derekie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding
these words, such as were appointed therto, caught
him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assign
ed, where they laid him vp, mangre all his resi
stance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices
vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where
the most part of them, vpon examination taken of
their offenses, suffered death according to their iust
demerits.

Then was the rule of the realme committed v
to one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ru
ler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour
toke vpon him the publike regiment, untill other
adulie might be taken. This mans studie in the be
ginning was onlie to cleanse the countrie of all mi
doers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the
people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe
a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But with
in a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prospe
rous successe changed his former mind to an enill
disposition, wherby he ordered things after his
owne selfewill more than by reason, without the ad
uise of his peres. And further, to the manifest ruine
of the common-wealth, he nourished still discor
d and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to
make for his welfare, so long as they were at ods.
He also married a Whittish ladie, the better to streng
then himselfe by this his forren aliance.

Herevpon the peres of the realme, vnderstan
ding what mischiefe might insue by these manifest
and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a pa
lement to be called, where, in presence of the whole
assemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that
(through his misgouernement and presumption, not
onlie in coupling himselfe in marriage with a wife
of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie
other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme,
without consent of the nobles or commons of the
same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his
trespasse being so much the greater, in that conside
ring the meane how he came to that dignitie, he
answered not their expectation, nor performed the
truft and credit which was generallie committed
vnto him.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not
able to late anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees,
& partlie confessing his fault with teares gushing
from his eyes, besought them of pardon, whole sub
mitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion.
The lords being moued with this humble submis
sion of Argadus, vpon promise he should redresse
all his former misdemeanours, were contented
that he should continue still in the administration.
But such as had bene his chiefeest counsellors were
committed to ward. After this sharpe admoni
tion and warning thus giuen, Argadus did no
thing touching the gouernement of the common
wealth, without aduise of his peres; and come

after, amongst other things, he toke order for
the limiting how far the authoritie of inferior of
ficers, as bailiffes, boroughmaisters, constables,
and such other should extend. But especiallie he tra
uelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theues
and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that
fell into his hands. Moreover, he ordeined by sta
tute, that no man exercising anie publike office,
should taste of anie drinke that might make him
drunken. He also banished all such persons as used
with dressing of delicat meats, and (as I may call
them) deintie dishes, or banquetting chere, to allure
mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed
amongest their elders, who sought not to follow their
delicious appetites, but onlie provided to suffice na
ture, which is satisfied with a little, & that void of cos
lie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in refo
rming the state of the common-wealth, brought ma
nie enill doers into good frame and order, and such as
were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to
proceed forward to better and better. At length, in
the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus be
ing consumed with long imprisonment, departed
out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the be
ginning of his reigne.

F. H.

After

Argadus is
chosen to go
uerne the
realme.

Argadus an
vpright iustice
cer.

Prosperitie
changeth cora
ditions.

Argadus is
rebuked.

Argadus cons
fesseth his
fault.

Argadus is
permitted to
continue in
his office.

Argadus as
mendeth his
former misgo
uernance, and
ruleth him
selfe by better
aduise.

A notable sta
tute.

Fine cookes
banished.

Conarus de
parteth out of
this world.
162. H.B.

Ethodius.
Ethodius the
nephue of
Argadus is
chosen king.

Argadus is
created lord
president of
the counsell.

Civil discord
amongst the
lords of the
Iles.
Argadus is
sent forth to
apprehend the
rebels.

The Island
rebels are pu-
nished.

The Romans
invade the
Pictish and
Scottish bor-
ders.

Ethodius re-
quireth restitu-
tion of his
subjects goods
taken away
by the Ro-
mans.

Victorine
answers to E-
thodius re-
quest.

Ethodius ex-
horteth the
king of the
Picts to
make warre
against the
Romans.

After whose decessie, the nobles and other
states of the realme assembling themselves to-
gether, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Mogall
by his sister, to reigne over them. But Argadus
being highlie rewarded with lands and livings for
his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the advance-
ment of the publicke weale, during the time of his go-
uernement, was thereto some after created as it
were lord president of the counsell, thereby to be the
most in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ru-
ling of all publicke affaires & causes. Whoslie after
Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those
daies was) went ouer into the westerne Isles, there
to take order for the administration of iustice, where
immediatlie vpon his arriual, it was shewed him,
that not passing two or thre daies before, there had
bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or
clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was
stirred amongst their seruants, being a companie
of naughtie and barulie fellows, to the great dis-
quiet of the inhabitants. Herevpon was Argadus
sent forth incontinentlie with a powler to appease
that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that
they might receiue reward according to their demer-
its. Argadus forthwith hasted towards the place
where he understood the rebels to be remaining, and
apprehending the whole number of them, some by
force, and some vpon their humble submission, he
returned backe with them to the king, who causing
the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the
chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished
by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure.
The Island people being thus appeased, the king
returned into Albion, where as then lieng at Cir-
uerlochthe, a towne (as is said) in Loughabshere,
word came vnto him that the Romans had broken
downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian,
and made a great rode into the Scottish and Pictish
borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assem-
bled together in defense of their countrie (after a
soze conflict) the victorie remained with the Ro-
mans; by reason whereof they led a great botie of
cattell and other goods away with them to the places
where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith
an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant,
requiring that his subjects might haue restitution of
their goods wrongfullie taken from thym, or else to
looke for warres within fiftene daies after. Victo-
rine answered herunto, that the Scots and Picts
had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall,
and to build a towne vpon the same, fortifying it
with a number of men of warre, who running dai-
lie into the British confines, fetched pretes thence
from amongst the Romane subjects, and though
he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish
wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue a
nie towardlie answer, so that he was constrained to
begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had
done already.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answer,
suppe straightwaies to the k. of the Picts, exhor-
ting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subjects
had lately receiued at the hands of the Romans, to
invade the wall on that side where it diuided his
countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon
the enemies by the same, and for his part he promi-
sed thoslie after to come, and to ioine with him in
such a necessarie enterprize against the common eni-
mies of both these countries. The Pictish king gi-
uing thanks to the messenger for his paines, promi-
sed with all speed to set forward according to the ad-
uise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner ha-
uing knowledge of the whole intention of the two

kings, with all speed made preparation also for the
warre, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in v-
pon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries
next adjoining. Which when the Romans perceived,
they passed by the enemies campe in the night sen-
son, and entred into the Pictish borders, waiking
and spoiling all afoze them.

When the two kings understood this, they hasted
forth towards them, and were no longer come with-
in sight of them, but that they made ech towards o-
ther, and so incountring together, there was fought
a soze battell with doubtful victorie, for the right
wings on either side vanquished the left, the heads
of both the battells keeping their ground, the one not
once thynking backe from the other till night, seuer-
ed them in sunder, but not without such slaughter
made on both sides, that being once parted, they
made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as
well the one part as the other being thus disuenered,
drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding
for the morning. Whether did they attempt any fur-
ther exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to
Rome vnto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aure-
lius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifi-
ing vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; fur-
ther declaring, that if conuenient succors were. not
sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious
rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he
perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no
lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in reco-
uerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were
to inuade vpon them. The emperor vpon receit
of these letters, thought in his mind that Victo-
rine was not so valliant a capteine as the case requi-
red, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became
the more emboldened to resist, therefore he sent for
him home, appointing one Agricola Calpurnius to
succed in his roome, who was (as some haue left in
writing) the nephue of Julius Agricola, the most
famous capteine of the Romans that euer came in-
to Britaine.

This Calpurnius comming into Britaine with
an armie, ioined to the same the power which he
found there, as well of the Britains, as of other ser-
uing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he
repaired toward the river of Tyne, where being ar-
riued, he marched forth into the borders of his eni-
mies, finding all the countrie round about him so
clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a
house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one hee
of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding
all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland,
and entering into Pictland, wasted all that was be-
fore him with fire and sword. And for so much as
winter came vpon him, when he had done his will
in that behalfe, he returned vnto York, where he
sojourned untill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his
proouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word
came vnto him that the Welshmen were revolted,
and began to raise warre against the Romans, so
that taking order for the repairing of the wall made
by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had
broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of
men of warre for defense of the same against all in-
uasions that might be attempted, he turned the resi-
due of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom
in the end, though not without much adoe, he reduced
to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard
also how the Britains of the Isle of Wight were v-
pon in armour against such Romans as ruled there,
in part, but they also were at length brought againe
to

The name of
Agricola vnto
hall to the
Britannians
and Picts.

The name
of Agricola
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

Calpurnius
vnto hall to
the Britanni-
ans and Picts.

to their form
billion puni

In the nu-
mer not to
the Romans,
be gricola in
th remembra-
grandfather
exploits, befi

English hid
Calpurnius
ded whole t

Britains, t
passe, he w
the emperor
succesfour o

sending on
there to sup

This Tre
first died b
showing all
subjects to e

rius, who r
name and
after that b

mongest his
couetousne
way to fill

forge accu-
death of ba
and so come

ment, he
had it not b

Lucius (o
some rebel
part. Posi

of this mil
mane lieu
them also

nenge the
an armie,
and ouert

entred into
crueltie. I
forth with

inuations;
and inco-
was euen

most part
Britains;
the residu

himselfe
to his host

After
as they de
with them

a great n
warre: so
number o

satisfied i
in the fig
they had

their fello
barried th
in most ci

to fight i
that mty
was his

light infe-
lowed: si
countrie
haue dri

Then

the death of his valliant capitaine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his coming, made to wards the sea, and would glablie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wils, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warlike by closing them vp among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted themselves vpon these conditions, that their head capitaine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yeld themselves simple to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Island-men yeld themselves.

Execution.

Ethodius himself his country, to see justice maintained.

He giueth him selfe to hunting, & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be wel kept & looked vnto.

Ethodius murdered by a musician. 194 H.B.

Septimus Severus H.B.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capitaine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and pères of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yelded by their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Island-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scotchmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subiects.

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his eldres, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroye anye hares with nets, greins or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formies by anye meanes: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anye hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, for rests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and courts, nere vnto the townes & houses.

He ordeined moreover therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anye hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being bozne in one of the west Isles, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murderer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argyle, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was ready to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not be so painfull, but that I shall reioice euen in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horses in most violent wise.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperour. He was buried at Dun-

staffage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine received the faith with a great part of his people, being the yere after the birth of our Saviour, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Sarrabell or Serrabell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was verie young in yeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Sarrabell was subtle of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at any time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee any thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthy subiects, whose lands and goods hee onelie sought to inuoy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischeefe ensued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailye rose amongst the people, that pittie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to thew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life any long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeres.

In his place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper amongst his subiects. Neither bare he with offence, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be duly punished: finally he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had bene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiving that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to inuoy that title.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose enuie (as he knew) had euer bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholly out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendly, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whom in semblable

Wiltshire received the christian faith in the yere 187.

Sarrabell.

Sarrabell desired to be such as were in fauour of his predecessor.

Discontented with among the people through the kings iniquity.

Sarrabell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 H.B.

Donald.

Donald desired to reduce his subiects vnto all civilitie.

The Britains rebelled and chose Fulgentius to their captain.

Donald promised to aid Fulgentius.

The Britains came to Britons wall, and put it downe to let in the Scots. The Scotchmen & Picts came to the aid of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts made the Britains. The Scots helped the Britains to spoile their owne countrie.

Emilius was the emperor of the Isle of Britain.

Fulgentius managed the Britains to strike vnto their begun warre.

Severus sent forth towards his enemies.

Severus cometh to York.

Severus is accounted by his enemies.

semblable. Thus the great aid their host to which they friends vnto them Picts flow they likew that wall, alongst the

This Donald passed forth the Roma and to haue ledge how gather a part of the under the sing from winter in to licenc countries and meet.

In this 192 Scutaine: the set for war Britaine. may appeared no tin go again force of h treat for nie, where the Brita wife he c familie be wished li thing the lie attie so that th trie it for and best royd, con of so ma sent in o ning of t

The liuc and uise with against. readie c Britis forwar Oeta in the samu he took At his e gods, a aduise i terpise

This wards Scots. sonmuch sight of together betwix ding th long to tisedski

as was
is in that
taine re-
ple being
he Scots
77.
r Sattre-
was cho-
voices of
Ethodius
was verte
it to haue
ome com-
bell was
those pur-
r Ethodi-
de rule of
urpos the
gainst all
us, there-
t he an-
r of other
goods he
3p means
ie realme,
if the peo-
being not
ace abroad
od well
ards him,
ue his life
eruant
foze he had

Sattrell

Sattrell

Sattrell

Sattrell

397 HB.

Donald.

Donald, a
nd condit-
out all be-
d afore all
right prob-
with offen-
t the lawes
ie caused to
der for re-
subiects as
nelle, unto
t the same
dead, the
itie among
ith the ma-
st them, de-
Britisly na-

indignati-
us, diuers
Fulgentius
er with let-
uring him
cir ancient
s he knew
o bying the
ertingush
f the same:
ow put to
better for
ile, const-
as well by
also of the

tendle, and
he promi-
e he was a
e and place
ie ariser
o scheme in
semblable

The Scots
was come
to Britain
and pull
downe
the wall
in the
place.
The Scottish
men & Picts
came to the
aid of the
Britains.

The Scots
and Picts
came to the
aid of the
Britains.

Fulgentius
certified the
emperour of the
state of Bri-
taine.

Fulgentius
certified the
emperour of the
state of Bri-
taine.

Fulgentius
certified the
emperour of the
state of Bri-
taine.

Fulgentius
certified the
emperour of the
state of Bri-
taine.

Fulgentius
certified the
emperour of the
state of Bri-
taine.

semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, resorted unto the wall of Adrian, which they overthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free access and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill by the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, joining their powers together, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing know- ledge how he was withdrawn into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrying of the countrie abroad on euery side, continuing the most part of the people to come in and yeld themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake by their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperour: Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: whereupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appeere. At his comming into Britaine, he lacked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadozs vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to a- nie, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable wordes, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their neces- sarie begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanqui- shing the emperour at that present they should assured- lie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like fellows and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie con- cord, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that con- sent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtai- ning of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to liue and die in the quarrell. Whereupon he took ad- uise with them, which waie to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were al- ready certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the Britissh ambassadozs from him, let incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leauing his pongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he took with him in his iourneie against his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnisch custome, & also took aduise with his captains how to proceed in his en- terprise against his enimies.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie to- wards them, who being already joined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, in- so much that those of the one side came no sooner in sight of the other, but that they hasted forth to ioin- together in battell, whereof ensued great slaughter betwixt them, though the Britissh part (notwithstan- ding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and pra- ctised skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scottish, men and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in a- mongst the thickest paele of his enimies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scottishmen and Picts, and together with them pas- sed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and retained them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploye them ellsones against his enimies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the Britissh nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Se- uerus punished most grieuoulie, but the commons he vsed more gentle, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to dray vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Yorke.

In the next summer there was little done worthie to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmi- shes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduan- tage. But so farre as the Scots had no aid sent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to ior- pard againe in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was ready bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sick at Yorke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentio- ned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before re- cited) first by Adrian the emperour, to staie the Sco- tishmen from invading the lands appertaining to the subiects of the Romane empire, & after overthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in sozt as before is partic mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastillions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first descen- ding of the enimies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so soone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a leage with the Scottishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such Britissh rebels as were fled with him into Ireland, he received sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then laie. Short- lie after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it ap- ppereth. But now to retarne vnto Donald the Sco- tish king, ye shall vnderstand, that being deliuered of foren trouble, he studied thesle how to preferue his people in god peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had given vnto him, being latelie afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganisme and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the dates of the aboue said emperour Seuerus, he sent a messen- ger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zephyrinus sayth Harion) being the 15 in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the chistian religion, and utterlie to forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discom- fited.

Fulgentius withdrawn into Ireland.

Seuerus wintereth at Yorke.

Seuerus sick- neth. The wall is repaired.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be em- perour con- cludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald studi- ous to main- taine his sub- iects in peace and concord.

Donald con- uerted into chistian be- liefe in the dates of the emperour Se- uerus.

gods, and therefore instantlie required him to send over into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beleife. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their enduour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and claerlie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie confirme.

The Scottish men received the faith in the yeare of our saviour 203.
539. H.B.
533 H.B.

Whereupon this Donald was the first as the Scottish chronicles alledge, that caused silver and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he devised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romaine monie, as diners marble chests full of the same which have bene found of late yeeres in sundrie parts of Scotland do verie well witness. Finally this Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departed out of this world.
216 H.B.
Ethodius.

The governance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

Ethodius being given to covetousnesse is slaine by his owne servants.
Athirco.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regarded not his nobles.

The villainous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and some of the former Ethodius, which prince proved so verie a fool, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed unto certaine noble men, who being divided into sundrie quarters of the realme, took verie good order for the due government of the parties so to them limited, and used themselves verie uprightlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Severus before his death had given such order for the government of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were delivered and conveyed to Rome, which were the chiefest of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though covetish, yet naturallie given to unquenchable covetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behaviour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes convenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberall towards all men, that he won him wonderfull much praise and love amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrarie decayed, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yeeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing avarice; for courtesie and amiable countenance, he used stern and loftie looks: for commendable exercises, he gave himselfe wholly to filthy pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as he was any other of the lowest and meanest degree.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countie) named Patholocus, had two faire young gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satiffie his lust upon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so con-

tent, delivered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and servants. The father understanding this villanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening unto them the whole matter, he required their assistance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of such an iniurie done to their blood, promised in reuenge thereof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in funder, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprise, as to rid the countie of such a cattie wretch, respecting nothing but the satiffing of his filthy carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunkasage, where they understood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting unto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to have beaten downe his enemies; but when he had throughly weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of god wils in his people, he privilie stole awaye from them, and would have passed over into Fla, one of the weserne Isles, to have procured some succor there, but being imbarcked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driven backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to flea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doozus the brother of Athirco understanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggars weed for doubt of death, and went into Dindland with three of his nephews, fornes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Howbeit, Patholocus having knowledge whether he was sleb, sent forth certaine of his servants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie streitlie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischefe. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doozus, slew the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie full of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doozus. When Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by dissuading them to chuse any of Athircos blood to reigne over them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by any common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (having deserved nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, save onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might have inioied that which of right they ought to have had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kinsman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeeres to beare the rule himselfe.

But Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blood attained of

The children and friends of the greatest men conspire against Athirco.

Athirco being taken to be the father of his owne men came to the trial of his guilt among them. Athirco was himselfe.

243 H.B. Doozus the brother of Athirco conceiveth himselfe out of the way.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

Natholocus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

fortune favouring Patholocus for a time began to change. Doozus was taken into certaine Scottish houses to move them to rebellion.

Patholocus putteth such to death as he suspecteth to favour Doozus.

Patholocus loveth unto a witch to know the conclusion of his enemies attempts.

The witches answers.

what happened by giving credit to the words of a witch.

treason, as he took it then repaired according as he exhorted to thereof, he rewarded himselfe verie lowe, for the favour of nobles, of our quar-

Thus peres, at countenance Doozus then heard, as unto the favour of the Scottish which he caused a river. As the occasion of them first secretlie

which so moved they procured them togather against his nations, land, their mines, and stand some of his true countie, Colmeki still in of his was alre-

The end the king's friends, but the most should be known hearing the lie, bidding see his burden. And signifie why came when that what declare the baptie co follow by upon put ther side, to be reveale much dan himselfe to the king chamber, he declare

afed in
The fa-
daugh-
ent for
le mat-
g in a
dome to
nd life,
sunder,
olwers,
men to
; as to
ing no-
l luffs,
e appe-

mpante,
re they
rne, a
o them
e about
, called
ue bra-
oughle
nce and
through
frole a-
er into
pocured
et from
n backe
his eni-
, and so
remittie
s. His
o: Coy-
e of the
on hath
ero: Au-
throo b-
disguised
th, and
, sonnes
ndocke,

ge whi-
rnan-
p found
feare of
, finding
resem-
ber, and
ide him
ey came
ding the
oled the
jose any
n doubt
revenge
was ex-
ommon
doubting
in him,
ning de-
ing dom,
s) might
to haue
; o: else
king, till
peares

king by
ainted of
treason,
Natbolo-
ens.

Patholocus
pacty into
Dunfalsage
as he migh-
pointe
jra.

Patholocus
safety to pro-
vide for the
nobilitie
through
jra.

Patholocus
safety to pro-
vide for the
nobilitie
through
jra.

Patholocus
safety to pro-
vide for the
nobilitie
through
jra.

Patholocus
safety to pro-
vide for the
nobilitie
through
jra.

Patholocus
safety to pro-
vide for the
nobilitie
through
jra.

Patholocus
safety to pro-
vide for the
nobilitie
through
jra.

treason, and so published, according to the custome
he take the othes of those that were present, and
then repaired unto Dunfalsage, there to be intreated
according to the manner. This done, he called such
as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he
erhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their
assured god lord and maister, and for an earnest
rewards. Generallie unto all men he showed him-
selfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their
loues, for the better establishment of his new ac-
quired estate: and here to he implanted such riches as
the former kings had heaped together amongst the
nobles, studying by all meanes to auoid all sedi-
tious quarels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeyne
perces, at length fortune began to shewe a change of
countenance after his old accustomed guise. For
Dowus the brother of Athirc (whome, as ye haue
heard, Patholocus supposed to haue bene dead)
wrote certeyne letters, signifying his owne estate
with the welfare of his nephews the children of Athir-
co unto certeyne Scottis lords, whome he knew to
fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a
Scottis woman, appointing hir to goe and to whome
he should deliuer the same, but the woman appey-
bended by the waie, and brought vnto Patholocus,
he caused hir secretly to be sacked and throtled in a
riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles
as the direction of the forsaide letters had giuen him
occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed
them first to prison, and at length caused them to be
secretlie strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad,
so moued the hearts of their friends and allies, that
they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering
them together, they raised open and cruell warres
against him. Patholocus informed of their determi-
nations, withdrew himselfe priuile into Spurrey
land, there to get together an armie to resist his eni-
mies, and for that he was desirous also to under-
stand somewhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one
of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that
countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of
Colmekill (otherwise called Jona) esteemed verie
skillfull in forshewing of things to come, to learne
of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which
was already begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared
in the end how it should come hostile to passe, that
the king should be murdered, not by his open eni-
mies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar
friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust.
The messenger demanding by whose hands that
should be: Euen by thine saith she, as it shall be well
knownen within these few daies. The gentleman
bearing these words, railed against hir verie bitter-
lie, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to
see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a
deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to
signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he
came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so
that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should
declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might
haplie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should
follow by his means as she had declared, and there-
upon put him to death first; and for feare on the o-
ther side, that if he kept it secret, it might happen to
be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as
much danger of life as before; he determined with
himselfe to worke the surest way, and so comming
to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie
chamber, where all other being commanded to auoid,
he declared how he had spied; and then falling forth

with vpon Patholocus, with his dagger he slue him
vnto right, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and af-
terwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking
his horse which he had there ready, he fled with all
speed vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was
the first that brought news vnto them of this ac-
tus by him achieved. This chanced in the yeare of
our Lord 280. In the eleventh yeare after the first
entring of Patholocus into the estate.

After Patholocus was thus dispatched, the peers
assembled together to ordeine offe for gouernement
of the realme, where in the end it was amongst
them considered, that the sonnes of Athirc should
be sent for into Scotland, and Findocke receiued
the king. The Scotsman that slue Patholocus was
appointed to fetch them; who according to his com-
mission proceeding into Scotland, conuicted them
right honorable into Argile, where Findocke being
already chosen king, was placed on the throne of
marble, with all the ceremonies in that case apper-
taining.

This Findocke was in the flower of his age, of
a person most beautifull, cleane made, of a good
lie stature; where with were ioined most excellent
gifts of the mind: Not so much desirous to seeme his
to be vertuous in deed: he was courteous, meke,
full of affabilitie, studying alwaies to win friend-
ship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare
and menacing words. He leagues with the Bre-
tains, Brits and Romans he firme lie obserued. But
as peace with foraine enemies breedeth oftentimes
rustill discords at home, so came it then to passe with
him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a
noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into
Kosse and Spurrey land, fetching from thence a
great spoile and bootie, not without great slaughter
of such as enforced themselves for to resist him. The
occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death
of Patholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his
doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed
ouer with the same into the Ile of Jla, where in-
countering with Donald and other his enimies, he
vanquished and chased them egerlie, without return-
ing once backe, till either the sword or the sea had
made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a boate, in hope to haue
escaped, the pleasure was such at his entring into the
same, that before they could get it off from the shore,
it sunke by means of the overlading, and so he and
all they that were on board were drowned there-
withall. The king hauing achieved this victorie, re-
turned into Albanie; but the Jland-men not fullie
quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent o-
uer into Ireland, and got from thence certeyne
Ierns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald,
the sonne of the former Donald, made starts now
and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie
shred turnes in the same, yet they could be sup-
pressed. But Findocke being some informed of these
tidings, went ouer againe into the Isles, and such
of his enimies as he found, he caused to be hanged,
to giue other example what to looke for when they
should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer in-
to Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the
king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he
came againe. But perceiving himselfe not able to
worke such feats as he hoped to haue done, he sent
a messenger vnto the king, offering to yeild him-
selfe, and to become his true subiect if he might get
his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being
answered that he should not be receiued, vntill he
would come vnto Dunfalsage with other of his
chiefest complices, and to stand fullie at the kings
mercie; he refused thus to do, deuising thus an other
meane

Patholocus
murdered.

252. H. B.

The lords of
the realme as-
sembled to-
gether to chuse a
new king.

The sonnes
of Athirc are
sent for, and
the eldest of
them named
Findocke cho-
sen to reigne.

Findocke.
Findocke has
noble quali-
ties and ver-
tuous disposi-
tion.

Findocke ob-
serueth the
leagues con-
firmed of for-
mer times with
his neighbors.
Those of the
out Isles in-
uade the coun-
tries of
Kosse and
Spurrey land.
Findocke mak-
eth a tourne
into the Isles,
to subdue the
rebels.

Donald is
drowned.

The Jland-
men with aid
of the Irish
Ierns, make
often inuasi-
ons into Ar-
gile, and other
of the Scottis
countreys.

Findocke go-
eth againe to
subdue the re-
bels of the
Isles.

Donald offer-
eth to yeild
himselfe v-
pon certeyne
conditions,
but is not re-
ceiued.

Donald de-
scribeth how to
murder king
Findocke by
two naughtie
persons.

Findocke is
slaine.

The mur-
ders confesse
by whole pro-
curement they
did the deed.
A pretie in-
duction (if not
forged) to the
hystorie that
afterwards
followeth of
Carantius or
Carantius as
the Scots
wyllie him.

Donald.

Donald of the
Ales inua-
deth Scot-
land.

meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two
naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to
seine themselves to haue fled from him, where also
he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king,
and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the
said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be,
and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the
way. These craftie mates looking according to Do-
nalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoe
they got credit, and after credit they got place to
nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the
kings brother (whome they made priue also vnto
their intent) that finding all things correspondent
vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the
one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which
the Islanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue
verie good eare, whilst the other smote him to the
heart with a ianeline, & so leauing the iron sticking
in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous
companion and fellow. Those that were nere, see-
ing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to
see if they might relieue him as then struggling with
the pangs of death; others followed the murderers,
and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue
their meed according to that which they had iustlie de-
serued; being also examined, they confessed how
they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald
of the Ales, but also by Carantius the kings owne
brother, who of set purpose being out of the way at
that present, and hauing knowledg that he was ac-
cused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as
a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence
(after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto
Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the empe-
rours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus,
he became a right famous and a verie skillfull cap-
taine.

But if this report be true that Carantius (of whom
Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so
high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same
Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers,
could at no time come to the knowledg thereof,
which if they had done, no doubt they would haue
spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might
happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counter-
feit himselfe to be borne of some base kindred, and so
for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards
that he attained vnto so high degree of honour, as
to vsurpe the imperiall robes of purple, and to pos-
seffe the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but
that to aduance his credit and authoritie totall, he
would haue set forth to the vttermost the nobilitie
of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that
so apparantlie to the world, that aswell his enemies
as friends should both haue knowen and spoken
of it.

Findocus being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of
his reigne, and buried with great lamentation
of the people at Dunstaffe, his brother Donald,
the third son to Athiro, was admitted to the king-
dome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the
estate, prepared to go into the Ales against Donald
that common enimie of Scotland. But this Do-
nald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of
that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the mur-
der by him contriued was executed, he assembled a
mightie power of the Island-men, and transporting
with them ouer into Kosse, proclaimed himselfe
king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as de-
nied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised
of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie mar-
cheth forth with such power as he had already assem-
bled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Thus comming into Murray land, he pitched
downe his tents, purposing there to abide the com-
ming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of
the Ales vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole
intention, thought it best to assaile him within his
campe, before all his power should come vnto him,
and being thus resolved, he set forward in the night
time, and was vpon his enemies, before that his
comming towards them was once signified in their
campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersa-
ries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, setteth
them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pitie
wordes to receiue their enemies with manlie sto-
machs. But the Island-men encouraged also by their
capitaine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Sco-
tishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but
were enforced even at the first to loine at hand-
blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort,
that in the end the Scots being oppressed with mul-
titude, were constrained to giue backe, some sauing
themselves by flight, and some standing at defense
till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.
There were slaine on the kings part thre thousand
men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst
whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate,
together with the king himselfe being wounded so
soe, that he died within thre daies after the battell,
rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as
some haue written) in the same yeare that he began
his reigne. Donald of the Ales hauing thus got the
victorie, took vpon him as king, accordinglie as he
had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by blood, he
continued still in doubt and feare of new conspi-
racies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrong-
full usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had ta-
ken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie,
menacing them present death, if anie of their friends
and allies attempted anie stirre against him. More-
ouer he nourished priue factions amongst the no-
bilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would
be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was
to be moued against him; finallie, if anie mischief
happened amongst them, he caused the matter
thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard
that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the
forfeitures and penalties which he took vpon amongst
them. He felldome times went abroad, and when
he stirred forth anie whither, he had his gird about
him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout
of treason. He aduanced diners of base condition
to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so
in furdrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that
manie there were which dread him, and but a few
that loued him, so that in the end being in a manner
run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was mur-
dered one night at Cnuerlochthe (whither he was
come to haue passed ouer into the Ales) by certeine
that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of
his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint
the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after
the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the
chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and
gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he
declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting
them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries done not
onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but
also to the whole state of the Scottis common welth,
by the naughtie suggestion of diuerse of the kings
complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their
maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as
men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was
now

Donald of the
Ales secretlie
setteth vpon
the enemies.

Crathlint

Crathlint is
made king.

The Scots
ouertaken.

Donald ap-
peareth thus
wounded.

Donald of the
Ales taketh
vpon him as
king.

Donald.

A guiltie con-
science.

The kinisme
and friends of
Donald of the
Ales are per-
secuted.

The politike
gouernment
of Crathlint.

Crathlint go-
eth to hunt in
the mountaine
of Strathmore
ancientlie cal-
led Graunpau-
mons.
An ambassag-
er from the
Ales.
The Scots re-
quire the
league to be
renewed.

Donald of the
Ales is man-
slaughtered.
Anno Christi
273. H.B.

Crathlint
chiese com-
plices to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint pro-
cureth the re-
venges of the
countrie to
oppress the
seruants of
king Donald
now

Crathlint pro-
mises to ob-
taine the an-
cient amitie
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Ales.
The present
law by Crath-
lint vnto the
king of the
Ales.
Diuers Dic-
tionaries com-
e to Crathlint
to hunt and
make merie
with him.
A waste of the
Scottis boggs.

lyth speed,
he pitched
ie the com-
Donald of
r and whole
with in his
e into him,
in the night
re that his
fied in their
his aduersa-
ien, fettest
nany pithie
nanlie flow-
also by their
at the Scot-
it shot, but
ie at hand-
curious sort,
d with mul-
some faulde
g at defense
in the place.
e thousand
; amongst
gale estate,
wounded for
e the battell,
his hurts (as
at he began
thus got the
inglie as he
lamed:
by blond, he
new conspi-
f his twong-
ell he had ta-
ll captiuitie
their friends
him, spore-
igest the no-
wers would
oit that wae
ite mischief-
the matter
such regard
fers with the
: by amongst
id, and when
gard about
: sort for dou-
ise condition
d himselfe so
rueltie, that
nd but a fet-
g in a maner
he was mur-
ther he was
by certein
slytly ycare o
ne Crathlin
e diatlie affe-
le out of the
e nobles and
countrie, his
r, exhorting
ies done no-
rie well; but
nmon welth
of the king-
hing of their
best beas, as
it which was
nobles

Donald of the
Fleg subentle
setteth upon
the entines.

The Scots
overthrown

Donald departs
teth this
world.

Donald of the
Alex taketh
upon him as

Donald.

Agustine con-
science.

Donald of the
Alex is mar-
thered.
Anno Christi.
273. H.B.

Crathline
chief conspirator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint pi
cureth the no
bles of the
countrie to
opprelle the
servants of
king Donala

not happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioyng
greatlie therat, got them to their weapons, and
earlye in the verie dawning of the day, coming
vpon the kings household manie, they slue about
two hundred of them in the place where they lodged,
the residue escaping forth of the boule, and thinking
to saue themselves, were beaten downe in the coun-
trie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie
and mostall hatred vnto the late king, that they not
onlie reioiced much at his death, but thought them-
selves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill
any that did belong vnto him.

Crathline
Crathline is
cubbing.

After this, Crathlint being certaine the kinsone to be the sonne of king Jfnocke, by such cert-
dent tokens as were shewed by him that brought
him vp, was (partlie in respect of his iust tust tie, and
partlie for) consideration of his god seruice in de-
uering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanc-
ed to the gouernement of the kingdom, by con-
sent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king,
he perswaded the people that all the linage of the
late tyrant Donald might be plucked by, euen as it
were a tree by the roots, least anie of them haplie
remaining alieue, should find meanes afterwards to
disturbe the common-wealth. The people consented
lightlie herunto, as they that before the mortall
hate which they bare towards Donald, were now
suddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onlie for his
wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by rea-
son of his comelie personage and passing beautie, set-
ting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise
and commendation.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and allies of Donald were fought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruelly put to death. Whithowin, Crathlint appointed forty iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the countries gouerned in god and quiet order, euery man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peers and barons of his realme. The yonger sort he referred to attend vpon his person.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went by into the mountains of Granzebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came unto him ambassadoys from Thelargus king of the Pidas, declaring the joy which their maister had conceiued for the daughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe unto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Pidas and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadoys most sofallie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maister for this signification of his good will shewed by their comming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would glablie obscure the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreover, when the said ambassadoys should depart, he took into them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maister certeine hordies, with boundes and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And so hee after the returne of these ambassa-
dors into their countrie, diuerse yong gentlemen
of the Dutch nobilitie repaired vnto king Cather-
line, to hunt and make merie with him: but when
they should depart home wards, perceiving that the
Scottish dogs did farre exceed theirs, both in faimnesse,
swiftnesse, hardinesse, and also in long standing
and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for bread to be given them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The master of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to have taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the master of the leash through with their bozspeares that he died presentlie, whereupon a noyse and crie being raised in the countrie by his servants, diuerie of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned: and falling upon the Pits to reuenge the death of their fellow, there infused a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died thyscore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them understanding (till all was done) what the matter was. Of the Pits there were about an hundred slaine.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, inasmuch that without commandement of king or capitaine, they assembled in great numbers together, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the manner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth together into the field, and encountering with the Scots, there was fought a foie battell betwixt them, without capitaine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died about three thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus upon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still ready to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Meath, being the 7. in number that reigned after Sferause.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to understand with what crueltye the one sought to destroye the other. No pittie might moue their cruell hearts to spare either man, woman, or child that fell into their hands: such was their impinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blood. At last Thelargus R. of the Picts being a berie aged man, and perceiving what mischief was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certein of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some meane to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions comming to the place where Crathlint as then shouered, had much adoe to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they vsed their humble persuasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for thre months space, which was but sozlie observed: for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, inauer their princes and all their fore restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Roman empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carantius: he would not be acknowledge at his coming to Rome of what lineage he was descended, and so he was repated to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie service in the warres, he attained unto

The Pias
steals one of
the king's best
greyhounds.

The Scots &
Picts fight
for a great
hound.

what mischief
insued vpon
so light an oc-
casion as the
stealing of
a dog.
This chanced
about the yere
of Christ 188.
as Io. Ma.
noteth.

The Scots
rob the Pic-
tish borders.
The Scots &
Picts incoun-
ter in battell.

The Scots
discomfited by
the Picts.
Of what contin-
uance the
league was
betwixt the
Scots and
Picts, & now
broken about
a small matter
as begun a-
bout a dog.

Cruel Songs

Thelargus
king of the
Pias being
an aged man,
desireth to
haue peace,
and thereupon
sendeth his
ambassadors
vnto Crath-
lint.

A truce
granted.

Carantius
named by Eu-
tropius Ca-
rausius, trou-
bleth the
estate of Bz-
taine.

The soile
practise of
Carantius.

Carantius
seerly to come
to make an-
swer to such
matters as he
was charged
with.
Carantius
recuolting co-
meth into
westmerland,
& causeth the
people there
to take his
part against
the Romans.

Carantius
sendeth mes-
sengers vnto
king Crath-
lint, in ex-
cusing his fault
for his brother
Finadoche's
death.
Carantius
requereth to
be aided a-
gainst the
Romans.

Crathlint re-
ioiceth to hear
that Caranti-
us was alive.

Crathlint re-
solueth to aid
Carantius, &
certifieth him
of the same.

The king of
the Picts also
promiseth to
aid Caran-
tius.

Crathlint
king of the
Scots and
Carantius
come to talke
together.

Crathlint and
the king of the
Picts come to
a communica-
tion by Caran-
tius his
means, who
trauelleth to
set them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the soueraine regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats of the Saxons and other Germans, that fore molested the same in those daies. But for that he bled to suffer those rourers to take spoiles and prizes, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Ro- mane emperor, he was complained vpon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his name with men, bittels and ordinance, and with the same took his course about the west parts of Bri- taine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselves to be vnder his rule and obedience, and promised to deliuer them from the greivous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purposed to achieve, for his further aduancement therein, he sent ambassadoes vnto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also ex- cusing the trespasses furnished against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Fin- doche, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocence in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vt- terlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all those prouinces within the same (which as then they possessed) vnto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friend- ship, and ioine with them in aid against their com- mon enemies, than to seeke to destroy one another, as he lately understood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadoes, reioiced not a little, that his vnckle Carantius was not onely alive, but also had through his valiance achieved so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romane captiues. And hereupon with good aduise he deter- mined to aid him in that his enterprise for the con- quest of Britaine to the vttermost of his power. Ad- ding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not on- ly send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadoes both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer vnto their maister Carantius, he reioi- ced not a little, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he received about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Elke, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Finadoche, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Ca- rantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence thereunto stood so much in stead, that chiefie through his persua- sion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such maner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the aduise and discreet order of eight an- cient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduiseable giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitre- ment and direction, so that a soifull peace was confir- med, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not one- ly caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also laine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to reuenge these in- juries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie ready, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to Poike, and had worne, the citie by surrendre, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Ca- rantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a berie strong place, fenced about with ma- rishes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the maner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them: thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great byte, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was in- camped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh ready for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but so much as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his weapons nothing auailed for the desirous to see the vt- ter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the berie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselves apart without anie stroke stricken, and got them by into the next mounteins, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romane armie, se- ing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by rea- son of the marish ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Ro- mans, and other of their part were overtaken and laine. Amongst whome Bassianus himselfe was one, and Vircius the emperors procurator another.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yielded themselves vnto Carantius, and sware to be his true liege men and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeeres and threescore, to remaine with him in ho- stage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victo- rie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, blurring the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and reteining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safeguard of his per- son, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassa- does, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countie of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Poike, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

Peace con-
firmed againe
betweene the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Bassianus
entereth into
Westmerland,
but hearing
that his ene-
mies were at
Poike he re-
turneth thither
warres.

Carantius
perceiuing
the Christians.

Some of the
Britains flee
to the Scots
to auoid per-
secution.

Crathlint de-
stroyeth the
temples of the
false gods
in Spain.

The Bri-
tains being
the Romans.

The first bi-
shops see in
Scotland.
Sodorenus
ecclesia.

Crathlint de-
parteth out of
this world.

The slough-
ter of the
Romans.

The Bri-
tains yield
themselves
vnto Caran-
tius.

Carantius
causeth
Europius
to be pro-
claimed
king of Bri-
taine.

Carantius
hauing got
the victorie,
beith the
gates in
assigning
the countie
of Westmer-
land to the
Scots.

Caldei.

What peere
Finco-marke
began his
reigne.

for euer mo
laine by his
historie ye 1

After th
from tronbl
god ordina
common-ly
obserued in
daies the pi
the empero
ted in most
partes of t
knowne to
all ordinau
taine also, a
small quan
tunmerciful
myn of Ch
religion.

In whi
Constanti
who abidg
uen to pile
determine
subiectio
terpise, bi
right gentl
point he so
of the chie
der Diocle
full among
and Picts
lint recei
ned vnto
for a place
of the heat
which had
terlie abo
stomes of
and both
dedicated
christians
ding to th
dowed, to
and there
the realm
mour. A
after he h
aswell for
and earne
ment of ti
Fincon-
marke.
Fincin
him in
of marbl
who with
continue
daies a
taine bor
raised in
lint, and
Saviour
rie much
setting so
hearts a
There is
bout the
instructi
cus, Pyl
Carnock
Scottish
Dei, or as
of God.

But
pech all v

Finco-
marke.

Amphibalus.

The church
of S. Saulo,
where he cal-
led Sodorenus
ecclesia.

Caldei.

What peere
Finco-marke
began his
reigne.

eight an-
le part, and
taking the
order for the
tred, that
the arbitre
was confir-
manus the
derstanding
had not one
ll, but also
it countrie,
mined with
age these in-
ig his armie
but hearing
Pozke, and
ned his force
rem, though
attels, as the
those of Ca-
d that night
out with ma-

Peace con-
firmed againe
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Valerianus
entred into
Westmerland,
but hearing
that his mi-
nister were at
York he re-
turned thither.
wards.

ll the maner
ing in campe
; in the same
great bulte,
s he marched
mus was in-
of the day he
ig advertised,
maketh rea-
tion he could
for so much as
ins, all his
is to see the
n at the verie
ed, with byen
stricken, and
s, to see what
ane armie, sic
fellows, and
isme to enter
y, but by rea-
g them in
the Scots, and
er of the Ro-
uertaken and
himselfe was
atoz an other.
ed to fight in
hemselfe bn-
rue liege men
ius appointed
twixt twentie
th him in ho-
ided amongst
e Scottishmen
eld them well
for this victo-
reclaimed king
t thereof wholie
d of the Scots
rd of his per-
riches of the
his ambassa-
kings for their
signing vnto
the countres
with all that
ll, and the citie
er patrimonie
for

The Pict-
ains betwixt
the Romans.

The Romans
are discorde.

The slaugh-
ter of the
Romans.

The Pict-
ains yeld
themselves
vnto Ca-
rantius.

Carantius
Carantius
Europius
meth him,
disperth the
kingdome of
Britaine.

Carantius
being got the
victory, dined
with the gail-
in signing
his collected
their true
postion.

for curmore. Finallie the said Carantius was
slaine by his companion Alexus, as in the English
historie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered
from troubles against the Romans, beuiled sundrie
good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish
common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie
observed betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his
daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which
the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be execu-
ted in most furious wise, so that there were few
partes of the world (where anie christians were
knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cru-
ell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Bri-
taine also, as well as in other places, there was no
small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most
vnumerfull murder committed, to the great tri-
umph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our
religion.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to
Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine,
who aduising the Scots to be a people wholie gi-
uen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in ded,
determined with himselfe to haue brought them to
subiection. But per he could atchiue any notable en-
terpise, he died, leaving behind him the fame of a
right gentle and worthy prince, sauing that in one
point he fore stained his honor, for that he was one
of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke un-
der Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faith-
full amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots
and Picts to auoid his persecution. Whome Crath-
lint receiued for his part most louinglie, and affig-
ned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Span
for a place of habitation, destroing all such temples
of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides,
which had continued there since the beginning, and vt-
terlie abolished all the superstitious rites and cu-
stomes of the same Druides, with their whole order
and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which he
dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our saviour, wherein the
christians might celebrate their diuine seruice, accor-
ding to their profession. This church being richlie in-
dowed, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots,
and thereupon was taken for the mother church of
the realme. It is now called the church of saint Sa-
mour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life,
after he had reigned 24 yeres, being much praised
as well for his politike gouernment, as for his great
and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduance-
ment of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeded
him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone
of marble, to the great reioicing of all the estates,
who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to
continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints
daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Bri-
taine borne, who fleeing from the persecution then
raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crath-
lint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint
Saviours church in Span: this Amphibalus did be-
ric much good amongst the Scots and Britains in
setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their
hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie.
There were other also of right famous memorie a-
bout the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and
instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Podo-
cus, Pileus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and
Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the
Scottish tong Culdei, that is to understand, Cultores
Dei, as you would say in English, the worshippers
of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke,
which all vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the

perce (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Sa-
uour 325, after the creation of the world 4292,
and from the first establishing of the Scottish king-
dome 652, and in the 20 yere of Constantine the
emperor. It chanced that Datanius king of the
Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane
capitaine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this
Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him
as a friend. And further more though he were requi-
red by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as
a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet
Fincomarke refused so to doo, choosing rather to suf-
fer all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres
with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend
who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall
trust of safeguard.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, as-
sembled his power, and entred into Westmerland,
the which countrie had remained in the Scottish
mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer
vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans
would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a
puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the
least 60 thousand persons together in one armie,
as 30 thousand of his owne countrymen, 20 thou-
sand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as follo-
wed after Datanius. Fincomarke being thus furni-
shed, halted forthly to encounter with his enimies, be-
fore they should haue time to do any notable da-
mage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight
of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnder-
stand the cause why he thus inuaded his countrie, but
receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought
forth his people into the field in order readie to giue
battell, and so joining with the enimie, there was
fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continu-
ed for a time with vnumerfull murder and slaugh-
ter on both parts.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to
haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in
such feare with the sight of a number of husband-
men, who had got together their cattell and were dis-
uing the same abate, that supposing they had bene
some new succors comming to aid their enimies,
they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leaving the
victory to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots
sire were slaine (as their chronicles report) fiftene
thousand men, and on the Romane part about six-
tene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto
Pozke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Datanius
pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him
into places of more suertie, so that when the enimies
came thither, the citizens yelded themselves, and
receiued Datanius as their prince, offering from
thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernment.
The newes of these atchiued victories being bur-
ted throughout the realme, caused a great number
of the nobles to come in vnto Datanius, who recei-
ued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought
so by their support, that he was shortly after resto-
red to the gouernance of the whole realme, and esta-
blished therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his coun-
trie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and
men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their
paines and trauell sustained in that iourne. There
was also promise made and confirmed by solempne
oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such o-
ther parts as were assigned to his predecessor king
Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of
their joining together in league against the Ro-
mans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, &
to his successors the Scottish kings, without anie
claime or title to be made to the same by any of the
C. I. Britains:

322. H.B.
4290. H.B.
655. H.B.
First of Con-
stantine, H.B.
Datanius is
vanquished, &
fleeth into
Scotland.

Traherus
inuaeth west-
merland.

Fincomarke
raisteth his
power.

Fincomarke
someth as bat-
tled forth
Crath: us.

The Ro-
mans flee.

The number
is slaine.

Pozke is yel-
ded vnto
Datanius.

Datanius
obtaineth the
rule of Bri-
taine.

Westmerland
assigned to the
Scottishmen.

**A councell
kept at York.**

**Octavius
counsell to
inlarge his
dominion.**

**The Brit-
tains invade
Westmerland.**

**Craberus
returneth
into Britain.
Octavius is
vanquished by
Craberus.**

**Craberus by
a conspiracie
is murdered.
Octavius is
reconciled
with Fincomarke.**

**Octavius
entreth into
amitie with
the Britissh
king.**

**Octavius be-
cometh
tributarie
unto the Ro-
man emperor.
17 of Octavian
& Octavianus
emperor. H.B.
Fincomarke
deceased.
358. H.B.**

**Engenius &
Ethodius
sons to Fin-
comarke.**

**Romacus,
Fethelmacus
and Angust-
nus sonnes to
the seuerall
brethren pre-
tend a right
to the estate.**

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Octavius had once chased all the Romans forth of the Britissh confines, and that Craberus was fled over into France, there was a councell called at York, where it was not onely ordeined, that from thenceforth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne over the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, even unto the old ancient bounds and limits, compelling forth the inhabitants of forren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of enlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octavius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits received, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him unto his former estate and dignitie, as before we have rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottisshmens hands: but being encountered with a power of Scottisshmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Craberus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giving battell unto Octavius, he vanquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee unto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Fforwaie, there to save his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Craberus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in favour of Octavius murdered, and then Octavius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie upon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottissh king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time unto Crathlint. He likewise sent unto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might have aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans should to invade his countrie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he delivered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might use the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quickened in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottisshmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had governed the estate about 47 yeeres. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Engenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeare, so that neither of them might succeed their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Whereupon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephews to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should governe the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angustanus. Romacus had a Pictissh ladie of the blood roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next unto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angustanus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voices as he had unto Angustanus, where with Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to have destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdraw their good wills from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and thereupon the councell brake up, either part devising how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angustanus used plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being more of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angustanus therefore understanding that danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such as favoured his cause, and encountering with him in battell was put to flight, and forced to flee into the westerne Isles with his cousine Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was advertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him over into Ireland.

Angustanus being thus chased out of the realme, Romacus was received by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed manner of tyrants, committing thus to the gouernement of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soon as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward used their counsell about all other mens, advancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Again, those which had bene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspition, that he would likewise ver long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Engenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome itselfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conuied themselves into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Isle of Man, where they remained looking for a date.

When began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauorers of Angustanus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any understanding of their enterpryse, so that whereas he (being vnprouided of resistance) assailed by sight towards Pictland to have escaped their hands, it preualled him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserved, in the fourth yeare of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioicing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angustanus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king,

**Romacus
seeketh
to destroy
Angustanus.**

**Angustanus
seeketh
to destroy
Romacus.**

**Romacus
vanquisheth
Angustanus.**

**Romacus
receiued by
the king.**

**Romacus
gouerneth
tyrannicall.
Ethodius &
Engenius
the sons of
Fincomarke
are conuied
into the Isle
of Man.**

**The Scots
begin conspire
against Ro-
macus.**

**Romacus
apprehended
and put to
death.**

**Angustanus
persecuteth
the king.**

king, as well by the commons. Albain had slain the rebels, to countering in battell. And within three Britains, though being constrained to flee into the Isle of Iles, the sonnes of Constantine perishing in the battell, till he had by location.

While these troubles continued, Angustanus the son of Constantine king of Iles, to avenge the death of his father, rode into the westerne Isles, and greatlie increased his power, murdering of towne with his power increased men, which had increased so far by the sword, for no other agreement made humble. Therefore perceiving that danger he was in, he prepared an armie where (after some time remained) his Picts were by flight.

Octavius hit to Camelot, to have their aid, to the intent he might be assured of the in of he was most danger he was somewhat eased, but thus conceiued neither wanted that assemble, to win fauour of earnest will the say to the conquest an armie the Scottissh sent of his nobles of his doubts that might be he staied not entered into the all afore him at

Angustanus king least the Romans should destruction of the antie friendlie fall vnto some waies to into estates, in put to the hands of and the Britains such dangers this warre th

**Octavius
king of the
Isles maketh
warres
upon the
Britons.**

**The Picts
informed by
Romacus.**

**Octavius
de-
clares of re-
venge.**

**Octavius in-
uadeth the
Scottissh con-
tries.**

**Angustanus
sues for peace.**

trethint, he
se was pon
o Angustia
with such voi
with Roma
it means to
se being dis
it god wils
re the more
bake by, et
hemselfes a
ch as Angu
fraulent
t Romacus
d of the king
t, might not
e understan
to his aduer
ch as fauou
m in battell
he iusticrie
here remai
certified that
im, for doubt

of the relme,
st part of the
ut as the ac
jus to the go
icans, is to
selfe, accor
s he thought
efore such as
ke, and were
acus call by
ell about all
off high rule
bene in fa
ction toward
them both of
wings, there
would like
Rhodius and
larke, there
a king done
as much on
the of their
into West
pan, where

ms of gods,
be sanjers
her of ser o
not a little
tyrannicall
ret means
icious a ty
more spedi
at they had
ie with the
ere he then
their enter
ided of refu
md to haue
othing, for
such end as
rned, in the
as set vpon
beled vnto
e were slain
ots & Pits,
stiles.
o Angustia
s proclaimed
king,

Romacus
seeth name
to refire by
couing.

Angustianus
South by the
beating pur
chofeth the
more fauou
ship.

Romacus
banguish
Angustianus

Romacus
Romacus is
reueled by
ling.

Romacus
gouerneth
tyrannicall
Rhodius &
Eugenius
the sonnes of
Fincomarke
are conuinc
into the Ile
of Agan.

The Scotis
lords conspire
against Ro
macus.

Romacus
apprehended
and put to
death.

Angustianus
proclaimed
king.

hing, as well by consent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slain the Roman lieutenant, the emperor Constantine sent one Sparinus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Sparinus in countering in battell, gaue them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Statianus king of the Britains, through greife, age, and long sicknesse, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Statianus, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yeeres unknowen with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were often times discomfited in battell by Sparinus, and soze by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subjection.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Angustianus k. of Scots was soze disquieted by Pectanus king of Pits, who enforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scotish confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certeine Scotish men, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he peaced so soze vpon Angustianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agreement could be heard, though Angustianus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enemie in the field, where (after soze fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Angustianus and Pectanus with his Pits were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, whereof he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceiued against his enemies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leuiued, and led forth into the Scotish borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to invade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken by through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staied not long but set forward with them, and entered into Kalendar wood, spoiling and destroing all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Angustianus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should seeke to ioine with the Pits, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pits and Scotish estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enemies the Romans and the Britains. Whereupon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Sparinus the Roman legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Pits: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Angustianus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subieas, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to doe valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie frellie one at an other, vntill at length coming to handblowes they stroke on frellie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtful. At length Angustianus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed forth into the thick of the prease amongst his enemies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Pits, but neither part had anie cause to reioise, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right pensiffe and sorrowfull, giuing manie a soze curse vnto such as had bene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countreies. After this bloodie battell, aswell the Scots as Pits sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprife of importance the one against the other.

Angustianus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Pits, he assembled an armie, and entering into Angus, began to spoile & slea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Pits also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and encountering with the Scots, there was a soze battell fought betwixt them; but the Scots first putting the wings of their enemies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Pits as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Tule, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Pits, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to match with their enemies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with subtilties and light encounterings (if it were possible) to keape them off from the winning of anie of their fenced townes, castles or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselves in this their purposed

Pectanus te
sufeth all of
fers of peace.

Angustianus
and Pectanus
ioine in battell
with their ar
mies.

Angustianus
is slaine.

The Scots
are discomf
ted.

Pectanus is
also slaine.

Fethel
macus.

The Scots
discomfite the
Pits.

An other
Pectanus
king of the
Pits dieth of
wounds recei
ued in the
fight with the
Scots.

Heirgust is
chosen king
of the Picts.

He pretended
treason.

Fethelmacus
is murdered
in his bed.

In the fift
yeare of the
emperour
Constantinus.

260. H.B.

Saint Keule
commeth into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots
send into the
Iles of Man,
for Fincomarke
his sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is
murdered king.

The practise
of Sparinus
to destroy the
Scots.

intention, they did choose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two sic fellows Pias by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus took great pleasure, they were appointed to make sure to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might elpe their time, they should sea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onlie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Pias, the same musician (hauing plaied in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asleepe) did let in those two Piasly traitors, who forthwith slue him euen as he laie so sleeping: but the king growning grieuouslie at the deable stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber dore perceiving what was happened, followed after the murderers, who fled with all speed into the next mountains, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling stone stones, upon them that came up towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were drawen in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and convict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene betwixt) certaine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought forth of Achata, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Greekish monke named Regulus Albasus, commonlie called S. Keule, a man in those daies higly esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed: at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Keule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie churchyard, where the charnes were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the three last remembered kings, Romiacus, Angustianus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Sparinus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Pias, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onlie to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might loine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroy-

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to doe with them both at one instant. Whereupon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Pias, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onlie to the Piasly nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceived by their continuall practise and vltage, euer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with rodes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them bitterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iollfull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almighty God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people: therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Pias, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onlie requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Sparinus hauing receiued this answer, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onlie aduoged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Pias. And further therewith were certaine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Sparinus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Piasly nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the R. of the Pias, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doe, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer hereunto, declared that since he entred into the government of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Pias, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equitie and reason. Whether did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Pias against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would do what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chiefly in the succours of almighty God, who vsed to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Sparinus receiuing this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserable, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Anabale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seene in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and

Heirgust
died with his
wounds, and
was interred.

The Romans
destroying the
Scottish
countie, re-
ceiued damage.

Eugenius
murdered by
his armie.

Heirgust had
an answer from
Sparinus his
message.

Sparinus
and Ethodius
some inuasions
did, and the
Scots pre-
sented en-
mies to them
both.

In heretofore
sent from
Sparinus
vnto Eugenius.

The answer
of Eugenius
vnto the he-
ralt.

Sparinus
hath sent
guilt.

Sparinus
killens in
the north
of Britaine.

Eugenius
prepareth an
armie to de-
fend his coun-
trie.

Women fled
to the warres.

The number
of the Scottish
armie.

The approach
of Sparinus
towards the
Scotts.

Eugenius
gathering his
power.

and so joining to-
ter of Crete, his p
and chased, by ree
in number. But
had not bene at t
wards it, and in
as pursued their
backe with some
so (which were de
so that if might be
bene a far great
in that bickering
of. Whereupon the
mies entred to
night berie from
that a multitu
fell, so that the
was stoped by
(with the aduise
depart to their
enimies anie mo
which being d
night vnto Carr
son, making pr
best he could dei
in the morning
their waies, he
but being cert
Britains in her
turned thitherw
in Galloway a
holds as he had
loving, Sparin
of Britaine,
warres against
teining such g
counties, by
happened betw
the Scots, who
owne countrie
also to inuade a
ried the countri
Sterling Mire,
and houses mol
Whereof Spar
blance as thou
but inwardlie
more than to h
into the Pias
purpose; and h
the next summ
a quiet order a
with the same l
ruined, there w
the poore inhabi
understanding
stered his peop
made in the c
that his enimie
not onlie all th
but likewise a
men apt to be
customed guis
numbered in thi
ferce and har
enimie with di
the place.

Sparinus
camped in
ged the same
Sparinus, wher
mus, that Spar
him, with a gi

uld be an hard
mott at ore
ers br. to their
to renew the
promising to
enemies not
o all such per
ight easlie be
and blage, e
s with robes &
rall common
and certipred.
s, gaue battie
ad mowed the
er unto him,
might be once
le; & therefore
the same lew
ague betwixt
asonable con
the requiring
cots, but also
d. Maximus
no means al
designt were
rmed betwixt
elic abindged
rans and W
her therewith
e war should
them. These
res returned
ald unto Cu
ng him on the
the restitution
to the Pictis
the hands of
s of the same
at his discre
, that then he
the Romane
ation.
declared that
of the Scotch
ht be thought
the Britains
would he glad
ht be amends
r part, accor
th equitie and
the Romans
Pictis against
sure: but if it
, he would do
of the Scotch
o of almightie
he iust and in
ng them upon
furn. Maxi
Eugenius, al
ghtie armie of
with the which
that countrie
ls and strong
with garrisons
randale, bur
e he entred in
tyrannie that
nts, so that the
untirie: for of
irmie had not
ing his power
ne of battell,
and

then fight
with his
reces, and
abandoned.

the Romans
coming to
the battle
the re-
countrie.

the Scots
coming by
the same.

the Scots
coming by
the same.

Maximus
and his
some in
ship, and the
Scots pro-
claimed en-
emies to them
both.

In herat
sent from
Maximus
unto Euge-
nius.

The answer
of Eugenius
vnto the he-
rals.

Maximus
replied
thus.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

Maximus
replied in
this way.

and joining with his enemies nere unto the wa-
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,
happened to light amongst them of Argile, which
had not bene at the battell, but were coming to-
wards it, and now fiercelie incounting with such
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire
backe with some losse, wher upon the other Scots al-
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,
so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke
of. Whereupon the Romans, doubting what their en-
emies intended to do, they fortified their campe that
night verie stronglie; but Eugenius understanding
what a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat-
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree
was stopped up with dead carcasses, he thought best
(with the aduise of the peeres) to licence his people to
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his
enemies any more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same
night vnto Carrike, where he remained for a sea-
son, making provision for defense of his realme the
best he could deuise. Maximus having knowledge
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone
from their waies, he determined to haue followed them;
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re-
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leaving
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such
holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare fol-
lowing, Maximus was so busied in the south parts
of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the
warres against the Scots, otherwise than in main-
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their
countrie, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and
the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but
also to invade and destroe Brittain, so that they har-
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Spenteth and
Sterling shire, burning & wailling townes, castles,
and houses most cruelle.

Whereof Maximus being certified, made sen-
sibleness as though he were fore grieved therewith,
but inwardlie he could haue reioiced at nothing
more than to heare of the injuries don by the Scots
vnto the Pictis, supposing it to make chiefe for his
purpose; and hereupon preparing an armie against
the next summer, when he had disposed all things in
a quiet order amongst the Britains, he set forward
with the same towards Galloway, where being ar-
riued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time
understanding the coming of his enemies, mu-
stered his people, and appointed the assemblee to be
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard
that his enemies would trauell. Whither came also
not onlie all the able men of the Scotch dominions,
but likewise a great number of lustie & strong wo-
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac-
customed guise of their nation, so that there were
numbered in this armie fiftie thousand persons right
fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the
enemie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in
the place.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus in-
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and lod-
ged the same night not far off from the river of
Munda, where knowledge was given vnto Euge-
nius, that Maximus was come within five miles of
him, with a greater armie than he had at his last in-

counting with him in Galloway. These aduertise-
ments caused no small feare to be raised in the campe,
some being stricken with present feare; where other
contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired
nothing so much as to come in battell with the Ro-
mans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested.
Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable
words, he brought them streight in order of battell,
diuided into three wards, committing one of them
to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second
to Doolus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the
third to himselfe. This done, he made vnto them a
pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for
them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie
consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being
vanquished, their countrie was endangered to be
brought vnto perpetuall bondage for euer, for the
onelie marke which the Romans thot at, was to op-
presse the libertie of the whole Island, and to reduce
the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gouer-
ned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all
their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

With these and manie other like reasons he went
about to encourage the minds of his subiects, in such
wise, that in manner the most part of them determi-
ned rather to die with honor, than to lue in such mi-
serie as they feared would insue, if the victorie should
rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in
such talke together, suddenie commeth in one of
their scouts with newes, that Maximus with his ar-
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,
anon after the sunne was vp, where he was not lo-
ked for till the euening following, inasmuch that the
same his suddene arrivall, chancing so farre contra-
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that
hereby they were constrained to change the order of
their battells to haue the sunne on their backs, as
they had provided at the first it should haue bene, if
the enemies had not come vntill the after none. Yet
notwithstanding, they had no sooner changed their
place, and gotten themselves into arraie of battell
again, but that with great violence they pressed
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which
Maximus perceiving, made all the speed he could to
set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue
his enemies comming thus to encounter him. So
both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approached
within danger of shot, they let slee the same most e-
gerlie, albeit that through halting forth to come at
hand-strokes, there was little hurt done with bowes
or darts.

The Scots crying vpon the name of their wo-
thie and famous ancelloz king Calo, did late about
them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioi-
ning: and likewise the Romans, being encouraged
with the cherefull words of the lieutenant Maxi-
mus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doub-
full at the first whether part should haue the worse
end of the staffe. But shortly there followed variable
successes, for on the one part, they of Koffe and Mar,
being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that
wing of the enemies where the Pictis were, fought
so egerlie and with such ferce wills, that they easlie
put the Pictis vnto flight, beating downe a great
number of them as they would haue passed the wa-
ter of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the
spoile, they were slaine downe right by a legion of
such Romans as were sent by Maximus vnto the
succours of the Pictis.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile,
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after
C.iii. long

Eugenius
comforteth
his people.

The sudden
arrivall of
Maximus.

The Scots
giue the onset.

The battell
is done.

Doubtfull
fight.

Ethodius in
northward
the Pictis.

The Scots
having van-
quished the
Pictis, are
slaine by the
Romans.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for ever, so that by this meane the maine battell of the Scottis men, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Marimus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to save his life by flight, or by rendering himselfe into his enemies hands to live in miserie, &c. was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedlie with honor, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdom, in the third yere after his first entering to the rule, hauing intioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

The Scottis
battell is ouer-
throwne.

Eugenius is
slaine.

The furious
rage of the
Scottis
carrers.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cartage and trusse of the field, seeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slaue some number of their enemies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by any valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten downe. Whereafter, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enemies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kindred, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they due upon such Romans as they met with; but being easily vanquished, and refusing to flie, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable manner.

The spoile di-
uided amongst
the soldiers.

The buriall of
the dead bod-
ies by ap-
pointment of
Marimus.

Eugenius fore
wounded, as
committed to
the cure of
surgeons.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enemies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and conetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Marimus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equalie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed manner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corpse of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemn and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Roman princes.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in manner halfe dead, was also taken up by commandement of the same Marimus, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus achieved, Marimus succreteth the countries of Bile, Carrike, and Contingham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to enjoy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegi-
ance, without any further molestation. Yet guff

king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottis race. Whereunto Marimus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefites, than by the sword, enen vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour or state of their empire with crueltie.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuaide him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue any abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished any quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onely set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namely of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophetes spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrup-
tion bribes, the which they could not do by other meanes. And enen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe enen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scottis men, should by a certeine date auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Britaine, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer by their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make any resistance, obeyed this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Isles, and some of them got ouer also into Florwaite, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Romans soldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottis lineage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Marimus, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

Whereafter, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Marimus, with two gentlewomen and a gowne from the toine of hir husband, where she had remained euersith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Britain, and descended by lineage from the princes of Wales; Marimus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chaunced that a sort of Pictis riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne case, for they did not onely steale hir gowne, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Marimus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The queene herselfe being brought backe vnto Marimus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

Marimus be-
cometh the
best friend of
the Scots.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

The Picts
are not
satisfied
with
the
Picts
and
Romans
are
at
warre.

But the
scallie for
their nobi
make a se
that the d
ward the
put to ere
emie a
she might
to the ter
gods. U
gan to m
most vnt
hir wyetd
should m
trie: will
to do, tha
in the pla
holding t
wife, the
please hu
hir life at
hir wido
hir prefer

There I
saw and I
wofull di
Picts wa
assigned
licenced: the
disturba
preests, bi
the Scott
them into
where the
tation, ti
mous, ei
afterward
diuers of
there aft
shall be h

The p
banquish
confined
of the wi
from the
and the fl
before E
nie Itran
Albion, I
harts. A
storie su
ranke, a
ing chan
band, it
riuer of
riuer fl
There v
out of th
birds, an
rauens t

Certe
these thi
tith king
hold thei
nothing
tales pro
storie, C
red (as
was yet
ned to te
paire in
nerer bi

f that na-
cious to
stily race.
not agree,
rangs, who
jan by the
ted them;
o; male;

vent about
1 to suffer
e confines
1 the estate
as onelic
ace, to line
ours, and
on (as the
boine, fit
the wished
ight being
gh corrup-
o by other
eth in such
, gifts yet
re, for at
urement
ll Scotish
ut of those
pon paine
eir houses
s were ap-
me.

of able to
ndement,
some into
it ouer also
anie there
Romans
France, as
nd in other
Dits were
ish linage
a certaine
ie behind,
arres, and
wise unto
o abide in
heir liues,
hey might
in graues

the Scots,
into Spair-
ie from the
ined euer
for somuch
naze from
ing hir m-
e into hir,
intenance
ue of such
me into a
id, it chan-
f may call
profit, and
lie flea hir
nd skiped
ecf Spair-
d done so
death, ac-
hirselle be-
jono: able
into hir &

The earnest
lute of the
Dits to tang
the Scotish
men banished
and expelled
out of the
countrie.

where they
saile, gifts
personals.

The prom-
ination for the
quodding of
all Scotish-
men fuyth of
the whole
Zland of
Britaine.

The Scots
plagues for
their beallie
crucitie.

The cruel
dealing of
the Dits.

Cartandis
quene of
Scots.

The Dits
banished with
their mon.

Cartandis
banished her
countrie

The monas-
tery of Jona
ruled by
the Dits
and
Scots.

Prime that
the Scots
banished
their H.B.
H.B.
H.B.
the Scots
banished
their H.B.
H.B.
H.B.
the Scots
banished
their H.B.
H.B.
H.B.

Prime that
the Scots
banished
their H.B.
H.B.
H.B.

The Scots
banished
their H.B.
H.B.
H.B.

But the Dits being offended herewith, and spe-
ciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of
their nobilitie came unto Sparimus, and began to
make a sore complaint in that behalfe, declaring
that the deserts of their nation had not bene such to-
ward the Romane empire, as to haue their people
put to execution for a womans sake, being both an
enemie and a prisoner, therefore they required that
he might be confined into Britaine, and according
to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all his
goods. Where Cartandis being present hir selfe, be-
gan to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing hir
most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of
hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she
should now be forced to turne againe into hir coun-
trie: wishing rather than she should be enforced so
to do, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice
in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore
holding vp hir hands vnto Sparimus in most pitifull
wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might
please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue
of hir life after such sort as she thought best agreed with
hir widowlike estate, or else to take the same from
hir presentlie by some violent means of execution.

There was not a man other than the Dits, that
saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir
wofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the
Dits was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing lining
assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was
licensed to depart into what place she thought expe-
dient, there to liue as she thought best without let or
disturbance. The same time the Scotish bishops and
priests, being banished as well as the other sort of
the Scotish people, a number of their monks got
them into the Ile of Jona, now called Colmekill,
where they erected a monastrie for their owne habi-
tation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right fa-
mous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was
afterward indoued with manie faire reuenues by
durers of the Scotish kings, who had their burials
there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as
shall be hereafter expresse.

The yere in the which the Scotishmen were thus
banquished by the Romans and Dits, and finalie
confined out of their seats, was from the creation
of the world 4319, after the birth of our saviour 352,
from the beginning of the Scotish kingdome 679,
and the third yere of Augustinus. The same yere
before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Sparimus, ma-
nie strange sights were seene in the furthest part of
Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens
barts. In the night season in the aire were seene
serie swords and other weapons moving in a long
ranke, after comming together on a heape, and be-
ing changed into an huge flame as it had been a fire-
brand, it then vanished auaile. The waters of the
riuier of Dunc ran with blood, the banks of the same
riuier flashed oft times as they had bene all on a fire.
There were seene also a number of small birds fall
out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained
birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of
rauens that denoured by the same.

Certaine witches and soothsayers, declaring that
these things betokened the destruction of the Sco-
tish kingdome, were commanded by the priests to
hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told
nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their
tales proued most true. But to returne to our hi-
storie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cur-
red (as is said) by commandement of Sparimus,
was yet banished amongst the residue, and confre-
ned to take an oth, that he should immediatlie re-
paire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approach
nearer vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots tho-
rough his means, thereby to returne into their
countrie againe, & to recover their former state. But
this staied not them of the westerne Isles, but that
assembling themselves together, and choosing one
Gillo to their capitaine, they passed ouer into Argile,
where in the end they were encountered by such Dits
as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine
each mothers sonne. Their vessels were also taken
and brought into sundrie hauchis of the countrie, to
serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enter-
prise which the Scots should chance to make: but the
other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to fur-
nish forth a new armie in the Isles by any aid they
might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where
presenting themselves vnto the king of that region,
they declared vnto him from point to point all their
infortunate chances and lamentable calamities,
which were happened vnto them of late through the
tyrannicall euilliance of the Romans, and malicious
enmie of the Dits, in such sort as nothing could be
more miserable than their present estate, considering
the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the small
banishment of the inhabitants from their houses
and lands, which had bene in possession of them and
their elders, by the space almost of seven hundred
yeres.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pitie
to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to
haue chanced vnto that nation, whose good or bad hap
could not but touch them verie nere, considering
they were descended both of one progenie, comforted
these Scotishmen to the best of their power, and in
the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand
men, and to furnish them forth with ships, victuals,
and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie
of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines,
and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite
for such an enterprise, they took the sea, and landing
in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heribodians bro-
ther to Herigast king of the Dits, accompanied
with a great number of Dits and Britains assen-
bled to defend the countrie, but being sharpelie at-
tacked of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie
put to flight, & such as were overtaken died on the
sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants
that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue
counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre; but to
take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had
got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into
Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, suppo-
sing it best to follow the victorie, and either to reco-
uer againe their ancient seats, or else to vie in the
valiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was follo-
wed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for be-
fore they could come to any conclusion of that enter-
prise, the Romans, Dits, and Britains gathered
themselues together, and gaue battell againe to the
Scotish and Irish companies, wherein they ouer-
threw them, to their bitter ruine and destruction.

The newes of this infortunate encounter being
brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles
there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought
it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Spari-
mus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent
at the first were sore blamed and checked by Spari-
mus, for that they had aided the Scotishmen in the
last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accep-
ting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certaine
conditions, whereof the most principall article was,
that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any
enimie to the Romane empire. This Sparimus ha-
uing got a quiet peace on each side, vied all means
possible

Gillo chosen
captaine of the
banished
Scots in the
western Isles
comming into
Argile is ban-
quished by
the Dits.

The Scots
repaire into
Ireland.

The king of
Ireland with
his nobles
lament the
Scotishmens
case.
The Irish-
men conclude
to aid the
Scotishmen.

The Scots
and Irishmen
land in Can-
tire.
The Dits
in countrie
with the
Scots and
Irishmen and
are discor-
died.

The Scots
and Irishmen
are ouer-
throwne.

The king of
Ireland sees
beth for peace.
Sparimus
granteth
peace to the
Irishmen.
Sparimus
seeketh by his
banishments
liberalitie to
win the pro-
prie favour.

possible how to procure the loue of his souldiours and men of war, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but also so liberal and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all understanding: in somuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie more hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yielded to the empire in a whole yere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vsed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere vnto their maners & fashions, that at his comming into Scotland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this maner of meanes therefore he wan him such loue and fauor, as well amongst his souldiours, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yere after Christ, protesting generallie that they would owe onelie their obediensce vnto him as to their supream gouernour. Here the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Spartianus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by axie meanes which he of himselfe vsed to attaine vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certeine persons to worke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of five yeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradi-
on: which had not chanced vnto any one man before his time, since the Ile was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperously he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquila in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Detacius the sonne of Detacius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortly after he was constrained to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wanted tribute, and liue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Detacius should be reputed during his life for king. Immediatlie hereupon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whom the one named Spartianus totorned at London, and the other called Alaozine at Forke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practise, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and vsed most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Alaozine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue streight commandement vnto Heirgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vsed any longer amongst his subjects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Heirgust now perceiuing into what thraldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile state, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Alaozine commanded that the Picts should not choose any other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obteine any other magistrates but onelie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he allowed, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirgust and Spartianus, that after the deceasse of the same Heirgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Wherfore the Picts nothing regarded the wordes of Alaozine, but by common agreement did choose one Durstus the second sonne of Heirgust to be their king.

Whereupon Alaozine being informed of their doings, raised a power, and made such speed towards them, that he was gotten so nere vnto the citie of Camelon, per they had any knowledge of his approach, that Durstus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being forthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assault, and the citie sacked, to the great intriching of the Romane armie, and vnto the great vndoeing of the poore inhabitants. Durstus with other the chieffest prisoners were first had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the senat. The rest of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie pearlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to laboꝝ in mettall mines, to dig stoncs forth of the quarries, and to make bychie to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For they were become so loslie, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Ile, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortly disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Alaozine, to charge the Picts in maner as is before specified; but to their further grauance he deuised another waie, whereby to hzing them in the end vnto utter destruction, which was this: he constrained them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Spartianus to possesse, after that the Scots were expelled.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Alaozine to the Britains, as subjects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast alongst by the same, from Abircone, through the territorie of Glascow vnto Alcluth, or Alcluth, now called Dunbarton, so running from the

The Picts
subdorn to
pale ouer be-
pale their wall

The Scots
live in other
countries.

Heirgust
brought vnto
England,
late king of
Scotland.

Detacius the
sonne of
Detacius
brought
Fergus.

The Picts
make an expe-
dition against
the empire of
Rome.

The Picts
brought pri-
soners to
London.

The Picts
become im-
barbarous.

The Picts
are put
to their last
seruices.

Rome sacked.

The Picts
are com-
pelled to
depart from
the water of
Forth.

The Picts
are com-
pelled to
depart from
the water of
Forth.

Fergus was
captaine
vnto
the
Picts,
Fergus with
him returned
from
Italy into
Britaine.

Alcluth.

the east
made,
passe to
confinde
die for:
it are thus
the Ron
nished it
out the
with the
their ha
Other ti
ued vnto
as occas

But (as
receiued
fice, ther
ued ther
and beg
him for
after his
Kocha
bles of
cond pe
those of
rich; w
done. I
under
age whi
pire. I
therne
name, t
gether
of. And
said Ma
of the w

Fergus
with a
of such
parties,
commo
the Ron
terpell
tue cou
Cotiger
whereof
ted) a
opinion
Fles, an
mekill,
intent.
taine h
But the
tor Boe
to be b
not be
It is
nued to
he liued
Althaul
estimat
him in
dud to
depart
in pact
uice the
in the
daies of
the fam
therwith
one for
the repo
tains in

Fergus was
captaine
vnto
the
Picts,
Fergus with
him returned
from
Italy into
Britaine.

Alcluth.

nicanes of
his neigh-
tering his
resent pow-
er with
retlie into
the blue him-
it seruile:
his whole
e knowne,
should not
ne as king
brates but
the gouern-
commission
ed, as he al-
ded betwixt
deceasse of
ould be go-
a prouince,
e words of
chose one
to be their

of their do-
ed towards
the citie of
e of his
bles, being
space to re-
fiedged with
of adalt, and
the Romane
inhabitants,
as were first
ed to Rome,
scnat. The
ere, suffered
was that fu-
nded to paie
e fourth part
ome and cat-
also with di-
all mines, to
make bzyke
places whi-

uch sort, was
reflues. For
arture of the
were not ro-
mane pulle
ic to be short-
and insolent
sufficient br-
ner as is be-
ance he deu-
em in the end
: he consuet-
ldren, & whole
of Forth, and
the same wa-
ad inhabited,
to the Scots,
as to possesse,

ats now left
the Britains,
ed. And for a
the same Bri-
ide, & a trench
n Abircorne,
to Alclouth, or
running from
the

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

The Scots
were not
to be
the
Scots

the east sea to the west. Wherefore proclamation was made, that if any of the Pictish nation did enter, pisse to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilist the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scottisshmen (as is said) being banished the land, liued in other countries by thifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wiues and children, got a poore lining with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Wherther there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrie wompish captaines here and there, as occasion serued.

But Ethobius the brother of Eugenius comman- ded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was fullie receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an of- fice, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he liued there certaine yeeres in right honorable estate, and begat of his wife whome he brought thither with him south of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceasse had stie by his wife called Mocha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the no- bles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Moichus, se- cond person of the realme) a sonne named Fergus, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scot- tish nation againe to their former estate and king- dome. In his young yeeres he was appointed to serue vnder Alarike the Gottish king in that famous voi- age which he took in hand against the Romane em- pire. For such was the hate as then of all the no- rtherne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agreement they conspired to- gether to the utter ruine and finall destruction there- of. And so ech of them sent forth a power in aid of the said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

Fergus being set forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scottisshmen as were with him into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarrell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the bling of his ancestors so cruellie in expelling them out of their owne homes and na- tive countrie. This Fergus was present with the Gottissh at the winning of Rome, in the sack- ing thereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is repo- ted) a certeine chest full of bookes, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Isles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Col- mekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which bookes (as is to be supposed) were cer- teine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hec- tor Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdene) that it could not be understood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Fergus, that he conti- nued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe con- duct to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull ser- uice shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. About the same season, the bishops see of Candida casa, or therwise called Dubitterne, was first instituted by one Pisan a preacher, that toke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Bri- tains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his buriall had in such veneration, that manie used to resort thither for de- uotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were vsed.

But now to returne where we left touching the Picts, and to shew the manner how the Scots retur- ned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that the Picts being brought into seruile bondage (as befoze we haue partly declared) and doubting daile of worse to ensue, they sent secret messengers vnto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Isles, in Roiswaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Alba- nie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them late, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the iniuries which they daile susteined at the Romans hands, whose continuall practise euer was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came vnder their subiection. The experience where- of they now felt to their vnutterable graunce, looking for nothing else but thortlie to be expelled out of their countrie, and driuen to go seke them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the man- ner of outlatwes, as it had chanced already to the Scots by commandement of Sparinus, as befoze is expelied.

Fergus, vnto whom amongst other this messag- e was chiefie directed, reioised greatlie of the newes; and first conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his acuse he sent letters abroad forthwith into Roiswaie, Dye- nie, the westerne Isles, and into Ireland, vnto such of the Scottisshmen as dwelt in those places, to vnderstand their minds herein. And being certified that they were vniuersallie agreed, not onelie to trie their chance for recouerie of their former state and kingdome; but also had chosen him to be gouer- nour and generall capteine in that enterprise; he prepared partlie at his owne costs, and partlie at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and allies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer in- to Albanie to recover his grandfather's estate, which as it was thought might now be the more easilie brought to passe, with the Picts would aid him there- to, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge their owne iniuries receiued at the Romans hands, and to deliuer themselves from such thraldome as they daile felt themselves oppressed with, doubting withall thortlie to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof already.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British blood, by consent of the Romane legat Sparinus (both of them going against their allegi- ance) vsurped the gouernance of Britaine by his owne priuat authoritie; but thortlie after, they two falling at variance together, the one of them due the other. And then the souldiers not staling till they vnderstood the pleasure of Honorius the emperor, chose one Constantine to succeed in the place of Sparinus, who passing ouer into France, was slaine there by Constantius one of the captaines of the said Honorius. Victorie the other of the Romane le- gats hearing of the death both of Sparinus and Con- stantine, removed from Roiswaie vnto London, the better to provide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperor Honorius his vie; for that he doubted the sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then vnprovident of men of warre, the most part of them being transported ouer into France with the fornamed Constantine, and not a- gaine returned.

The Picts
sent into
the
countrie
to call home
the Scots.

Fergus sent
vnto the
Scots dispers-
ed.

Fergus pro-
posed himselfe
to waite.

Gratian blas-
phemed the gouer-
nance of Bri-
taine.

Sparinus
slaine.

Constantine
succeedeth
Sparinus.
Constantine
is slaine.
The lieuten-
ant of the
north com-
meth to Lon-
don.

The

The Picts sent speedie vnto Fergus.

Fergus arrived with his ships in Murray's firth.

The Picts to witte re- ceive Fergus.

The Picts crave pardon excusing themselves.

Fergus.

The Picts punishes for their vnto- truthes.

The ancient league renewed againe be- twixt the Scots and Picts.

The Scots rehoized to their coun- ties.

Fergus.

Fergus is conueied into Argyle, and there invested king.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all speed vnto Fergus, requiring him to make hast, sith if he should haue wished for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in o- ther parts of the Romane empire, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion. Fergus vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hastied to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he took the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in safetie within the firth of Murray land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Dhenie, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wiues, children, and whole families in most speedie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had bene already recovered out of the enemies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts also reioysing greatlie at the newes of his coming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honoz that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and contriued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were readie for the advancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enemies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that they had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and swete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Therefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Fergus by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, euen according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to ioint his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender vp into the Scottishmens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same already, being reduced into most seruile & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vnto- truthes, vnto and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Fergus's words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had lately chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Fergus, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Romane power.

A honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and commons into Argyle, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had bene driven forth of Albaine, and after the birth of our sauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

notus the emperour, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castles also and fortresses as the Picts held within anie of those countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestly defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessities, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what

I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certaine seats in the same till then: but that coming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Isles, where they before inhabited, they vied to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor with others to beleue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories doe make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willingly seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but euen amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Vald, and some other happlie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to doe with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to retorne where we left. After that Vittozine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scottishmen and Picts he caused an armie to be leuied with all speed, and hastied forth with the same vnto Forke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuaue the Picts to forsake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceiving he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so there, vpon setting forthward, he passed forth till he came nere Camelon, where he encamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Fergus being aduertised hercof, & hauing in like maner already assembled a mightie huge host both of Scottishmen and Picts, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enemies betwixt earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Vittozine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being readie to receive the Scots vpon their first appoach, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Caron (nere vnto the

The river of Caron runneth with blood.

The battell caused by reason of a tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

The Scots & Picts were so much wounded by the tempest.

which it dead by a raddi togthe. In whether such a si abundance to h lent ra- was sa- naue i well or lust to fer. So losse of anie fir panies. Pictlau In like Picts, make. brake. might lion.

An sed vn countr with su position mans that th other l withot ben. E sed the stels a tiffeng tozine tains t poss c twirt heard co and biton wall, be ma

the Scottish men's Picts were so much wounded by the tempest. the far bourei defend bozder and ot the cor in this queene Denn Scoti to his nity le noble ter, wh Denn his con nus, after i sion se Crain with gouer

creation of
1422. H.B.
1496. 10. Ma.
The 18 year
of the empe-
rour Thoma-
s the 1. H.B.
755. H.B.
When the
Scots first
got certaine
seats here in
this Ile of
Brittaine as
some thinke.
The Scots
men returned
into their
countrie.
Fergus is
nabed the
confiners of
the Britains.
The Scots
put to the
worke.
Fergus is
disputed to
fight with the
Romans.
The Romane
empire inua-
ded by vnrba-
rous nations.
Altozine was
cused into
honozius.
Altozine ta-
keth upon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperor in
Britaine.

left. After that
advertised of all
Scottishmen and
with all speed,
a Porke, where
herald at armes
eir confederate
nt perceiving he
mined to pursue
re: and so there-
with till he came
ed with his whole
trent) about fif-
erguse being ad-
aner already at
of Scottishmen
forth, & marched
on, in purpose to
e in the dawning
ne bating know-
n to be arranged
bird watch of the
reccue the Scots
s fought a right
laughter on teth
(nare unto the
which

When the
Scots first
got certaine
seats here in
this Ile of
Brittaine as
some thinke.

The Scots
men returned
into their
countrie.

Fergus is
nabed the
confiners of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
worke.

Fergus is
disputed to
fight with the
Romans.

The Romane
empire inua-
ded by vnrba-
rous nations.

Altozine was
cused into
honozius.

Altozine ta-
keth upon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperor in
Britaine.

When the
Scots first
got certaine
seats here in
this Ile of
Brittaine as
some thinke.

The Scots
men returned
into their
countrie.

Fergus is
nabed the
confiners of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
worke.

Fergus is
disputed to
fight with the
Romans.

The Romane
empire inua-
ded by vnrba-
rous nations.

Altozine was
cused into
honozius.

Altozine ta-
keth upon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperor in
Britaine.

which their battels joined) was well nere filled with
dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into
a reddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run al-
together with blood.
In the end (whilest as yet it was doubtful to
whether side the victorie would incline) there came
such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great
abundance of hailestones, that neither part was a-
ble to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the vi-
olent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side
was faine to withdraw from the other. There were
slaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as
well on the one side as the other, that they had small
lust to foine in battell againe for certaine yeeres af-
ter. For the Roman lieutenant understanding what
losse of people he had sustained, without attempting
anie further exploit, appointed certaine of his com-
panies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in
Dietland, & with the residue he returned into Kent.
In like sort the Scots with their confederates the
Picts, perceiving themselves not able as then to
make anie further attempt against their enemies,
broke by their armie, and deuised onelie how they
might defend that which they had already in posses-
sion.

And so much as the Pictish nation was increa-
sed unto a greater multitude of people, than those
countries which they then held were able to find
with sufficient sustenance (considering what a great
portion of their ancient seats the Britains and Ro-
mans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots
that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with
that other lands bordering nere unto the same, lying
without the compasse of the mountaine of Cranze-
ben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increa-
sed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire ca-
stles and towres in those parties, to the great beau-
tifying of that countrie. In which meane while, Al-
tozine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Bri-
tains to make hast with the wall (whereof he haue
heard) made of turfe, and sustained with certaine
posts of timber passing ouerthwart the borders be-
tween them and their enemies, beginning (as ye haue
heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching forth by Glas-
co, and Kirkpatrick, euen unto Aldeluch, now Dun-
barton, 80 miles more northward than the other
wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to
be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed,
they assembled themselves together, & under the lea-
ding of a noble man called Graime, they set upon
the Britains, as they were busie in working about
the same, and slue not onelie a great number of la-
bourers and souldiers, which were set to labour and
defend the worke, but also entering into the Pictish
borders, fetched from thence a great botie of cattell
and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in
the countrie. This Graime (who as I said was chiefe
in this enterprize) was brother unto the Scottish
quene, the wife of king Fergus. He was borne in
Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the
Scottishmens banishment, and had a Scottishman
to his father descended of a noble house, and a Da-
nisk ladie to his mother. He himselfe also married
a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daugh-
ter, whome Fergus by the persuasion of the king of
Denmarke toke to wife, and had issue by hir (afore
his coming into Scotland) three sonnes, Euge-
nius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whome here-
after in their place mention shall be made, as occa-
sion serueth. Wher there be, that affirme both this
Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate
which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell
gouernement, he fled forth of his native countrie,

and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first
in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer rea-
die to do what displeasures he could deuise against
the Romans & other their friends or subiects. Of this
Graime these Scots, which vnto this day beare that
surname, are said to be descended.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall vnderstand, that
after that it was knowne in forein countries, how
the Scots had got for againe within those regions
in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had pos-
sessed, there came daile diuerse companies of that
nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Ita-
lie (where during the time of their banishment they
had serued vnder sundrie captiues) vnto Fergus to
aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient
seats; out of the which they had bene most cruellie
expelled. So that Fergus now seeing his power
thus not a little augmented by their coming, ente-
red into the borders of Isle, Carlike, and Coning-
ham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on eu-
erie side; but the Picts thereupon commeth the armie
of the Romans, with whome the Scots encounte-
ring in battell, received no lesse damage than they
minded to haue done vnto their aduersaries. Where-
upon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew
backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered for that
part of the yere which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to
haue offences offered vnto Altozine, who
as then was entered Gallowale; and rather to trie
the bettermost point of fortunes chance against him,
than to susteine such displeasures and injuries at the
Romans hands, as by them were daile done vnto
him and his people. But there were other that gaue
other aduise, alleging how the danger was great
to leaopard againe in battell with the Romans, be-
ing men of such skill & practise in the feats of wars,
considering what losse had chanced in the two for-
mer battels. Again, there was great likelihood, that
if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and
seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as
he might without giuing battell, it must needs come
to passe that shortly the Romane empire should be
brought vnto such ruinous decaye, by reason of the
multitude of enemies, which as then inuaded the
same on each side, that in the end Altozine doubting
his owne suertie, would conuete himselfe with his
men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it
be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to reco-
uer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged
to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of
their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

This aduise was followed as the best and most
likeliest, so that making sundrie roads into the bor-
ders of their enemies countries so to keepe them still
occupied, Fergus and the Scots refused utterly lie
to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortly af-
ter also it chanced, that Altozine was accused vnto
the emperor Honorius of some secret practise against
his maiestie, as to be about to usurpe the crowne of
Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in deed by
the souldiers (whose hearts he had wonne through his
bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared to-
wards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that
he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of
the said information made against him, they did
moue him with such earnest persuasions to take
vpon him the imperall dignitie, promising euen to
live and die with him in defense thereof, as well as
against Honorius, as all other, that in the end he com-
mitted vnto their desires, and so was proclaimed em-
peror, and clothed in purpure, using thereto all the o-
ther imperall ornaments, as if he had bene empe-
ror indeed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus was

The Scottish
men returned
into their
countrie.

Fergus is
nabed the
confiners of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
worke.

Fergus is
disputed to
fight with the
Romans.

The Romane
empire inua-
ded by vnrba-
rous nations.

Altozine was
cused into
honozius.

Altozine ta-
keth upon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperor in
Britaine.

When the
Scots first
got certaine
seats here in
this Ile of
Brittaine as
some thinke.

The Scots
men returned
into their
countrie.

Fergus is
nabed the
confiners of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
worke.

Heracianus
is sent against
Clitoxine.

Clitoxine is
delivered into
the hands of
Heracianus.
Heracianus
is sent into
Affrike.

Placidus
lieutenant of
Britaine.

The warre
renewed by the
Scots.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the bor-
ders of their
enemies.

Placidus ga-
thereth a
power.
He encount-
ereth with his
enemies.

Placidus re-
couereth the
overthrow.
He fleeth to
Dorke.

Placidus see-
keth to haue
peace.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots,
Picts, and
Romans.

Fergus di-
videth the land
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Clitoxine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernor, began to feare the fequels of the matter, and afterwarde requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Clitoxine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heracianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recovered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Heracianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who usurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durstus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioin with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereunto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, ouerrunning the most part of Baile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroying all before them, which way sooner they passed. Then turning into Midland, they subdued the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom incountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their arraie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and iollfull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto Dorke, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this overthrow, but also weeing with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie roades or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts inuicouered themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same forth vnto his subiects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, took a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting forth into the sea called Pesse: so that being compound together, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse took that name, being also named Lugia.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute used to be paid there for the hope, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Buthane in the old Scottish tongue signified tribute: and Buth, a stocke of theep. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the river named Bog, which runneth through the middelt of it. Louchquaher took the name of a great meate or water, into the which the river of Dubaber falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plentie of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a litle changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Par, for Parthia; and such like.

Fergus also repared such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former linings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbey within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be used about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace he was not negligent in providing for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repared; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their lining now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire daily falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts took occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroye all such of the British nation as went about to destroye them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Pannie an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous manner. The Romane souldiers, after the decesse of Placidus, ordeined one Castius to succede in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Datianus sometime king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aid the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in mariage. Castius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power forth of the prouinces, which were

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

The name
of Buthane
is in
land
Cathnesse
is named
Lugia.

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

were su-
ceding
ther effe
of those
elders &
banish-
ces of h

considerations: as the name of one Ca-
promontorie there
elle: so that being
was cleped Cath-
n called Rossians, Rome
iame, being afoze

entlie called The
began to be called
o be paid there fo:
there is great store
in the old Scottis
h, a flocke of shepe
eing into the land
riuer named Bog,
st of it. Loughqu-
are o: water, into
falleth, and passeth
reason of the great
1. Some other coun-
tinent names euen
Murrey land. And
ranged by length of
far, for Sparthian, and

emples and churches
and restored againe
inings: and further
w cause, and builded
religious persons to
n large reuenues for
oundation of that fa-
Zona, now Colme:
the buriall of kings,
ustomes to be vsed a-
the time of peace hee
ing for the defense of
ere decayed and ouer-
warre time, he repa-
wards the borders of
ced sundrie garrilous
trades to get their li-
, assigning them full

orius the empero: be-
: Romane empire dai-
ced also that Placidus
parted out of this life,
shmen and Pits toke
, making as it were a
Welshmerland & Cum-
times past had held and
e into those countries,
ie all such of the Britis
raie them: neither spa-
hers, but shewed great
me in their wales. Ma-
auished and misused af-
. The Romane loue-
lacius, ordered one
ne, who being aduer-
Scottishmen and Pits,
as) that Dionethus the
eking of the Britains,
e of Britaine, as due to
ow seeke to aid the Sco-
ster he had in marriage.
sironous of peace than
essenger at armes vnto
him to remember the
nd the Romans, and to
of the prouinces, which
were

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without pro-
ceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, ei-
ther else he should be sure to seele the puissant force
of those people readie bent against him, by whom his
elchers had bene driuen out of their countries, and
banished quite forth of all their dwellings and pla-
ces of habitation in Albion.

But here vnto was answer made with great in-
dignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceas-
ed by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there
was no cause why he should looke for anie, vntill the
these prouinces, both of Welshmerland and Cum-
berland, were restored againe into the hands of the
Scottishmen and Pits, according as of reason they
ought to be. The like answer also was made by Dur-
stus king of the Pits, vnto whom Cassius had sent
a like message. Wherewithall the said Cassius being
not a little moued, assemblen an armie, and with all
speed marcheth forth toward his enemies: but before
his entering into Welshmerland, where they were
as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge
how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands
laie in Wales) was already ioined with the Scots.

Which newes soe appalled the hearts of the Brit-
tains, but yet being encouraged with comfortable
wordes of their captaine to proceed, forward they go
together with the Romans, and within three daies af-
ter, they came within sight of their enemies, being
ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that
straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right
fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till fi-
nallie the multitude of the Scottish archers and
hernes so compassed in the battels of the Romans
on each side, and speciallie on the backs, that in the
end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Ca-
sius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of
the middle ward being discomfited, brake their ar-
raie and fled. Whereupon the residue likewise follo-
wed: the Scots, Pits, and Welshmen pursuing
to egerlie without all order, that there was no small
number of them distressed by the Romans, the which
in their giuing backe, kept themselves close toge-
ther, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe
such of their enemies as followed more rashlie than
warlike in the chase, not one regarding to keepe any
order of battell; but yet by other companies that pur-
sued more orderlie together for their most aduantage,
there was great slaughter made both of Romans
and Britains.

After this victorie thus atchiued, Dionethus was
proclaimed king of Britaine, and fore warres conti-
nued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen,
Scots, & Pits, to the great hazard of the prouince,
and likelic expelling of all the Romans quite out of
the same. About this time also there remained in
France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour
Valentinianus, who vnderstanding all these things
by letters and messengers sent from the captaine
which yet remained alieue in Britaine, appointed one
Marinianus being of kin to the empero: to passe
with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid
and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as
still continued in their allegiance which they had
promised vnto the Romane empire.

This Marinianus at his arriual in the Island
was most iollisly receiued by the soldiors and sub-
iects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles
of the countrie resorted also vnto him, shewing them
selves most glad of his comming, & promising
what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with
him against their enemies. Whereupon, procuring
them to assemble their powers, and to ioine the same
with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he pas-
sed through the countrie vnto Bozke, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being al-
readie assembled in campe to defend the countrie of
Welshmerland against him. There were both the
kings of Scots and Pits, Fergusie and Durstus,
with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Brit-
tains, who had brought with him, beside the Welsh-
men, a great number of those Britains that inhabi-
ted in the countries now accounted the marches of
Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Brit-
tains acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere together,
they camped for that night the one in sight of the o-
ther, and in the morning following they prepared
themselves to battell. Fergusie first making an ear-
nest oration vnto his people, to encourage them the
more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst o-
ther things hold the right was on their sides, which
alwaies ought to minister hope of god successe in
them that enterpryse anie thing in defense thereof;
where contrariwise all such as attempted to disquiet o-
ther by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but loke
for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents
and purposes. Neither were either of his captaine
negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting
their bands, they vsed most comfortable wordes, and
in disposing them in good order of battell, they shew-
ed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Marinianus with his captaine
and officers of bands were as busie on their side to
array their battels most for their aduantage, as they
saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being
readie to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most
furious wise, the Romans being at the first fore au-
noted with arrowes and darts, which shue so thicke
from ech side, that their sight was in manner taken
from them, the like seeming as it had been couered o-
uer with a pentife. So that Marinianus perceiving
this disaduantage, he caused a fresh legion of his sol-
diers to aduance forward to the succour of their fel-
lowes; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith
most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the
Romans soe preasing vpon their enemies: so that
in the end passing quite through their battels, they
caused a great disorder and feare amongst those
Scots and other their confederats, which were pla-
ced in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting them-
selves in a ring, they made great & stout resistance
for a space, and at length a great number euen of the
most valiant personages of the whole host, closed
themselves together, and with maine force assailed
to haue broken through the thickest prease of their
enemies, but being innironed about on ech part, they
were there slaine ech mothers sonne. While the Ro-
mans drew together to resist on that side, other of the
Scottishmen, Pits, Britains, & Welshmen, found a
waie to get forth through their enemies on the other
side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as
fast as their feet might beate them: but a great num-
ber being notwithstanding overtaken, were slaine
and beaten downe right pittfullie.

Fergusie the Scottish king, and Durstus king of
the Pits were slaine in this mortall battell together,
with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus
being soe wounded escaped to the sea side, and there
getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. His ouer-
throw soe dismaied both the Scottish and Pits na-
tions, who looked for nothing more than present ex-
pulsion out of their countries, for Marinianus pur-
suing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruel-
lie waisting and spoiling the same. And when he had
made an end there, he entered into Annadale, and in-
to the Pits confines; destroying all before him
with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken
by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with
by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with
by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with

The Scots
and Pits as-
sembled a-
gainst the Ro-
mans.

The armies
prepare to bat-
tell.

Fergusie ex-
horteth his
people to da-
uantage.

The onset is
giuen.

Marinianus
perceiving the
disaduantage,
proouideth to
remedie the
same.

The Scots
disordered.

The two
kings Fergus-
ie and Dur-
stus are slaine.
Dionethus
escapeth.

Marinianus
pursueth the
victorie.

Camelon is
taken by force.

The Scots
and Picts
withdraw be-
yond the wall
of Abircoyne.

diverse other notable townes and places, as well be-
longing to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there
anie end of these cruell doings, till both the Scots &
Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained
to withdraw themselves beyond the wall of Abir-
coyne, which (as before is said) a few yerres passed
was begun by the Britains, and stretched from A-
bircoyne aforesaid, overthwart the land unto Alclud
now Dumfries.

Marinianus having thus driven his enemies be-
yond this wall, caused them to make assurance by
their oath of covenant, never to passe the same againe
by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or
Romans. There were that counselled Marinius
either utterly to have destroyed both the Scots and
Picts, either els to have driven them out of the whole
Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was already
done, thought good to returne unto Rome, and
there to winter, that in the beginning of the next
spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dione-
thus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in
aiding the enemies of the empire. But when the time
came that he should have set forward on that jour-
nie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond
the seas, into what ruinous decaye the empire was
fallen, without anie likelihood of recoverie, that chan-
ging his purpose, he minded to usurpe the crowne of
Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to
have the more favor of the British nation without a-
nie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he
tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, be-
ing the elder of those two, which he onelic had with-
out issue male, by the sister of king Fergus. She
that was thus coupled in marriage with Marinius
was called Philia, & the other daughter named Cle-
sula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to
the intent that the whole right with Dionethus pre-
tended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of
Marinianus. When was Dionethus made second
person of the realme, as well in degree of honor, as
in publicke government.

Marinianus
taketh upon
him the abso-
lute gover-
nance of Bri-
taine, with the
imperiall
title.
He marrieth
Philia the
daughter of
Dionethus.
Dionethus
reputed for se-
cond person of
the realme.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
created king
of Scots.

420. H.B.
760. H.B.

The bodie of
Fergus is
buried in the
abbey of Jo-
na, otherwise
Colmekill.

Marinianus
granteth
peace to the
Scottishmen.

And whilst these things were thus a doing in
Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Euge-
nius the sonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as
due to him by rightfull succession from his father,
who had governed the same by the space of 16 yerres
per he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last
mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne
(as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the
first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His
fathers corps, which at the first was secretly buried,
as occasion suffered, whilst the Romans were yet
in the countrie, he caused to be taken up, and conve-
ied over into the Ile of Jona, otherwise called Col-
mekill, where, with all solemne pompe and cere-
monies it was intombed, according to the ordinance
which he himselfe had devised in his life time, within
the abbey there.

In like manner Marinius, to the intent to es-
tablish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of
Britaine, and to deliver his subjects the Britains,
which bordered upon the Scottish dominions, from all
trouble of warres, was contented to make peace
with the Scots upon light sute made unto him for
the same. After this also, he being once fullie establi-
shed in the estate of Britaine, coveted also to attaine
to the type in government of the whole empire, and
therefore assembling all the forces of the British
youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be pro-
claimed emperor, and so usurped that title; as in the
English and Italian historie you maie find more
largely expressed. He left behind him in Britaine his
father in law Dionethus as chiefe governor there,
with one legion of Romane soldiers. After this did

Thus the emperor's lieutenant in France, sent for
such Romans as Marinius had left in Britaine,
who revolting from their othes of allegiance given
unto the same Marinius, obeyed Etius, as one
that supplied the want of their rightfull lord and mas-
ter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise
was Britaine dispossessed of all manner of able men
for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts took good
occasion to invade the British borders, not sparing
to pursue with fire and sword all such of the Britains
as did yet continue in obedience to Marinius.

They first drove those Britains out of all the coun-
tries, which had bene taken from them by the same
Marinianus, and by other of the Romans and Bri-
tains, as Pictland, Raile, Carrick, and Coningham,
Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This
done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmer-
land, and Kendal, not ceasing till they had spoiled
and defaced all those countries, with the most part of
all Yorkshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all
those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which
waie sooner they passed. The Britains perceiving in-
to what danger they were brought, if some good re-
medie were not found in time, sent over with all speed
unto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Cla-
udius's hands, for Marinius was otherwise
occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliver the Bri-
tains from such cruell enemies as the Scots & Picts
shelved themselves to be, least through their meanes
all the whole Ile should revolt from the obedience of
the Romans, appointed one Gallio boine in Raven-
na, and as then sojourning about Paris in France,
with a legion of soldiers to passe over into Britaine,
to drive backe the Scots and Picts from further mo-
lestering the subjects of the empire.

The Scots and Picts, upon knowledge had of
this Gallio's arrival, drew backe into their coun-
tries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose
force they doubted, and not without cause, having
had in times past so manie overthrowes and slaugh-
ters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them even
unto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmi-
shes he slue no small number of them: and for that
he knew he should be sent for hostile to returne &
gaine into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous
nations as warred in the same, for the better defense
of the Britains against their enemies the Scots and
Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in
quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to
be newlie made by betwixt Abircoyne & the mouth
of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane pro-
vince from all sudden invasions of the enemies. This
wall was earst made of turfe, but now repaired
with stone, and strengthened with great posts or
piles of wood, driven in betwixt in places most nee-
dfull. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in
certeine turrets cast forth upon this wall, Gallio ap-
pointed watch & ward to be kept, that upon the eni-
mies approach towards the same, warning might be
given by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day,
unto such of the Britains as dwelled nere upon those
borders (commandement being given upon paine
of death for being found in the contrarie) that eue-
rie man upon such knowledge had, should resort im-
mediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour
and weapon as for him was requisite.

When Gallio had thus given order for the succor
of the Britains, and delivered them at that present
from the cruell hands of their enemies, he returned
into France with the armie that he brought with
him, according to the commandement which he had
from Etius the emperor's lieutenant there. His
departure out of Britaine was no sooner knowne of
the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine
force

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

force of
gaine.
the hin-
do bal-
men i-
wards
part p-
office i-
first th-
the B-
tentio-
ted, i-
wall,
were i-
At
were
give t-
what
appoint-
tels b-
ye ha-
when
dome
ther i-
time
made
enter
unde-
so th-
teret
Brit
stan-
ued i-
A
Pict
puet
king
fed i-
Bri
cou-
uer
whi-
by a
spol
ma-
rou-
the
ma-
ant
by
cot
Cl
I
pic
tai-
wh
an
be
te
fr
as
fa-
so
in
th
th
of
B
B
ri
u
h
v

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

The Scots
and Picts
draw to
the wall of
Abircoyne to
stand it.

f in France, send for
had left in Britaine,
of allegiance given
obeyed Cæsar, as ene
rightfull lord and mal
So that in this wise
all manner of able men
and Picts took good
borders, not sparing
all such of the Britains
to Spartianus.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

ns out of all the coun
try them by the same
the Romans and Bri
the, and Coningham,
Posthumbarland. This
nberland, Westmear
g till they had spoiled
with the most part of
the, that they made all
one and cattell, which
Britains perceiving the
night, if some good re
ent over with all speed
d at the emperor Cla
ianus was otherwise
ous to deliver the Bri
as the Scots & Picts
through their means
from the obedience of
allio boine in France
ut Paris in France,
le over into Britaine,
dics from further mo
re.

The proper
of the Scots
men.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

in knowledge had of
the into their coun
the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh
is pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi
of them: and for that
hostile to returne a
resist such barbarous
for the better defence
emies the Scots and
did not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircone & the mouth
send the Roman pro
is of the enemies. This
se, but now repared
with great posts or
rt in places most nee
nd 12 feet high. And in
this wall, Gallio ap
pt, that upon the ene
ic, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon thole
ng given upon paine
e contrarie: that eue
had, should resist inv
ed, with such armour
equist.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
king.

force they determined to set upon the Britains a
gainc. So that assembling their powers together,
the kings of both those nations exhorted their men to
do valiantlie. Engenius the king of the Scottish
men encourageth them through hope of high re
wards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his
part promisseth the lieutenantship of Camelon (an
office of most honor amongst them) unto him that
first should passe the wall of Abircone. Whereupon
the Britains being advertised of their enemies in
tentions according to the ordinance before appoin
ted, drew in defensable wise unto that part of the
wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts
were minded to assault.

At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings
were come to the wall, and had their people ready to
give the approach, they themselves stood apart some
what out of danger of shot: and such bands as were
appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine bat
tels under the leading of that Graime, the which (as
ye have heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains
when they had first made the same wall by comman
dement of Clotwine the Roman lieutenant. Yet
ther shewed he lesse proofe of his valiance at this
time than he had don before. For though the Britains
made earnest resistance, so far as their power would
extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was
undermined and throwen downe in sundrie places,
so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts en
tered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the
Britains on each side that went about to make resis
tance, for none escaped their hands, but such as sav
ed themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and
Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland,
pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the
kings did the miselues. Both houses and people pas
sed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the
Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the
countrie, not staid till they came beyond the ri
ver of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie
which lieth betwixt Tweed and Tine was delivred
by appointment of the kings unto the soldiers, to
spoil and use at their pleasure, whereupon followed
manie noxious examples of crueltie, envie, cou
tousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilst
the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied their
market, the Britains with all diligence repared
and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said)
by the emperor Adrian, shooting overthwart the
countrie from the river of Tine, unto the river of
Clke.

Whoebeit the Scots and Picts, because winter ap
proched, made no further attempt against the Bri
tains at that time, but dividing those countreies
which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian,
among themselves, according to the order in that
behalf appointed by their kings, they fortified cer
teine castles and holds for defense of the same coun
tries, as it were to countergarison such Britains
as continuallie kept watch and ward upon the fore
said wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least
so soone as the spring were come, the Scots would
invade their countreies which lay on the south part of
the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as
they had done the yere before through the other wall
of Abircone, they sent ambassadoers unto Cæsar the
Roman lieutenant, governing Gallia now called
France, under the emperor Valentinian, requir
ing to haue some aid and succour at his hands,
whereby to resist such fierce and cruel enemies, as
sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and
houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged
themselves in any manner of wise subjects unto the

empire.

But Cæsar, whether he would not, or rather be
cause he convenientlie could not (for that he was o
therwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the
French men) made a direct answer that he had no
men of warre in store to send over into Britaine,
and therefore willed them to do what they could for
their owne defense, for aid of him they might none
haue. The messengers returned home with this an
swere, and made report thereof in a publike assem
bly of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathe
red together at London to consult there for the estate
and order of their countrie. Where after long deli
beration (notwithstanding that they perceived they
should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was
yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole
puissance of the British nation should be mustered,
as well men as women, being able to do any feat
of service available in defense of their countrie, & ra
ther to trie the uttermost point of fortunes chance,
than to suffer themselves to be overrun without re
sistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great
authoritie amongst them, as one that was descen
ded of the blood of Mtaulus sometime king of Bri
taine, went about with earnest persuasions to re
moue the residue of the nobilitie from this determi
nation, advising them to seeke for peace at the Sco
tish mens hands, rather than to trie the doubtfull
chance of wars his iudgement, considering the
feiblenesse of their whole force now, euer since that
the tyrant Spartianus had in manner emptied and
dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt
for service in the warres. But this advice of Cona
nus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude
that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his
words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true
man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former or
dinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars
by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour
and weapon provided, and both day and place appoin
ted, where they should assemble together to march
forth towards the enemy. Conanus fore lamenting
their doings, called almightie God to record, that
that which he had said, was spoken onlie for the
loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence
his advice might not be followed, he doubted great
lie least the ruine of the British state by some fatal
appointment drew fast upon them. The people hear
ring him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons
fell upon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst
them: wherewith other being soe moued to indig
nation, set upon the murderers, there to haue re
uenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began
taking of parts, and together they went by the eares
in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them
being slaine, the magistrates had much ado to appease
the fraie.

In this meane time, whilst the Britains were
thus buied in sending of their ambassadoers to the
Romans, & consulting together for defense of their
countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of
Abircone, not leaving one piece thereof whole, so
that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be
sene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull
worke, it is called now in these daies Graime-dike,
because that Graime was not onlie (as ye have
hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same,
but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground
he was the greatest doer. Which being accompli
shed, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their
powers, and overthrow all such fortresses as had not
bene destroyed the yere before; standing on the
north side of Adrian's wall, the which wall the Bri
tains

Cæsar refus
eth to aid the
Britains.

The Bri
tains forsake
the Ro
mans, deter
mine yet to
make resis
tance.

Conanus
Camber coun
sellith the
Britains to
seeke peace
at the Scotti
sh mens hands.

Britaine dis
peopled of
warlike men
by Spartianus.

Conanus
counsellith re
sistance.

The Bri
tains make
their appoin
tment to go
against the
Scots.

Conanus is
slaine a
mongst the
Britains.

The Scots
raze the wall
of Abircone.

Graime-dike.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings invade
the British
borders.

Britains wall
undermined
and ouer-
throwen.

tains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set vpon the Britains with maine force, in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuerfed into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruellie beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

Cruellie of
Scots.

The entrie being thus wone, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was but slenderlie obied; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scotchmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnrneath made they anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make thist to escape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riuers of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord together) they took new aduise, to redresse the present mischiefe in this maner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadores, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & another with letters to Etius the Romaine lieutenant in France, for speedy aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Etius here insueth.

The lords
of Britaine
take new ad-
uise.

See more
hereof in
England.
The tenour of
the letters
sent vnto Et-
ius from the
Britains, as
is written by
Hec. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thise consull. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by woorthie proofes and notable examples, that the senate was a most safe refuge and haue, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending wholie to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of losing both kingdome and liues, through the sore and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours vnto the Romaine empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almighty God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other fowen nations. But if it be so, that the fatal force of the time present doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernment of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose crueltie we hauing long since too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our goods and cattell, which way to safe garde our liues; for the turfe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which aforesaid time did somewhat stafe them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie kind of crueltie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned by our houses, towncs &

villages, beaten downe & rased euen to the ground our castles and towres, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decaied nation, they haue driuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And here of proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging floods, either els slaine most vnnecessarie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the hono: of the Romaine people, if our assured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beaustie and cruell enimies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succors and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruellie betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Gessay of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Wherevpon Etius answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses sustained by the Britains were right displeasing vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, aswell into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romaine empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best thist they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their iniuries prouided, as they should thinke themselves to be verie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadores returned with this answere vnto London from Etius, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vnto the Britains would wholie submit themselves as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat took such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & herebypon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forthwith rushed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the fore ward went such as came forth of Caloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Wartonke. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere vnto the parties of Balendar and Canelone with them of Jife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choicest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriages and trusse of the armie, next wherevnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons closing by the back of the whole

But note
largely as
here is ex-
plained.
The answere
of Etius.

The Scots
and Picts
would agree
vnto no rea-
sonable con-
ditions of peace.

The Scots
and Picts
prepare
against the
Britains.

The order of
the Scots
and Picts
entering into
the lands of
the Britains.

whole aforefall
The Britains
with their
mies, when it
maine force of
discouraged in
force once againe
chased. But to
the confederat
was, that cru-
ellies, their w
and substance
ple without al
granted. The
of the Britains
one part, and
their minds t
change of their
number of the
Whereof in
for the Britains
fence of their
deaths vpon
than is credibi
uertheloe a gr
much that the
sing in the for
and such other
were in great
Graime per
armie was ru
both the kings
men, who in
sent them wit
succors of the
point to haue
committing of
toke courage
most fiercelie
with great sla
Britains bein
enimies, and
ming awaie, th
bogs, most
place of the be
remained wi
comfature of
ed them into
small number
tell of the Brit
Scots and P
The Brita
saw no helpe
onelic to sue
sent therefore
kings, besee
peace, euen
them to prefer
the present for
with their ou
right woorthie
tented to gra
the Britains
nant or armie
enimie of the
tion sooner he
They should c
nation, nor
out content of
ther should be
ner of enimie
Whereouer, th
children, and
tries, liengl

The Brit-
ains doubt
to haue with
the maine ar-
my of the
Scots and
Picts.

The force on
the men by
the Britains.

Grames at-
tribute in op-
bering of the
battell.

Afole of the
welshmen
committing to
the succors of
the fore ward,
withed the
battell.

The Brit-
ains run a-
waie.

The number
of them that
were slaine on
both sides.

The Brit-
ains make
humble sute
for peace.

Peace gran-
ted by the
Scots with
the conditions
of the same.

the ground
places of de-
as well the
otent aged,
men, which
h weapon in
ne of our de-
the sea side,
se over) we
. And here,
for either
either else
all enemies.
ople, if our
to the em-
ace of these
on to rise on
ch you, not
for of these
it send unto
th all sped,
rated of the
y these bar-
is as a no-
w they put
friendship

for month,
if these fore-
ing, declar-
id losses fir-
asant unto
gh the sum-
e as also in-
of the Ro-
s, he could
nd over bin-
ns to make
elues for a
er parties,
eir injuries
s to be ve-
ne that the
were unto
backe forth
it about the
vits would
ace, while
elues as it
take such
pagrad to
ce; & here-
ence. The
is intents,
sped than
re, & forth-
nies coun-
like order.
th of Cal-
which inha-
i followed
re forth of
y were un-
with them
atell both
est soule-
then went
where unto
he nations
r servants
hoose forth-
tions hath
ne a great
lack of the
whole

whole aforesaid armie.
The Britains also comming forth into the field
with their whole puissance to encounter their ene-
mies, when they understood by espials the order and
maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe
discouraged in their minds, and thought good there-
fore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be pur-
chased. But sending forth their ambassadours un-
to the confederat kings, to that end their answers
was, that except the Britains would yeld them-
selues, their wives and children, with all their goods
and substance into the hands of their enemies, sim-
ple without all conditions, there would be no peace
granted. When this was knowne abroad in the host
of the Britains, that thorough kindeled ire on the
one part, and soule despaire on the other, prouoking
their minds to displeasure, they generallie upon
change of purpose required battell, even all the whole
number of them.

Whereof infused a most cruell and mortall fight:
for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in de-
fence of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne
deaths upon their enemies, with more fiercenesse
than is credibie to be thought, gave the onset, and
verily a great number of their enemies, inso-
much that those of Galloway and the Picts fight-
ing in the fore ward with them of Argyle, Athole,
and such other as were in the battell with the kings,
were in great danger to be put to the sword: which
Graime perceiving (by whome the most part of the
armie was ruled, and that by commandment of
both the kings) called forth a number of the Land-
men, who were appointed to attend the carriage, and
sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the
succors of them of Galloway, being then at the
point to haue fought refuge by flight. But by the
comming of these Land-men to their succors, they
toke courage afresh, so that the battell was againe
most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space
with great slaughter on both parts, till finally the
Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their
enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to run-
ning abacke, thinking to saue themselves in certaine
bogs, moasses, and marshy grounds neere unto the
place of the battell: but such cofferels, and other as
remained with the Scottish cariage, seeing the dis-
comfure of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursu-
ed them into those marshes, killing and taking no
small number of them. There were slaine in this bat-
tell of the Britains, about 15 thousand, and of the
Scots and Picts more than foure thousand.

The Britains hauing received this overthrow,
saw no helpe which waie to recover their losses, but
onlie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They
sent therefore an orator unto the Scottish & Pictish
kings, beseeching them humbly to grant them a
peace, even with what conditions it should please
them to prescribe. The kings not moued onlie with
the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie
with their owne, hauing lost no small number of
right worthy personages in the battell, were con-
tented to grant a peace upon these conditions: That
the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieuten-
ant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie
enemie of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what na-
tion soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie.
They should enter into no league with anie citie or
nation, nor be about to make anie warres with-
out consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and fur-
ther should be readie to serue them against all ma-
ner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for.
Moreover, they should remove with their wives,
children, and whole families out of all those coun-
tries, lying betwixt Aine and Humber, resigning

the possession of the same unto the Scottishmen and
Picts.

Also they should giue threescore thousand peeces
of gold thenceforth to the Scottish & Pictish kings,
towards the dispatch of their soldiers wages, and
further should yald as a tribute twentie thousand
peeces of gold, to be paid yerelie unto the generall
vices of the victors. They should likewise deliuer
one hundred hostages of such as the two kings should
appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie
yeres. These conditions of peace though they seemed
verie strict & greivous to the Pictish nobilitie, yet
for that they understood not how to make a better
bargaine, they perswaded the multitude to accept
them, and so a league thereupon was concluded a-
mongst those people, and the publike state of the
land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene
before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to
the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after
Iulius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the
Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our
Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the
Scottishmen the seventh.

In this season was the Ile of Albion fore infected
with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore
pope Celestine sent one Valadius a learned man
unto the Scots, to persueve them from that infecti-
on, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland
that had his inuention from Rome: for all the other
before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages
of the people, choosing them forth among the monks
and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles
do report. Valadius with right god and whole some
exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie
superstitious rites of their old gentillie idolatrie,
till those daies used amongst them, whereupon he is
named and reputed for the Scottishmenes apostle.
Valielth at Forduare, a towne in Ayrnes, where
his reliques remained, and were long after had in
great estimation.

Moreover he instituted one Seruan bishop of the
Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants
there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not
receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had
baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these
daies also manie strange sights were sene in sun-
drie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned o-
uerthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to
the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in
a quadzant figure. At Forke it rained blood: and
trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and
died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so) teareme
it) Cheapeside in London opened, so that a great hole
appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. A-
bout the same season also (as is supposed) liued that
huge personage Finnacoell, a Scottishman borne
of seven cubites in height. He was a great hunter,
and sore feared of all men by reason of his mightie
stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of
him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as
ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore
here passed over with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irreco-
uerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes,
Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupi-
eng sundrie parts and positions thereof, put the
Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance
from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in
quiet certein yeres without attempting any exploit
against the Scots or Picts, and so duclie paid their
covenanted tribute, though sore against their wills,
if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last
about ten yeres after the conclusion of this last peace,
it chanced that one Conan the sonne of the aboue
mentioned

60000 pound
at Pictland
after the
rate of the
Scottish mon-
20000 pound
saith the same
Valadius, so
that he effec-
tually those
peeces of gold
to be of the va-
lue of French
crowney.

The Brit-
tains tribu-
tary to the
Scots and
Picts.
436. H. B.

The heresie
of the Pelag-
ians.
Valadius
sent into
Scotland;

Of this Va-
adius liues
more in Ire-
land.

Valadius ac-
compted the
apostle of
Scotland.

Seruan bi-
shop of Orke-
nie, and Ter-
uan archbi-
shop of Pict-
land.
Winketh
sights and
strange won-
ders apperch.

Finnacoell
the great
hunter.

Conanus a
Britaine go-
eth about to
persuade his
countermen
to breake the
peace conclu-
ed with the
Scots and
Picts.

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blond of the Detaul, sometimes kings of the Britains, soe magnified to see his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some redres, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leaue warre againe. 10

Here the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some alwaerted with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadoys vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delays, or else to looke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefeest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient lawes they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receive no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receive home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twice so manie in number of the like age and degree, as was covenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadoys, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great sturre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferiour sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought in to such a miserable estate, that looke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiours, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadoys were returned home, with answer agreable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the utter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloodshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselves, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties alwaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally though famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceived that need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre soe decayed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the avoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof ensued a marvellous

great scarfitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left alue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie manner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enie and hatred.

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in god quiet and rest, applying their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie foreign power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recover againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that usurped the empire of Constantinople.

But forasmuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefeest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of god, of gods and iustice, appointing in euery quarter men of good fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligently foresee, that euery man might inioy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, specially nere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of seasonall fortune, thought god in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the advancement of religion did most exceedingly set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be enfranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

About the same time also, and whilest these things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being alwaerted of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best take to deliuer themselves from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armozike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Wherevnto was the archbishop of London appointed

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kindred lieng in hostage would not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspyracy of the Britains, perswade vnto them new articles to be performed.

Imprudent seruilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud & cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernours.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Superstition with respect to war.

The Scots apply themselves to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

Dongard, Dongard king of Scots.

The death of Dongard by persecution of iustice and godlynes.

The repairing of castles by Dongard.

The Scots and Picts make their approach nere to the Britains.

The bounds of Dongard's liberallitie towards his churchmen.

The bounds of the Scots and Picts.

The Scots and Picts are put backe.

Not sent into Britaine from the Britains.

Constantine proclaimed king of Britaine.

The assembly of the British armie.

The great seruilitie of the Britains to recover their libertie.

The Scots and Picts make their approach.

The Scots and Picts approach nere to the Britains.

Dongard exhorteth his people to fight manfully.

The things of the British armie are put backe.

ted as the archbishop Constant appointed men to get British in ships to die, he was made prosperous into great Denonsh England forthwith he promised recover to maintain the desire For common should be appointed daies all the lords in erecting apt to man of the allmies, so sent of to recover beheld the same for Scots on them on When the Scots a to meet their polaire, a where the next the erin wards tamped nere to of Scotland that night, and getting there of perfluently, the order breake mics to We diuerse how they had lod die in o to inco be right gentle euery pointed take a to veele lieng b and cr Britai the mi Where

by reason
died. Yet
it those that
eries, gaue
oke such rot
hat for anie
onght them,
enne and

and Pittis
their studies
to after the
ercises and
the time of
rith in welch
ren power,
the Britis
at the same
aine the for-
scottis king
of his coun-
anie of his
after he had
se about the
pire of Con-

issue behind
succeeded in
e yere 470.
Dongard
his brothers
e of god o:
461. H.B.
arter men of
stration un-
y should dis-
ht inlopy his
to see to the
d, and to the
thought most
borders, for
riches, riches
mes, which
ue of loats.
consequell for
ouide for the
ld happen un-

positions for
increased the
hich he did to-
most excec-
first, all such
if life taught
ith him from
erenced; and
assigned forth
nes in diuers
t onelie unto
thin anie o:
pointing that
places should
ries, that all
f their liues,
long as they

f these things
ittains being
sh the setting
d toke aduise
se to deliuer
ts and Pittis,
to send ouer
le ambassage
trie for aid.
ndon appoint-
red

Superfluous
scottis occasion
of vice.

The Scots
applied them-
selves to
peace.

The death of
Eugenius the
Scottis king.

Dongard,
king of
Scots.
461. H.B.
The death of
Dongard for
preparation of
of justice and
god orders.
The repairing
of castles by
Dongard.

The bound-
ing libertie
of Dongard
towards
charchmen.

Sandwich.

The Scots
tales send him
to Britaine
Armois.

Constantine
came to the
Britis
472

Constantine
came to the
Britis
472

Constantine
came to the
Britis
472

The great
wonder of
the Britains
to see
Constantine

The Scots
at Pittis
were there ap-
pointed.
The Scots
at Pittis ap-
pointed more
to the Britains.

Dongard re-
turned his
army to fight
Constantine.

The names of
the Britis
were put
in.

ted as chiefe ambassador to go on that message, which
archbishop used such diligence in the matter, that
Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was
appointed by his father with a competent power of
men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the
Britis inhabitants there. Whereupon, when the men
& ships with all necessarie prouision were once rea-
die, he embarked at Saint Malo, where the assemble
was made, and taking the sea, sailed forth with pro-
sperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie
into great Britaine, where he landed at Eotnes in
Deuonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of
England. He was receiued with no small ioy, and
forthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, whereupon
he promised to assaie to the bittermost of his power to
recover againe their whole lands and liberties, and
to mainteine them in the same according to their wil-
led desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment hereof,
commandement was first given, that all able men
should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place
appointed more to the river of Humber within fortie
daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of
the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put
in execution with such diligence, that few or more be-
ing apt to beare arms, withdrew themselves, eue-
rie man in manner comming to the appointed place
of the assemble, and offering to go against the eni-
mies, so that it was a wonder to consider the con-
sent of the people now ioined in one mind and will
to reconer their former libertie. When Constantine
beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the
same would haue sufficed not onelie to vanquish the
Scots and Pittis, but also vicerlie to destroye a race
them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres
which the Britains made, was once signified to the
Scots and Pittis, they likewise made their appelles
to meet with them in the field, and thereupon raising
their powers, came forth with the same into Forke-
shire, and pitched their camps within foure miles
where Constantine with his people was lodged, and
the next day after, understanding how nere vnto
the enimie they were, they raised and marched for-
wards till they came within sight of him, as then in-
camped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils,
nere to the aforesaid river side. Here both the kings
of Scots and Pittis lodging with their armies for
that night, made readie for battell against the next
day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottis king
getting him to a little hill, called his men together,
& there exhorted them by sundrie comfo:table means
of perswasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight va-
liantly, assuring them of victorie if they would keepe
the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashlie
breake forth of the same in following vpon the eni-
mies when they fell to retiring backe.

He had scarce made an end of his words, but that
diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared
how the Britains began to auaile the hils where they
had lodged, and that the Pittis were got forth alrea-
die in order of battell, and were marching forwarde
to incounter them. Dongard shewing himselfe to
be right ioyfull of these newes, commanded inconten-
tencie, that the standards should aduance forth, and
euerie man to attend the same according to his ap-
pointed order. Also that no man should presume to
take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor
to yeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that ioi-
ning with his enimies, there followed a verie fierce
and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the
Britains gaue backe from the Scottis men & Pittis,
the middle ward abiding the brunt verie stoutlie.
Where Constantine himselfe stood like a valiant

chieftaine, doing his endeour to the bittermost of
his power, vpon whome Dongard earnestlie preas-
sing, and entring into the thickest throng of his eni-
mies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armo-
like Britains, and being about to get vp againe by
helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth,
and slaine with manie a soze wound.

Diuers of the Scots discomfited with this great
misshap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with
more wrath laie about them more egerlie. The Pittis
also, for their part fought most constantlie, so that the
battell continuing vntill none date with doubtfull
successe, at length the Britains were constrained
something to giue backe, & after taking themselves
to fearfull flight, declared that the victorie remained
with their enimies. Here died in this mortall battell
nere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and
of the Scots & Pittis aboue 14 thousand, with Don-
gard and the Scottis king. Constantine the day next
after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots
carried away with them the corps of their dead king,
and corneing it into the Ile of Zona, now called
Colmechill, there buried it in kingle wise. Dongard
was thus slaine, in the first yere of his reigne, after
the birth of our Sauter 475 yeres, and about the se-
cond yere of Zeno the emperour.

After him succeeded in gouernment of the Sco-
tish kingdome Constantine the brother of the
about rehearsed Eugenius, a prince unlike in noble
vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For
though in him there appeared some good tokens of
commendable towardnesse, as he seemed out-
wardlie to shew, yet was he giuen more vnto wan-
ton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the god
rule and gouernment of his subiects, a deflower of
virgins, a rauisher of honest matrones, and aboue
all, a fauourer of backbiters and slanderers; neuer
shewing anie sofill countenance amongst his no-
bles, but amongst scoffing fellows and other vile per-
sons he was as pleasant and merie as the foucest
man alike. Thus though he represented the Britis
king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far
differed from him: for the Britis Constantine stru-
vieng to aduance the commonwealth of his subiects,
trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them
from their former euill vices vnto ciuill order and
good customs. Contrariwise, the Scottis Const-
antine did nothing worthie praise at all, after he was
once instituted king, but followed still his owne in-
ordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarce
requiring the same, releasing not onelie the tribute,
but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret
meanes diuers castles standing vpon the riner of
Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue
done to the great preiudice and hinderance of the
Scottis estate, had not the nobles of the realme the
soner withstood his rash and vnadvised attempts.
Such malice also was ingendred in the hearts of the
most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it
not bene through the wholesome admonition & per-
suasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of
right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had le-
uied ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Don-
gall declaring to them the great danger and incon-
uenience that might thereof insue, restrained their
wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing a-
gainst him by force, so that for certeine yeres they
suffered and bare with this his misordered gouern-
ment.

In the meane while the Pittis noting the want of
all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scots, and
againe what tokens of valiant courage appeared in
the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should
seke

Dongard is
slaine.

The Bri-
tains are put
to flight.

465. H.B.
501 Leo. H.E.

Constantine
the first of
the Britis
king of
Scots.

Constantine
the Scottis
king nothing
like in nobis
conditions
vnto Con-
stantine king
of the Brit-
tains.

Peace gran-
ted vnto the
Britains, and
diuers castles
deliuered into
their hands.

The good
counsell of
Dongall.

The Pittis
stand in feare
of the king of
Britaine.

seek to reuenge old injuries against them, they should be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now, by reason of the insufficiency of the Scottish king) they devised a means how to rid the British king out of the waie, and so appointing certaine sic fellows to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their deuised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one bit that should worke this feat, where the Scottish writers recozd of diuers, which nevertheless were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appeareth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yere of Constantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing cauthed a noble mans daughter, borne in the weserne Isles, he was slaine by his father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yeres.

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whole daughter he had cauthed, Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The polittike rule of Dongall.

Then was Dongall his nephue, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdome and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeavour, that peace and concord thereupon ensuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

Constantius a monk elected king of Britaine.

Maximianus a monk elected king of Britaine.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Maxigernie, Constantius the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbete, where he was borne a monke, and advanced to the kingdome: but being not met of himselfe to gouerne, Maxigernie had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murder the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the gillie as the vngillie, and finally made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that these countreimen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantius king of the Britains, were maliciously circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraies into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Maxigernie by a greivous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be sent, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enemies: whilke he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made away Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourne in his owne person.

Guitellus general of the British army

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue true lie in defense

thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enemies, being advanced from the residue to fetch a botie. These Guitellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore aie ouerture of warre was denounced. Whereupon such other as escaped by flight, and had some their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellows. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather together their people, and haile forward with all speed toward the enemies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and Pictish power: whereupon Guitellus their generall with comfortable wordes willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to aie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

With such and sundrie other the like wordes the Britains being emboldened, as might well appeere by their change of countenances, Guitellus thereupon removed his campe more nere vnto his enemies, so that at the first and for certaine daies together, there chanced onelie diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore moued against the other, they ioune in a fight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scottish king fought, the Britains hostile began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Calanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiving, forthwith prouided remedie: for taking with him certaine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfullie, and in no wise to giue ground to the enimie, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintenanlie both the wings of the British armie were bitterlie discomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haile to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euery side, they knew not whither to flee: so that in the end a great number of them throwing away their weapons, yielded themselves, most humble craning mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell about twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. Where died also of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conquer castles and townes, such as stood in their waie.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Maxigernie as one gillie in conscience, doubted least through want of good wils in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue auoided the realm, but there were of his councell that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the bittermost point of fortunes day, than with

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whole daughter he had cauthed, Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The polittike rule of Dongall.

Constantius a monk elected king of Britaine.

Maximianus a monk elected king of Britaine.

Guitellus general of the British army

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue true lie in defense

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue true lie in defense

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue true lie in defense

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue true lie in defense

dist
han
bel
ant
in
Shi
ger
wit
of
ser
Wo
L
one
the
har
sarl
thei
of
t
int
thei
led
uin
nin
best
plai
Spi
ries
gre
by
t
mic

Maxigernie is committed to London, and in to Germanie.

The Britons together with Calanus the Pictish king, were sent to the borders of the Britains to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to aie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

The Britons together with Calanus the Pictish king, were sent to the borders of the Britains to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to aie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

The king of Britaine, being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood.

The king of Britaine, being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood.

The king of Britaine, being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood.

The king of Britaine, being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood.

The king of Britaine, being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood.

The king of Britaine, being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood.

borderers to
enemies, be-
cause these
demanded for
anie over-
upon such o-
re fellows
enemies what
confederate
gather tog-
all speed to
to manifest
Scottish and
it generally
be of good
ing so lust a
uch as were
in to anie o-
warre.

words the
well appare
lus there by
to his en-
emies tog-
hes betwixt
aght the one
p to the in a
tell was be-
where Don-
ains the like
hting of his
Ditch king
remedie: for
is done bat-
nfullie, and
he him selfe
out, and set
matched the

he Britains,
astroth, affa-
is than they
itlie both the
lie discomf-
of the Pits
alke halfe to
ch as fought
in the same,
ine on euerie
at in the end
ie their wea-
ble craning
were slain in
he Britains,
, and a great
e died also of
onland. The
re bluded by
he soldiers,
e countrie to
stod in their

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
are put backe,
Calanus king
of Pits suc-
coureth the
Scots.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

The Scots
and Pits
were the
appalled
of his men,
warre with
comfortable
warre.

disorder so to yield at the first blow of his forward hand, considering the abundance of treasure which he had in store, wherewith he might wage soldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number sufficient to match with his enemies. This counsell as the best was folloved, and messengers with commission & sufficient instructions sent with all speed into Germanie, to retaine a number of Saxons, and to bring them over into Britaine, to serve against the Scots and Pits in wages with

At the same time there were amongst those Saxons two brethren, descended by rightfull lineage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant captains, appointed with the British commis- saries for a certaine summe of monie to take up their prescribed number of men, & to receive charge of them as colonels, aswell for their conuay over into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after their arrival. The one of these two brethren was called Hengist or Engist, and the other Horsa, who ha- ving their appointed numbers once filled, confer- ring about ten thousand soldiers in the whole, they bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulls, hoies, and plaits, and in the same transported them ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yere after Christ, as our histo- ries doe asseme: where they were received with great ioy and gladnesse of Hoxterigne, who trusted by their aid to overcome his fierce and dreadfull en- mies.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselves somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent forth with an other armie which Hoxterigne had as- sembled of his owne subjects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enemies countrie, where at their first coming they passed ouer the riuer of Humber, be- fore the Scots or Pits had knowledge that anie such people were come in support of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but soie shift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who to beg in their enterprize with bloud, slawe all such as they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of person. Great was the slaughter by them commit- ted in all those parties where they passed, namelie a- bout the riuer of Ene. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so into the dales about Berwik, next adioining vnto Dicaland, destroying all before them with fire and sword.

The British king in the meane time had sent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed to support him against the dreadfull invasion of the enemies, whose force being now increased with a powder of Saxons, would worke much mischief, if the same were not the more speedilie in the begin- ning repressed: but hearing that the Saxons and Britains daile approached, he thought not good to tar- rie for the coming of the Scots, but halted forth with his owne power to encounter his aduersaries, and rashlie giuing battell, he was overcome, and thereby lost no small number of his people. In this conflict the Saxons wan them a great name for their high valiance, where contrariwise the Britains got them no small note of gillie cowardise, fighting so famtly, that their captains had much ado to cause them to keepe their ground, being ready still to haue run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomach being noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small confidence that it should be an easie matter for him to conquer them at his pleasure, when time and oc- casion might serue thereto.

The British nation hauing receiued this grieuous

ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enemies, sent againe an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, what losse had happened to them by that most cruell people the Saxons void of all religion and merite, and what mischief by the same people was inten- ded, aswell against Scots as Pits, vnto the great danger of the utter ruine of both nations, if the en- mies in time were not resisted. They that were sent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commission, besought him of spe- die succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harmes and losses of the Pits his friends and allies, but also much more for the likelihood of the imminent dan- ger and perill towarde himselfe and his owne peo- ple, determined speedilie to go with all his power, and to ioin with the Pits, as fullie resolued to pre- uent that mischief which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enemies were not the sooner re- sisted.

He sent word therefore to the British king, that if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes and incursions for a small time, he would come to his aid shortly, with all the whole puissance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions, which were able to beare armour should by the twen- tith day after assemble together at the south side of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them for two moneths. According to the which proclama- tion, there came together at the day and place assign- ed, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and mete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the musters & bew of his whole numbers, he set forth towards the place where he understood that the king of the Pits as then loo- ged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in campe tarried for the coming of the Scottish armie. On the first day after, both the kings met together, and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friend- ship the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout prayers vnto almightie God for their good speed and luckie successe in that iournie: which being done, they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng in campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and Pits being stricken with feare to behold so great a multitude, as the like had not bene seene in those parties manie a day before, they scale away and se- cretly hid themselves in the next woods. But the kings, to giue example to other, caused them that were thus skorne away, to be sought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open sight of all the armie.

The Saxons & Britains also vpon the approach of their enemies gathered their companies together, & maintainantlie herewith the Saxons encouraged with such comfortable speech as Hengist uttered a- mongest them, required to haue battell without de- lay: whose example the Britains following, shewed themselves also right willing therevnto. Congall the Scottish king perceiving the enemies to make ready for battell, went likewise amongst his folks, and exhorted them in best wise he could, to play the men. The like also did Calanus the British king a- mongest his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both sides comming forward to ioin, the arrowes and darts flew frechly betwixt them, but neither part minding to giue place for all the shot, at length they ioind at handblowes, first the Bri- tains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing;

The Pits
effronces soli-
cit the Scots
for aid.

Congall prom-
ised to aid the
Pits.

Proclamation
made by the
Scots to aid
the Pits.

The Scottish
and British
kings assem-
ble together
with their
powers.

The Scots
and Pits
come within
sight of the
enemies.

The Scots
though com-
fort of them-
selves exhorta-
tion desire
battell.

The Scottish
and British
kings exhort
their people to
fight valiant-
lie.

The battell
is begun.

The Britains flee.

A great tempest.

The Saxons close themselves together.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assist the Scots and Picts disordered in pursuit of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

Hengist returneth to London.

Hengist offereth to send for more aid into Germany.

Hengist's offer misliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honoz shewed unto Hengist by Hlothigerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shower of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himsele thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnderneath see another, so that the Scottishmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of anie present danger, closed themselves together and drew nere vnto their chieftains standard. Finally the tempest no longer began to cease, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chafe of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene whole theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare by) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there disperfed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murthre of them on euery side where they found them, that pittie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staied till they were gotten into places farre enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie isfull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enemies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Porke, leauing those countries betwixt Ene and Ewed in the enemies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, already hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London, where he counselled Hlothigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enemies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countrymen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onely to vanquish the Scottishmen and Picts, but also utterly to destroy both the nations, or at least wile to driue them forth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatly liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Hlothigerne did not onely giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also thanked by the maner of his intertainment, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not doe vnto him too much honoz for such notable seruice as he had done already, and trusted he should doe hereafter. According to Hengist's aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of five thousand, who shortly after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaite in sundrie skirmishes and incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also an other company, double in number to the first, to redenge the deaths of their fellows; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much what a like, for in sundrie confusions of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselves deliuered captiue into the aduersaries handes, the residue that was left, perceiving in what danger they stood, thence they

might not trust their owne countrymen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether unfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of five thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, came ouer into this land, in eightene hoies, and amongst other came Hengist's wife and his daughter the ladie Korena. Shortly after king Hlothigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Hlothigerne so much ground as he might compass with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he took a nightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which took name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it took that name, certene it is by record of all the Scottish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Hlothigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecast, he took forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certene capitains and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staing for the comming of the Britains. Hlothigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subjects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Hlothigerne, a yong man of great force and valiance, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authority for the warres he commanded chieflie to be followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Ene, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enemies laie. The Scottish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers together, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with provision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuers of Ene, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so strongly incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some even ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a baillie, in the botome full of mires and marshy grounds, which the Scottishmen & Picts must needs passe, yet they could find meanes to doe ante notable displeasure to the enemies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and sagots to make passage ouer those mires, which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certene hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British camps, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow of front of an hill so nere to the lodgings of their enemies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they took no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and veration.

There was growing in that place, where they were

Some of the Saxons comming vnto the Britains.

A picture of the Saxons.

Thong-castell.

The Saxons first inhabited in Britaine.

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Saxons.

Hengist called his people together.

The Saxons and Britains against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Scots and Picts came to meet the Saxons.

Congals exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist's long stay to gain battell.

Hengist exhorted the Saxons to fight manfully.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.

The Saxons in danger to lose the ouerthrow.

An ambush of five thousand men.

soet
hea
whi
tic
got
tan
Sa
the
bur
low
ten
chi
rog
fear
tha
cor
tho
so:
whi
nir
whi
ear
an
son
fir
roz
wi
fiel
do
coi
bp
kn
per
wh
ort
spr
nu
far
do
the
sa
fo
di
er
Si
hi
th
di
th
tr
al
ar
th
in
Si
gi
to
th
bi
bi
of
ci
n
h
b
o.

en, returned
and so left the
this meane
Sarons, with
into this land,
came Hen-
orena Short-
Hengist & his
called Lind-
alled Thong-
igist required
right compass
anted, he toke
all thongs, and
lot of ground
ere the four-
th of thongs,
ck measured,
But upon that
re, certaine it
s, that there the
ring into Wy-

A new power
of Sarons
commeth ouer
into Britaine

Thewang co-
stell, or Thoge
castell.

The Sarons
first inhabites
in Lindisfar.

der for the pla-
gs (appointed
emed best onto
he toke forth
red under cer-
s, and led them
saicng for the
rne had gathe-
rs, and appoint-
hent his some
force and vali-
d in all things
yist, whose au-
ed chieflie to be

Thostigme ge-
nerall of the
Britains.

s and Britains
ouer the riuers
treatie towards
ntes laie. The
y knowledge of
as, they gathe-
mber of 60000
ittels for a long
to the riuier of
the Sarons and
y made streight
uen battell with
obest comming
they found them
antage could be
e constrained to
th to receive bat-
Hengist of pur-

The Sarons
and Britons
against the
Sarons and
Picts.

60000 of
Sarons and
Picts come
to meet their
enimies.

Hengist pro-
longer tyme
to giue battell

mies of the two
ome full of mires
ostlymen & Picts
id meanes to do
nies. Wherefore
se and sagots to
ch being accom-
ert morning they
teine hills lieng
British campes,
s upon the brow
odgings of the
a dart into their
small occasion to
ies, to their great
place, where they
were

Spellic of
the Sarons.

The tumult
of the Sarons
in the
camp of the
Picts.

Hengist cal-
led his peo-
ple together.

Engels or-
dered them
to the Sarons.

The Sarons
Picts giue
the charge.

The Sarons
danger to
beate the ouer-
throw.

The Sarons
of the
men.

were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of
heath or ling, which the Scottishmen call hadder. Of
which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quanti-
tie together, and binding it in bundles like unto fa-
gots, in the night season they set the same on fire,
tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the
Sarons laie. The wind in that instant being some-
what aloft, caused these bundles of ling to blase and
burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies
forth, drove the flame so fiercinable amongst the
tents and cabins of the Sarons, that the fire cat-
ching in the straw and twigs which they had couched
together vnder them in stead of beds, increased the
fear amongst the souldeys wonderfullie, by reason
that the blasing bundles of the ling or hadder, still
comming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as
though the same had fallen from above, and euen
forth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the
whole campe, with such roing of beastes, and run-
ning vp and downe both of them and of the hostes
which were there in the campe, that if heauen and
earth had gone together, there could not haue bene
an more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the
souldeys had done what they could to quench the
fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some ty-
rore and disorder raised on each side, they got them
with their armor and weapons forth into the next
field, which Hengist himselfe perceiving (having first
done what he could to stay them) inuolunt with a
company of his choicest men of warre, he got him
vp onto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue
knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his
people should draw thither vnto him. After this,
when they were come together, he disposed them in
order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the
spring of the daie, to understand more certaintie the
meaning of his enimies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enimies to be
farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended
downe from the hill, fullie determined to assaile
them in their camps: but vpon their approach to the
same, perceiving how the Sarons were gotten
forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, min-
ding to defend their ground, both the kings thought
it best to tarie till the morning, yer they made anie
exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.
In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst
his people, exhorting them to remember their way-
thie elders, and by their example to chose rather to
die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties,
than by cowardize to saue a dishonest life, which (if
their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe
in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king
also with like words encouraged his men to do val-
iantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his
Sarons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie
they might deliuer themselves from terro: of all eni-
mies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilste he was thus exhorting his people, the
Scots and Picts with great force and violence be-
gan to giue the charge vpon him, which whilste the
Sarons and Britains went about to defend, they
were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on each side,
that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith,
had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called forth a-
bout three thousand fresh men to their succors, which
he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring
of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his
campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readi-
nesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer
happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the
backes of the Scots, brought them streight out of all
order: for they being occupied with the other Sar-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had
vnicath some for anie aduantage to turne their
weapons. In the meane time the Picts being mat-
ched with the Britains did put them to flight, and
chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue
them in the chase, till they came to a riuier in the which
a great number of them were drowned, as they iea-
perded to passe ouer the same, and to saue them-
selues by swimming. On the other side, the Scots
being fore handled by the Sarons, both before and
behind, were at the length constrained to giue
ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the
cruell hands of the enimies. Spante were slaine in
the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue get-
ting away, fled streight to the Picts: but Congall
himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants es-
caped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe
all wounded as he was.

The Brit-
tains put to
flight by the
Picts.

The Scots
forced to die.

Congall was
wounded, but
yet escapeth
through helpe
of his household
seruants.

The Picts returning from the chase, and under-
standing how the Sarons had giuen the Scots the
ouerthrow, and that they were now marching for-
ward to encounter also with them, determined not to
abide their coming at that time. And so might ap-
proching yer the Sarons had got sight of them, order
was giuen by commandement of their king, that
all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and
sagots, should be placed and piled together before
them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire,
which being executed according to the appointment,
when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the
Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secre-
lie as they might, and staied not to make alwaie, till
they were saue enough out of the danger of the Sar-
ons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and per-
ceiving no enimie abroad to bid him battell, muste-
red his men, and found that he had lost in this four-
nie as good as foure thousand of one and other. Af-
ter this, hee withdraue to Dyke, and leauing his
armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where
he was receiued with ioy enough by king Closti-
gerne.

The pollicie of
the Picts to
escape out of
danger.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Am-
brose, and Ulf, the sonnes of king Constantine
prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Ar-
morlike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime
the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to
them from their father: the Sarons were sent for
out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed
vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to re-
sist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after,
for a pollicie, Hengist caused it to be suted abroad,
that the Scots and Picts meant effronies to inuade
the British confines, & therefore was there an other
power of Sarons called into the land, and placed in
the north parts, to defend the same against the
Scots and Picts. Deca the sonne of Hengist had the
leading of these Sarons, who brought them ouer, be-
ing ten thousand men of warre, in skie plaits, and
skie hoies. They brought with them also their wiues
and children, and settled themselves in the north parts
betwixt the riuier of Humber and the borders of the
Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take
the name of Northumberland, which is as you wold
say, the land by north the riuier of Humber, and so it
doth continue.

Aurelius Am-
brose & Ulf,
sons to king
Constantine.

The Sarons
placed in
Kent.

A new power
of Sarons
came ouer
with their
captain Deca.

Northumber-
land when it
first be an to
be so called.

Shortlie after, Clostigerne forsaking his lawfull
wife, married the labie Korena or Kowen, Hengists
daughter, to the high offense of God, and great dis-
pleasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, De-
ca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots
and Picts, rather sought to get into his hmes all the
fortresses betwixt Tyne and Humber, euen from the
east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he
greatlie aduanced, & winning castles and fortresses
there

Forke in pos-
session of
Hengist.

Wortigmerne
deposed by his
subjects.
Wortimer cho-
sen to gouerne
the Britains.
The Brit-
tains require
aid of the
Scots and
Picts as
gainst the
Sarons.

The answer
of Congall
k. of Scots
vnto the Brit-
tish messen-
gers.

Upon what
conditions
Congall co-
venanted to
support the
Brittains.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots
Picts and
Brittains.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by sur-
render: and amongst other places of importance, he
first got possession of Worke, and feigning accusati-
ons against manie of the nobles and gentlemen,
furnishing that they would betraie the countrie vnto
the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death,
some secretly, and others openly, as consuls of such
offences as were forged and laid against them.

Whereupon the Britains for the stay of such mis-
chiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Wortigmerne from
his kingly seat, and placed his sonne Wortimer in
his roome, which being done, ambassadoz were sent
both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid
and support against the cruell oppression of the Sar-
ons, who fought not onlie by craftie meanes and
fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the
whole Ile, but also to extinguish and utterly subuert
the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion through-
out the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the
Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against
such common enemies as had bene called into the
realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but on-
lie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of
Wortigmerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of
the Scots and Picts, as also to represse all commo-
tions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise
against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst
them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in
feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the
ambassadoz were sent) for answer declared, that he
was sozie to vnderstand into what danger the mis-
erable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and
therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioinie
with the Britains against the Sarons, yet that
were sufficient cause to inforce him to do the best he
could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an
ethnik generation, as not onlie vsed the rites and
ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie
among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the ho-
nor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great
horror and terrible offense of the beholders consci-
ences; but also sought by all meanes they could de-
uise, how to destroye and quench vnterlie the faith of
our Saviour Christ in all places where they might
get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploie his whole puis-
sance to recover out of the enemies hands all such
countries as late betwixt the frontiers of his domi-
nion and the riner of Humber, and further to aid the
Britains to drive them quite out of the Ile, if the
Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer
to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the coun-
tries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riner of Hum-
ber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the
same in the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, to
haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to
performe, the ambassadoz had (amongest other
things) already promised in name of all the Brittish
nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the same
and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same
ambassadoz receiued of the Pictish king, and retur-
ning therewith vnto Wortimer, declared afoze him
and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance
of all promises, covenants and articles passed be-
twixt the Scottishmen, Picts, and Britains, there
was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ra-
tified and established, according to the tenor of the
ancient league, which had bene concluded in times
past betwixt them, with some new conditions of a-
greement included in the same: all old iniuries
being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so
that no cause of grudge or displeasure might bee

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first en-
terprise put in execution after the concluding of this
league, was made by the Scots against Decca and
his Sarons, which (as partlie ye haue heard) had
nestled themselves betwixt the riuers of Tine and
Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnest-
lie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towres,
with slaughter of such Sarons as stood at defense,
Decca commeth into the field with an armie ready
to incounter with them, but perceiuing the multi-
tude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he
should not be well able to match with them, he staied
a while from giuing the onset: but in the end percei-
uing he could not retire backe but to his great disad-
uantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set
vpon their enemies: which they fiercelie executing, it
was hard to tell for a while to whether part the bid-
rie would incline. But at length the Sarons not able
to susteine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them
with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca
perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from
running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he
could do, scarce at length ouercomming regard to
their captains commandement, shame of rebulie
was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their
feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots
pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and
comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and
sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at
length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter
of the Sarons vpon the discomfiture was great, spe-
ciallie in the chase, for the Scottishmen calling to re-
membrance that they had to do with infidels, and
with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eager
vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into
their hands. About the same time was Wortimer en-
tered into Kent against Hengist and his Sarons
there, and incounting with them in battell, slew ten
thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that
countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains,
and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto
the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of
the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before
this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with
the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all speed
toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in
that countrie till they had recovered their strength
by some powder to be sent ouer vnto them out of
their owne countrie: but being repelled with no
small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts,
they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where
getting certelie vessels, they passed ouer into
Saronie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind
them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as
fortune then best serued. Wortimer hauing got the
victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same
verie cruellie, for taking onlie from the Sarons
which were taken prisoners their armes and wea-
pon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie:
other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and
as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted
to tarie in the countrie with their wines & children,
as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Wortimer gaue order for the repairing
of churches, and restoring of the christian religion in-
to the state of the former puritie thereof, as then fore
decayed, partlie through the euill example taken by
dailie conuersation amongst the Sarons, and part-
lie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as
then mightilie spread ouer the most part of Britaine.
At length the said Wortimer through treason of his
stepmother

The Sarons
inmate nar-
rows of the
Humber.

The Sarons
inmate nar-
rows of the
Humber.

The Sarons
inmate nar-
rows of the
Humber.

The league
renewed be-
twixt Brit-
tains, Scots
and Picts.

Hengist re-
turneth.

Wortigmerne
deposed.

Decca fleeth
into Kent.

Thalions of
spirits.

A tale of a too
man abused
with a spirit.

About saint
Bernabes
day.

The Sarons
the out of
Britaine.

Wortimer
setteth the
Saronie mo-
dell.

The heresie
of the Pel-
agians

stepmother
was Wortig-
kingdome, fi-
the Sarons.
reine people
red thus but
causing due
to be errecute
of all inuasi-
reine power
his subjects
towards his
slacke in ho-
as by all oth-
also to reuel
with like coi-
ded lastlie I
But now
to auoid all
lie after the
kill thist, at
Britaine, I
maintained the
ug Ambrosi
stantine cal-
ling Wort-
house and a
him, acco-
sathsaier h-
sed that thi
which are c-
as countrie
illusion (a
man) do li-
ner of cari-
In this
like tale o-
not long b-
abiding
pierre 148-
parted out
rose a too
ther, so ou-
other the
matter in
pierre, for
length wh-
increased
looked for
neath the
led them
by Gods
told then
a spirit, d-
and that
thie pleal
In the sh-
maisters
and find-
person,
rable eff
comfoti-
and hop-
length I
offences
uen from
Should a
pumpe
cloud, w-
winke, y-
lie ther-
in great
satie e

The first en-
cloding of this
inf Decca and
ne heard) had
s of Line and

berie earnest-
s and towers,
lod at defense,
r armie reacie
ing the multi-
oubted least he
them, he stated
the end percei-
his great disad-
s people to set
the executing, it
part the vido-
sations not able
xpressing them
ie: which Decca
n them in from
ding all that he
ing regard to
ame of rebuke
e them to their
ght, the Scots

his nobles, and
got a ship, and
t danger, till at
s. The slaughter
was great, spe-
m calling to re-
h infidels, and
th, were so eger
me that fell into
s. Clozimer en-
nd his Sarons
battell, due ten
due forth of that
to the Britains,
10thwards bin-
o the tenour of

o a little before
his father with
ed with all sped
e to remaine in
o their strength
to them out of
epelled with no
scots and Picts,
umber, where
lled ouer into
r nation behind
in this Ile, as
hauing got the
ed not the same
om the Sarons
mo: and wea-
their countrie:
usbandmen, and
id, he permitted
lues & children,

o: the repairing
tan religion in-
cof, as then fore
ample taken by
rons, and part
Delagians, as
rt of Britaine.
) treason of his
stepmother

The Scots
made the bo-
vera of 340.
thumberland.

The Sarons
incounter
with the
Scots.

The Sarons
banquished
by the Scots.

Decca fleth by
sea into Kent.

The Sarons
banquished by
Britains and
expelled out
of Kent.

The Sarons
fle out of
Britaine.

Clozimer be-
sith the vido-
rie modellis.

The heretic
of the Dela-
gians.

stepmother Morena was poisoned, and died. Then
was Clozimerne againe restored to the rule of the
kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid
the Sarons, nor to receiue by way of aid ante for-
reine people into the realme. Clozimerne then resto-
red thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in
causing due administration of iustice without rigor
to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting
of all inuasions that might be attempted by ante for-
reine power, that his praise was great amongst all
his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise
towards him as to their naturall pince, were not
slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents,
as by all other manner of waies. He found means
also to renew the league with the Scots and Picts,
with like conditions and articles, as it was conclu-
ded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Clozimer.
But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus
to avoid all incontinence that might happen; thort-
lie after Hengist returned, and what by force and sub-
till shifts, at length got possession of the meye part of
Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to
fle into Wales, whither also Clozimerne fled, and re-
mained there a certeine time, till at length Aurel-
ing Ambrosius, and Viter, the sonnes of king Con-
stantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besie-
ging Clozimerne in a castell, burnt him with the
house and all, when they could not otherwise come by
him, according to that which Merlin the Britissh
soothsaier had prophesied before. It is folishlie sup-
posed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind
which are called Incubi, that is to vnderstand, such
as conueieng mans seed from him (and therewith by
illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of
man) doe lie with women, and vse them after the ma-
ner of carnall copulation.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a
like tale of two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought
not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat
abiding the same we haue here inscribed. In the
yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship de-
parted out of the fforth towards Flanders, there
rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and wea-
ther, so outrageous, that the maister of the ship with
other the mariners wondered not a little what the
matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the
yeere, for it was about the middell of summer. At
length when the furious prierie & rage of winds still
increased, in such wise that all those within the ship
looked for present death, there was a woman vnder-
neath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and wil-
led them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue
by Gods grace might yet be saued: and therevpon
told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with
a spirit, daile comming vnto hir in mans likeness,
and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his il-
lic pleasure after the manner of carnall copulation.
In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the
maisters appointment going downe to this woman,
and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate
person, lamenting hir great misfortune and mise-
rable estate, vsed such wholsome admonitions and
comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent
and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at
length the seeming right penitent for hir grieuous
offences committed, and fetching sundrie sighes e-
uen from the bottome of hir heart, being witness (as
shold appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the
pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke
cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and
linke, which presentlie fell into the sea: And sudder-
lie ther vpon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing
in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in
safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like
manner a yong man dwelling in Carroth, within a
village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine,
berie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie
of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how
there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a
woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer
saw the like, the which would come into his chamber
at nights, and with pleasant intiments allure him
to haue to doe with hir, & that by no maner of means
he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man ad-
uised him to remoue into some other countrie, and
to glue himselfe to fasting and prayer, so to auoid his
hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man follow-
ing the bishops counsell, within a few daies was de-
liuered from further temptation.

About the same time also, there was in the coun-
trie of Mar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beau-
tie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing
sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir fa-
ther, and other friends. At length she proued with
child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents
to tell who was the father, she confessed that a cer-
teine yong man used nightlie to come vnto hir, and
kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but
how or from whence he came, or by what means he
went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir pa-
rents not greatly crediting hir words, laid diligent
watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled
their house: and within thre daies after, vpon signi-
fication giuen by one of the maidens, that the forni-
cator was at that verie instant with their daughter,
incontinentlie therevpon, making fall the doores,
they enter the chamber with a great manie of tor-
ches and lights, where they find in their daughters
armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to be-
hold. Here a number comming hastilie in, to behold
this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a
priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was
thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of
them running their waies, began to recite the begin-
ning of Saint Johns gospel, and comming to these
words, *verbum caro factum est*, suddenlie the wic-
ked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring
noise, due his waies, taking the rose of the chamber
atwaie with him, the hangings and coverings of the
bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman
was yet preserved, and within thre or foure daies af-
ter was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the
like before had not bene seene, which the midwives
and women, such as were present at hir labor, to a-
uoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in
a great fire, made in the chamber for the same in-
tent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with
more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined
which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill
spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to retorne where I left touching Aurelius
Ambrose. We shall vnderstand, that he hauing once
subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Clozimerne,
determined to make warres against Hengist and
his Sarons, to proue if his chance might be to reco-
uer the realme out of their hands, and so to restore a-
gaine the christian religion. But first yer he attempt-
ed anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambas-
sadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also
vnto one Roth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of
berie comelie personage, as then reigning among
the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in so ne-
cessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the
enimies of Christ and his religion. Wherevpon both
these kings, weleng with themselves the dutie of all
christian princes, in respect of the advancement of
I. J. the

A yong man
haunted with
a spirit.

Aurelius
Ambrose par-
policy to make
warres a-
gainst the
Sarons.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Scots and
Picts to re-
quire their aid
against the
Sarons.

The Scots and Picts promise to aid the Britains against the Saxons. The league renewed betwixt Britains, Picts, and Scots.

Aurelius Ambrose maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambrose proclaimed king of Britaine.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Spaheshell.

The Britons and Saxons encounter in battell.

The Armoike Britains.

The Saxons discouraged.

the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnike idolatrie, promised their helpe to the uttermost of their powers against the Saxons, who had in such tyrannike sort subverted and abolished the christian profession within the British confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and covenants aforetime concluded betwixt the three nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voyage.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he brought with him south of France, & joining thereto a great multitude of those Britains which had escaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing themselves into Wales, or else by conueying themselves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, set forth toward the Scottish armie. But first calling together those Britains that he had about him, and going up to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great injuries and cruell practices used by Hengist, against the lineage of king Constantine, and the whole estate of the British common-wealth: also of the horrible persecution made by him and his people the Saxons, against the professors of the christian religion. All which matter he handled in words so pithie, his talke yet fauoring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the souldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to achieve some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be done in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king. Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in the yeere 498, after that Maximian with his sonne Maximian had reigned 17 yeeres in the whole.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of Britaine passed forth with his people, and within six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. General of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himselfe amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius Ambrose shewed all the honor that might be desired, as well to the one as to the other of those two nations, promising to requite them with as much assistance, when time and occasion should craue the like assistance. These three mightie armies therefore being thus assembled, marched forth towards a place called Spaheshell, where they understood that Hengist with his power as then did sojorne. Where then both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horsemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to displeasure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelie encountering ech other, so that (as it appeared) their force was not so great, but their mortall hate was even as much, or rather more, if the histories saie right.

The Armoike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persuing their battels, with their men arrayed in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, twedgethwise. The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almost to meet, hauing made waie thereto through the middest of their enemies. Wherewith the Saxons (being sore discouraged) began to giue backe; and finally, notwithstanding all

that Hengist could saie or do to haue staied them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he thoughtlie saw, & perceived that there was no recoverie, he himselfe (in manner the last man that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field, with an ambushment of horsemen about him, but being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a spear, and so was there staine out of hand, in the 488 yeere of Christ, and 40 after his coming into this Ile. Whobest the other of the Saxons conueied his sonne Decca (being also sore wounded) a waie with them up into the next mountains, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengist in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled and abused of his enemies.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the upper hand of his enemies, hastied forth with all speed unto London, where hauing both the citie and tower deliuered into his hands, he recovered the whole land from the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as were apt men, able to brace armor, and to serue in the warres, he commanded to depart south of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellows that were thus forced to depart, became subiects to the Britains, and covenanted to become christians. Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of the Scottish writers, but more hereof ye may read in the historie of England, where ye shall find this matter set forth more at large. For that which we write here, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began first to set foot here in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recovered the land out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he could imagine, both unto Loth the Pictish king, and also unto Conranus generall of the Scottishmen, acknowledging how that by their assistance he had got the upper hand of his enemies, and so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects. Hereto he caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scottishmen and Picts: also that the Saxons should be reputed common enemies to all the three nations, and that upon invasion made by anye foreyn power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

This league being concluded with these articles of covenants, was the more stronglie confirmed, by reason of such assistance and alliance as then also ensued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both; Anne being the elder, was giuen in marriage vnto king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had issue two sonnes, Spordich, and Maluian or Caluwan, with a daughter called Themetes: Ada being the younger sister was married vnto Conranus, generall (as is said) of the Scottish armie. Whobest he liued not past two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which also died with the mother: and so ended the alliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioied loifull peace certeine yeares after, but in the meane time diuers of those Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeiting to become christians, used neuerthelesse to make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the manner of the gentiles, whereof their priests being accused and condemned, suffered death by fire for that offense.

sense, accordid whilste these king of the S departed this na, otherwist pompe and acuer the Scotil and glorie.

After his A great rei admitted is. in our 512, and Anasastus. ranus, being that the sonne age, should be the gouernam maisters, to discipline, acc of made and quietnesse, no matter to his the disturba ment within circuit round all maner off nishment to b lish or kin.

And among stood to be vset this (as he th husbandmen a ing enill intre hands, durst n by reason ther red anie mane out remedie to therefore, that the manner of e fsted in a bok tours thereto c that those whi wards be foun matter plaine then be lured to of their offensi

This custom inditements, Conranus hin present at assit ministred, eit within some so the iustices fa Scots thus su people, Aurell sickle of a consi weakenesse, th de paired; wh Hengist being power of Sax Boetius saith) land.

After the bze time fore sicke that to auoid d Britains, abou gainst the enin caused himself those presence incounting w although with was glad to t neths, and ther into Ellinshett

Samuel of Eborac

Hengist's daughter

London

The earned

godlie op

By support

Anne the

Ada and

Others

aided them,
the, which
there was
a last man
of the field,
him, but
e, he was
are, and so
88 years of
the. How
sonne De
them up in
for their re
r Hengist
be spoiled

upper hand
into Loth
delivered
lant from
of them as
to serve in
orth of the
rie behind
apart, be
nted to be
itten cou
e report of
may read
it find this
which we
e Scottish
h their na
gan first to

ne Aurell
the Sar
on, did all
h the Vic
ail of the
p their aid
mies, and
s subjects.
b betwixt
ordinance
appointed
ids: also
most enl
ination
ids, and
on servet
e articles
nfirmid,
then also
fers, the
fins both
tage unto
er he had
n of Cal
lda being
nus, ge
weib the
trauell of
nd to en
us. The
dorie and
ns of the
es after,
ons which
ninterfet
relle to
e manner
g accused
y that of
fense.

He more
of in Englan

Hengist is
Aurellus
king of
Scotland.

Aurellus
king of
Scotland.

He more
of in Englan

He more
of in Englan

He more
of in Englan

He more
of in Englan

He more
of in Englan

seuse, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whilest these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being worne with long sicknesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Fona, otherwile called Colmekill, with all kingle pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scottishmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with a great reioicing of all the Scottish nation was admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperor Anastasius. This Conranus otherwile called Coranus, being established king, first toke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Span, vnder the gouernance of certeine wise instructors & schole maisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raising some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouernment within his realme, he rode as it had bene in circuit round about the same, making inquirie of all manner offenders, on whome he caused due punishment to be executed, without respect either of kith or kin.

And amongst other enozmities which he vnder stood to be vsed in manner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was most grievous, that the husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, being euill intreated and misused at the gentlemen's hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redres; by reason whereof, when they were oppressed, or suffered anie manner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all such offenders, with the manner of their offenses, should be secretlie registered in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisitors thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced that those which were thus accused, might afterwards be found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie proued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called inditments, continueth euen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to see the lawes duelie ministered, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forest or chase, nere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whilest Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; whereof Decca and Pascentius somes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie powder of Sarons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

After the brother of Aurelius laie also at the same time for sicke of a stir in the parties of Wales, so that to avoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go against the enemies, Aurelius euen sicke as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that encountering with the Sarons they won the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure moneths, and therewith breakin y by his campe, went into Winchester, and sent ambassadours vnto the

Scottish and Pictish kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things readie for the warres against the appointed time of their assemble. Decca also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was taken by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Sarons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a mischeuous monke, a Saron borne, named Coga or Copa (as some booke haue) that toke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke, and a monke by profession. His death was sore lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Sarons reioiced greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Decca with his power inuadeth the Britains, bring great crueltie in all places wherefoer he came.

In the meane time the Scottish and Pictish armies were come forward towards Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinlie knowen amongst them, the capitains and leaders of both those armies, resolved to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambrose, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more freelie, he caused not to pursue his husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capitains called Balthiod, in battell against the Sarons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succeed him in gouernement of the realme. Wherewith Loth the Pictish king was not a little moued, disdaining that Arthur being a bastard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the Pictish kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade Uter from making anie such ordinance. But when he saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter and Decca the Saron king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Sarons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Aurer, as the Scottish writers make mention. Which battell as the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it touched the state of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Sarons with the Picts on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Sarons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons as saint Germane preached amongst them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Finally when both parties were readie to giue battell,

Aurelius
Ambrose
partly this
life.

The Scottish
armie returne
home againe.

Uter begat
Arthur.

S. Germane
preacheth vnto
the campe.

The historie of Scotland.

100

S. Germane leadeb the fore ward. Their crye was Alleluia.

S. Germane beareth the kings stand.

The Saxons miraculouſlie diſcomfired.

Hyperbole.

Beda diſſenteth from Hector Boecius and his authour Veremond.

The Britains giue themſelues vnto all kindes of vice and abominati- ons.

The threaten- ing of ven- geance to ſuc- ceed vicious liuing.

The Bri- tains receiue a great over- throw.

King Decca ſlaine.

The younger Decca nephue to the former Decca by his brother Diſcus. Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Bri- tains againſt the Saxons. Colgerne oꝝ Colgerme a Saxon is ſent for by Decca.

ſaint Germane toke vpon him to haue the leading of the fore ward, wherein he had all the preſts and eccleſiaſtical miniſters, giuing commandement, that when he ſhould crye Alleluia, they ſhould all an- ſwere him with one intire voice.

Thus proceed they forth to the battell, ſaint Ger- mane bearing the kings ſtandard in the fore front, & vpon the approach to the enimies, he with the reſt of the preſts crying with a loud voice thrice together Alleluia, was anſwered by all the whole hoſt, utter- ring and crying the ſame crye ſo whole together, that the verie ſound thereof cauſed ſuch an echo on each ſide by reaſon of the hollow mounteines and clifſes hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doub- led noiſe, and doubting not onelie another power of their enimies to be hidden priuilie among the billes which they ſaw on each ſide of them, but alſo leaſt the verie rocks & mounteines would haue fallen downe vpon their heads together with the frame of the ele- ment, readie (as it ſeemed to them) to breake in ſun- der, they toke them to their ſet in ſuch breadfull haſt, that their breath was not able to ſuffice halfe the de- ſire they had to continue their courſe. Spanie of them made ſuch haſt, that running to the next riuer in hope to paſſe the ſame, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that bleſſed man ſaint Germane, the victorie remained with king Alter and his Britains, without anie bloodſheb.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, affig- neth the time to be at the firſt coming of S. Ger- mane into this land, where as Hector Boecius follow- ing Veremond, ſuppoſeth it to be at the ſecond time of his coming hither, which was in the daies of king Alter. But at what time ſoeuer this victorie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Britains waring proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor toke anie heed for prouiſion of fur- ther deſenſe; but after that thoſe holie biſhops Ger- mane and Securus were returned into their coun- trie, they fell to all kindes of gluttonie and exceſſe, in following onelie their ſenſuall luſts and fleſhlie concupiſcence: which abuſes, the biſhops and other godlie men lamenting, ceaſed not moſt earnestlie to reprove, menacing deſtruction to the whole coun- trie, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and moſt heinous offences towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and ſpace.

Neither were they deceiued herein: for within few yeares after, Decca eſſones began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable overthrow, ſlaing of them to the number of ſixtene thouſand, with their generall Paſthaliod. But yet this victorie was not greatly pleaſant to the Saxons, for in the chaſe they loſt their king the forſaid Decca, being aduanced a good way off from the reſidue of his armie, with five hundred horſe- men and a few footmen, in purſute of his enimies, which was the onelie cauſe that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploit againſt the Britains. And yet for that they would not be without a gouer- nour, they created an other Decca to be their k. the nephue of the former Decca by his brother Diſcus: and then turned all their force to make warres a- gainſt the Picts, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Bri- tains in the laſt battell, as by certeine priſoners ta- ken in the ſame they had perfect vnderſtanding.

Decca therfore being fierce of nature, to the end to indamage his enimies the more, ſent into Germa- nie for one Colgerme oꝝ Colgerne, a man of great eſtimation and birth amongſt the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promi-

ſing for recompenſe of his trauell and aid againſt the Picts, to deſtroy vnto him all ſuch lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be reco- uered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his for euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed ſhortlie after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and ſword. Which cruell dealing cauſed a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerſe caſſels in that quarter, to come forth into the field to defend the countrie, and join- ing battell with their enimies were diſcomfited, their ſlaughter being much increased by the com- ming of Decca at vniuerses vpon them. For he firſt taking truce with Alter king of the Britains, haſted with all ſped to ioine his power with Colgerne, af- ter he heard once that he was come on land.

Theſe netes being brought by ſuch as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, cauſed both the kings, Loth and Conſtans in moſt ſpedie wiſe to aſſemble their forces, and with the ſame to march forthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within ſight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and terror of both their hoſts, to ioine in fight with ſuch a number of fierce people, as they ſaw there be- fore their faces. Which feare aroſe firſt through the Britains, of whom no ſmall number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts againſt the Saxons, de- claring manie things of the great valure, ſtrength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the ſame Sax- ons, being ſo fierce and cruell in fight, as they allow- ed, that they were able to put their enimies to flight even with their grim looks and terrible coun- tenances. Whereof ſuch feare and terror was ſpread through both the whole armies, that if ſhame had not partly wrought amongſt the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies beſore anie bat- tell had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceiving ſuch diſcomſiture amongſt their men, cauſed them to aſſemble together, and ap- pointed one ſuch as was thought meet for the pur- poſe, to declare vnto them on their behalſes, how they could not but maruell to vnderſtand ſuch feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, conſidering there was no cauſe thereof, they being ſuch a number of able warri- ours throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by ſuch gouernours and capteins, as there was no reaſon why to be doubtfull of victorie, beſore they had ſene ſome triall and iuſt occaſion of diſaduantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no ſuch men but that they might be overcome well through, as it might ſufficientlie appeare, both by proſe of ſuch victories as Woſtmer the Britiſh king had obtained againſt them; and alſo Aurelius Ambroſe, who had vanquiſhed them in ſuch ſort, that when they durſt not eſſones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poiſon to make him auaie.

When ſith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts ſo often had ſubdued) had at ſundrie times vanqui- ſhed the Saxons, why ſhould they feare in ſuch wiſe to fight with them in common deſenſe of their coun- trie, and reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had lately receiued at their hands, ſith the righteous God (as all good men ought to truſt) is ener readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was bruted a- mongſt them, that the Saxons were ſo huge of ſtature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withſtand them, it was certeinlie knownen, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no leſſe mightie ſtrength of bodie than the Saxons: ſo that if they were not of like ſtomachs, that reſted in their owne ſlouthfull cowardize, & not in natures worſhe, hauing done hir part in beſtowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in ſuch plentions ma-
nir,

The Scots through com- fortable ſupport of an- other re- cou- n- t- ing.

The Scots and Picts are in flight.

The king of Scots and Picts re- ceive their power to reſiſt the Saxons.

Colgerne cre- ated duke of Northumber- land.

The king and Picts put in ſea the Saxons balance.

The Bri- tains over- come ſhown in battell by the Saxons. After victo- ry ſent into Wales.

The king cauſe men make an or- tion vnto people to re- moue all be- out of their hearts.

The death of Alter poſſoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requi- red the king- dome of Bri- taine.

The death of Alter poſſoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requi- red the king- dome of Bri- taine.

The death of Alter poſſoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requi- red the king- dome of Bri- taine.

The death of Alter poſſoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requi- red the king- dome of Bri- taine.

aid against
as as lay
ght be reco
inoy into
ng the offer,
putting the
Which cruel
ots & Pias,
ter, to come
trie, and lo
discomfited,
by the com
For he first
tains, bafed
Colgerne, as
land.
as fled away
th the kings,
le to assemble
ch forthwith
with in fight
was the feare
in fight with
sain there be
st through the
was there, in
Sarons, de
ure, strength
e same Sar
as they allew
mies to flight
rrible counte
or was spread
haine had not
warre, manie
efore ante bat

lure amongst
gither, and ap
t for the pur
behalfes, how
land such feare
rallie through
was no cause
of able warri
withall led by
there was no
before they had
disadvantage.
ere no such men
ll though, as it
y prove of such
ag had obtained
those, who had
then they durst
in battell, they
n alwaie.
e Scots & Pias
times bangu
are in such wife
se of their coun
they had latelie
itious God (as
eable to advanc
t was bruted a
were so huge of
o force was able
lie knowen, that
ith no lesse mig
e Sarons, so that
bat rested in the
natures worke,
ng his gifts upon
ch plentifully ma
ner,

Colgerne and
both in Scot
thumberland

The king
Scots and
Pias raise
their power
to resist the
Sarons.

The Scot
and Pias
put in feare
the Sarons
balance.

The king
cause one
make an
tion unto
people to
move all
out of their
hearts.

101

101

101

101

101

101

101

101

101

101

101

101

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies sur
mount them.

Spanie other arguments were alledged and laid
forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to in
courage them to fight, inso much that in the end it
appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in
such wise, that they generallie required battell, of
fearing to live and die at their captains feet, and to
follow them whither soever it should please their
kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the
kings being satisfied, forth they march towards their
enemies, whome they found ready to receive them,
and that with such rigorous violence, that in the
end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the
Scots and Pias were put to flight, the Sarons pur
suing in the chase till the darke night caused them to
withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day
following, the Scottish king with the residue of his
armie bafed away with all speed towards Gallo
way, and the Pias king withdrew into Pictland.

The Sarons using the victorie most cruellie, slew all
such of the Pias and Scottish nations as they met
with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tweed. When
did Dece create the forenamed Colgerne duke of
Northumberland, who repairing all such castles and
strong houses, as he thought expedient to have kept,
placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to de
fend the countrie against all manner of enemies.

After this, Dece turned his power against the Bri
tains, which in the last battell had aided the Scots
and Pias, as before is partly touched. The Bri
tains receiving a great overthrow in battell, After
the British king was glad with such as might escape
the enemies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leav
ing the residue of his countries unto the Sarons,
who thereupon recovered not onlie the citie of
London, yielding it selfe unto them for doubt of
some long siege, but also all those countries and pro
vinces which hengist the first of the Sarons that
reigned as king within the boundis of Albion at a
nie time, had holden or inioined, and ceased not af
ter recoverie of the same, to bere and disquiet the
Scots, Britains, and Pias, with continuall incur
sions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occu
pied. In the midst of this trouble After B. of the Bri
tains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue
written) by drinking water taken out of a fontaine
which the Sarons had inuened. He died in the
yeare after the birth of our Saviour 521, and in the
eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his decesse,

Loth king of the Pias sent his ambassadours unto
the lords, and other the States of the British domini
ons, requiring them, according to the accustomed
lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to re
ceive him as king, sith he had married the sister and
heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Al
ter, their two last kings, being as then both deces
sed, without leaving behind them anie lawfull issue,
by reason whereof their estate was fallen unto him,
so inioy the same during his life, having married (as
is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister,
and after the decesse of him and his wife the said
sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all
realmes and countries to descend unto such issue as
he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one
named Gododd, and the other Maluan, or Gaiwan,
as some do call him.

The Britains disdainfullie using the Pias am
bassadours that came with this message, refused not
onlie to come under subiection of Loth, but also de
nied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the
sister of Aurelius and Alter, should haue ante rule or
gouvernement amongst them, as those that were
no Britains borne, but strangers unto them, being

both borne and bred in a foren countrie. Those
ambassadours then having their answer, and be
ing sent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie
to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur, being
a bastard borne, king of their realme, and forthwith
assembling their powers under his leading, mar
ched on against the Sarons, in purpose to abate
some part of their strength, before the Pias (which
was doubted would shortly come to passe) should
soine with them.

Wherefore having procured aid of the Armoike Bri
tains forth of France, they fought with their enemies
within ten miles of London at the first, where the
Sarons being at two severall times vanquished,
were constrained not only to paie tribute, but also to
receive magistrates to governe them by the said Ar
thurs appointment, with other grievous articles of
agreement, to the great reioicing of the Britains, for
these so luckie beginnings in the first exploits of their
late elected king. Afterwards was London easlie
won by the Britains, wherein Arthur remaining for a
season, took advise with his nobles how to proceed in
his warres against the rest of the Sarons. Finally
having prepared a mightie armie, he determined to
go against those which inhabited beyond Humber
northwards, with whome (as he had certaine know
ledge) the Pias were joined: for Loth coming to
agreement with Colgerne, concluded a league with
him, whereby they were bound to aid one another a
gainst the Britains, as common enemies and ad
versaries to them both.

The Britains at their coming into Northshire
pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies,
who were already joined together and incamped a
broad in the field. The next day after, knowledge be
ing had that they should have battell, Arthur appoin
ted Howell leader of the Armoike Britains to in
counter with the battell of the Pias, and he himse
lf to match with the Sarons. Thus they met together
on both parts verie fiercelie, and a sore battell was
fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it
was doubtfull whether part should haue the advan
tage of the day, but at length the Pias were put to
flight, which advanced the Britains to the gaine of
the whole field. For the Sarons, after they perceived
how the Pias were discomfited, dreading to abide
the whole brunt by themselves, betooke them also to
their heeles, and made their race towards Yorke, as
fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie
almost three months together, but the Sarons de
fended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues
forth upon the Britains, that till hunger began to
constrain them, they cared little for the siege. In the
end, when they were determined to haue yielded by
the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an
huge armie of Pias and Sarons secretly assembled,
and ready to come forward to their succours, also that
king Dece (escaping from the battell wherein he had
received the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and flee
ing afterward into Germanie) was now returned
with a new power, and arrived within the mouth of
Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all
communication, in hope that if they might abide the
siege but for a small time, the Britains should short
lie be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the
sudden.

Arthur heard of the coming of their succours
in like manner, and iudging it no wisdome to tarie
the coming of his so puissant enemies, considering
what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had
already in his host, by reason of their lieng abroad
in the field, raised his siege, and withdrew himselfe to
spedilie as was possible with his whole armie into
Wales,

Arthur pro
claimed king
of Britaine.

Arthur goeth
forth against
the Sarons.

The Armo
ike Britains
in aid of
Arthur.

The Sarons
vanquished,
are constrain
ed to pay tri
bute to the
Britains.

London is
won by the
Britains.

Arthur rais
eth a power
against the
Pias.

A league con
cluded be
twixt Loth
& Colgerne.

Howell leader
of the Armo
ike Britains

The Pias
put to flight;

The Sarons
chased, made
their race to
wards Yorke.

Yorke besieged

Dece return
eth out of
Germanie
with a new
power.

Arthur rais
eth his siege

Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur discomfite the
Saxons
twice in battell
& then againe
lateth siege to
Yozke and
winneeth it.

Arthur bleth
the victorie
with gentle-
nesse.

The Bzi-
tains colour=
ning for the
winter time
with in yorke,
giue theselues
vnto banket=
ting & bolup=
troufnesse.

Christmas
banquets re-
sembling the
feasts Bac-
chanalia.

The Britains through
rest and ease
became vnapt
to susteine the
paines of
warres.
A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Arthur
king of Brit-
tains, & Lloth
king of Dygs.

Wales, where he appointed the Armozike Britains to soto; ne for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers : whilste he took the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries neere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Decca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the country with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereby encountering them thowse in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging Pozke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Sarons there, in the night season conueied a fort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enimies, which were content to yeld themselves, but vsed them very gently, therby to win moze passe amongst all those that heard of his towne the victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Pozke, manie feats of armes were daily practised betwixt them and the Sarons, which held possession still of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banquetting, drinking, plate, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted moze to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drincks, in all kinds of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the space of thirtene daies together, according to the custome vsed still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vsed to keepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of brastie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vze. But whence sooner, or by whome sooner this insatiable gormandise came vnder amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almightie God, for the sending downe of his onlie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselues in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessive filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of such excesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they tourned in Poike, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certeine yeers after, till finally Arthur joined in league with Loth king of the Wits. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decaile, the kingdome to remaine unto Gododd and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Wits should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly observe. Spodred should marrie the daughter of Gallowan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next unto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought up with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Gallowan the brother of the foresaid Spodred, should serve king Arthur, and receive at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to maintaine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur having concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Isle of all miscreants and enemies of the Christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and Welch kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owgnt vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Winmouth, whither he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march south against the Saxons.

Loth king of the Picts, and Contranus king of the
Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enter-
prise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few
daies after they came forward, and joining with the
Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom
they understood to be already in campe, vnder the
conduct of their king Decca, in purpose to stop their
passage. When both the armies were approached neere
together, they prepared to the battell, and first Col-
germe duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a
light gelding, rode almost euē hard to the face of
the Picts, where they stood in their order of battell
right frontlie, and there uttering manie reprochfull
words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach
of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons,
declared that he trusted he should see iust punish-
ment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths
sake, in thus joining with their former enemies
against their most trustie friends and steadfast allies.

The Britaish king not greatlie moued herewith,
commanded his standards to aduance forward, and
the Saxons likewise basted aspace towarde them, so
that the one being come within danger of shot of the
other, the Britas let flic their arrowes verie freshlie.
Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a
raie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so lōne
50 as he perceived that the fraie was begun by the
Britas, he in semblable wise comaneth the Britains
to giue the onset, so that immediately there ensued a
fere conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & fle-
ing Chelwyke one of the chiefeſt captains amongſt
the Saxons, quicklie diſcomfited that wing with the
which they were firſt matched. Colgerme with his
Saxons countring (as is ſaid) with the Britas, plac-
ed in the left wing, ruſhed in amongſt his enemies
(vpon an earneſt deſire to be reuenged of his aduer-
ſarie king Aſch) with ſuch violence, that at their firſt
60 encounter he ouerthrew the ſame Aſch: but imme-
diatlie therevpon two Britaish hoſtlemen running at
Colgerme ſuellaſe wiſe, bare him quite through.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergeion elscaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and resozed againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomforted therewith, that streightwaies thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Sarons being thus left bare on both sides, began to give backe, which Arthur perceiving, the more earnestlie pessed forth upon them, so that in the end Decca being constrained to

DRACONE
trained to fire.

Upon what
condition Ar-
thur receiveth
the Saxons
upon their
submission.

die, and
 contains
 brought
 over the
 used, co
 thur, fi
 who of
 of life a
 ch:ristia
 anie to
 Scots
 unto,
 behind
 13 dai
 Ma
 led out
 to beco
 one da
 not ab
 the tin
 were;
 fow:th
 rie, fel

Arthur caused
churches to be
restored.

Arthur pur-
poſeth to de-
ſtroy the
whole race of
the Saxons
in Albion.

The opinion
which men
had conceiue
of Mordred
for his wit &
forwardness.

Arthur's
page.

Arthur's ex-
citement to
the people.

1

offer in
the Har-
as unto ki
ordure.

ie obserue. For
Calvolan a no-
of highest autho-
children of this
eir grandfather
es of discretion.
Pozdred, should
his hands large
ms to mainteine

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Sawen or
Sawen in the
ince with
Arthur.

ed in this league,
e for the mainte-
these kings and
ig concluded this
o purge the whole
s of the christian
Platish kings, re-
dutie which they
hells religion, to
in at Tlmmouth,
with them, at such
thence to march

Arthur sen-
berth embel-
dors into the
kings of
Scots and
Pias.

ranus king of the
cellarie an enter-
uelt, within few
d joining with the
he Saxons, whom
ampe, under the
rpose to stop their
re approached nece-
tell, and first Col-
mounting vpon a
jard to the face of
eir order of batell
manie reprochfull
nobles, for breach
and his Saxons.
to see iust punish-
thod and vntruths
former enemies a-
nd steadfast allies.
moued here with,
iance forward, and
towards them, so
nger of thot of the
wes berie freshlie.
set his people in a
fullie: and so lone
as begun by the
ndesh the Britains
atlie there insued
e right twing, & dea-
captains amongst
that twing with the
olgerme with his
with the Pias, pla-
yongst his enemies
nged of his aduer-
ce, that at their first
Loth: but imme-
stem running at
quite through.
neane of his streng-
t, was relieved by
ged againe to his
read before he could
throng of his eni-
d therewith, that
to running away.
ons being thus left
backe, which Arthur
preasted forth vpon
cing constrained to
die.

Scots, Pias
and Britains
toine togith-
against the
Saxons.

Colgerme
proueth A.

Colgerme
run through
by his aduer-
saries.

The Sax-
are put to
flight.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Sawen or
Sawen in the
ince with
Arthur.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

Howdred mar-
richly the
daughter of
one Calvolan
a Britaine.

die, and receiuing a fore wound, had much adoe to be
conueied awaie by some of his hofsmen, the Brit-
tains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being
brought vnto the sea side, he got beffles, and escaped
ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchi-
ued, constrained the Saxons to yeld vnto king Ar-
thur, simple submitting themselves vnto his mercie,
who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them
of life and goods, vpon condition they would become
christians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make
anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains,
Scots, or Pias. But if they would not agree here-
vnto, then leauing their gods, armes, and weapon
behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within
13 daies next ensuing.

Spanie of the Saxons that could get passage, sail-
ed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themselves
to become christians, remained in the land, looking
one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were
not able by meanes of pouertie to get awaie within
the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened,
were put to death, according to the proclamation set
forth for the same purpose, so that in comparison ve-
rie few amongst them receiued the christian faith
sincerlie, and with a true meaning mind. Things be-
ing thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur toke
order for the repairing of churches abroad in the
countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or de-
faced: & namelie in the citie of Poike he bestowed
great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much
hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

In the yere following, Arthur had newes how the
Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, ioining with
the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures
vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, kil-
ling & sleaing an huge number of them with great
crueltie, wherewith being fore moued, he drew to-
wards London with his armie, purposing bitterlie to
despoile all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise
he could not prouide for the suertie of his subiects, be-
ing still in danger to be murdered and robbed, so
long as anie of that wicked generation of the Sax-
ons remained here amongst them.

By meanes also of the league, he had with him in
his iourne ten thousand Pias, & as manie Scots:
Eugenius nephew to king Contran by his brother
Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Poz-
dred the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, go-
uerning the Pias, a lustie yong gentleman, verie
wittie and towardlie in all his doings. Further-
more, Arthur vnderstanding that hurt rest and ease
had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to
keepe the field in all this iourne, and passing by Lon-
don, lodged them a little beside the riuer of Thames.
But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred in-
to the citie, causing supplications to be made vnto
almightie God three daies together, for good successe
to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day
hearing diuine service celebrated by the bishop of
London, and causing a sermon to be made in the
market place, he committed himselfe and his whole
armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the
virgine, whose image in freed of a badge he bare in
his shield continuallie from that day forward, as di-
uerse heretofore haue written. After this, issuing
forth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good
comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against
Pagans, and enemies of the faith. Howdred and his
father in law Calvolan passed on before the battels
with five thousand hofsmen, and being come with-
in five miles of the Saxons, who likewise were as-
sembled in campe, there came from them vnto Ar-
thur ambassadozs, requiring him to stae his iour-
ne, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie to

to doe) to depart out of the land with their goods and
substance, without further molesting the Britains,
either by one meanes or other.

Arthur would neither consent herevnto, nor yet
grant a truce for three daies, for the which they made
earnest sute, but had them depart for that time, one-
lie assuring them that he would not come passing
two miles forwards for that day, so that if they
thought good, they might returne to him in the mor-
ning, and haue answer what the chieffest gouernors
of his host thought touching their request, by whome
he would haue the matter more throughtly debated.
In the meane time, whilst the Britains were buied
with hearing of these ambassadozs, and taking ad-
uise what was best to doe touching their demand, the
Saxons marched forth with all speed, and comming
vpon Howdred and Calvolan at vnwares, they gaue
the onfet freshlie vpon them, and that verie much to
the disadvantage of the Britains and Pias, who not-
withstanding, through the earnest exhortation of
their capteins, receiued their enemies verie fiercelie,
in doing that which was possible for so small a num-
ber to doe, howbeit in the end oppressed with multi-
tude, they were forced to flie, and so did, not resting
till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which
flight, Howdred and Calvolan by helpe of their soul-
diers, being mounted vpon their horses, escaped
without hurt, though they lost no small number of
their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons ambassadozs being not yet departed
out of the British campe, were herevpon staied till
the next morning, and then had answer given them,
that from thenceforth the Britains were not minded
to heare anie messengers of the Saxons comming
to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough,
they ment nothing but falshood, as well appeared in
that they had against the law of armes, whilst their
ambassadozs were in communication, distressed
part of the British armie, and therefore they should
assure themselves, to haue at Arthurs hands nothing
but cruell war to the vttermost of his power, in re-
uenge of such their great vntruths and cloked dea-
lings. They had scarce receiued their answer, but that
there came from the Saxons forthie other ambassa-
dozs, being men of great authoritie amongst them,
to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in lat-
eng the fault vpon a sort of vndiscreet persons, no-
thing priuie vnto that which the gouernors of the ar-
mie had done, touching the sending of their ambassa-
dadozs, and therevpon had without their aduise made
that skirnish.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new
subtill practise in hand, vnder ppretense of this new
ambassage, commanded as well these that came last,
as the other which came first, to be kept in the mar-
shals tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilst
he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed
out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he di-
uided into three battels, and hauing marched three
miles forward, he was vpon his enemies yer they
vnderstood anie thing of his comming, inso much that
the Britains had laine and chased the watch of the
Saxons campe, before it was certeinlie knowne
what the matter ment. Whereof also insued such a tu-
mult and noise amongst the Saxons, running vp
and downe, calling and crieng one to another, as it
happened in such cases of extreme feare, that the best
advised amongst them wold not well what to doe.
Wherevpon Howdred desirous to reuenge his last o-
uerthrowe, brake in also vpon his enemies verie
fiercelie.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their
armes, stood at their defense awhile amongst their
carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on
that

The Saxons
comming vpon
Howdred
and Calvolan
put them with
their people to
the worke.

What answer
the Saxons
ambassadozs
had at Ar-
thurs hands.

The excuse of
the Saxons.

The sudden
invasion made
by the Bri-
tains vpon the
Saxons.

The great tu-
mult in the
Saxons
campe.

Howdred de-
sirous to re-
uenge.

The Saxons
are put to the
flight.

The crueltie
of the Brit-
tains in slay-
ing the Sax-
ons.

Arthur's mu-
nificence.

A conspiracie
practised a-
gainst Con-
rane.

An evil offi-
cer.

A presump-
tuous act.

The determi-
nation of the
murderers to

that side for a season: other of the Saxons having no leasure to arme themselves, nor to draw into any order of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them. But being pursued by the British hostemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next river, and there were drowned, choosing rather that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murdered by the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed no mercie that day, for so manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this bloudie battell made an end of such an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they should neuer have recovered againe any puissance able to haue indamaged the Britains in any manner of losse.

Arthur having thus vanquished his enemies, gave licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambassadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the residue of such Saxons as were men of no defence, to remaine still in the land, paying a yerele tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition that they should become christians. The Scottishmen and Brits which had aided the Britains in this tourne, sojourned a while after at London, where Arthur feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shewing them all the honoz that might be deuised, and afterwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilste such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Scottish common-wealth was gouerned by great wisdom and policie, without any notable trouble or disorder. But finally, when king Conrane began to waraged, and that such as had the chiefe dowings vnder him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor, for the administration of the lawes in Murray land, a person passing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent doings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchantmen of the towne of Forres in Murray land (as then the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused of treason by a light information, and in the end executed without any apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because they were men of great wealth and substance. Diuerse noble men of the countrie thereabouts, and namelie of the towne of Forres, being partlie of kin vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this act, and hereupon they first came vnto Concet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull words, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, & there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpowable for them to escape, if they should happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase their heinous deed and bold enterprize with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to slea

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such mischiefes that then reigned in the realme through the vniuersitie government of his vntrust ministers and couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the fauor of some of the noble men, whom they knew to maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie, and thereby in short time to be assured of their pardon. Shortly after it chanced that one Donald also gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust with the king, had vnderstanding that these outlawes intended, and thereupon practised with them by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret manner vnto Cuierlochty, where the king sojourned, promising them by most assured meanes of oaths and vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he could deuise towards the atchuing of their enterprize.

Whereupon these outlawes, according to their instructions, came in secret wise vnto Cuierlochty, and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quickelie out of the waite when he saw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enemies were got into his chamber ready to murder him, slept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knees besought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if they had bene any waies longer. Whomebeit they doubting nothing but least he should escape their hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king Conrane, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the first of the emperoz Justinianus, and in the yere after the birth of our Saniou 531. But his corps was buried in the abbey of Jona, otherwaie called Colme-kil, with such funerall pompe and erequies, as in those daies were vse.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the sonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last mentioned tourne against the Saxons. There were that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he should see in any wise the authozs of his uncles death duly punished, to the example of others, that they should not attempt the like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgie the offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murderers into his seruice, and made them of his priuie counsell, which caused manie men to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell therewith in committing that murder. The talke whereof was so common in all mens mouths, namelie amongst the common people, that the queene Doluager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeres after, she died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Reginan: the other Aidan was honorable brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degree.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to winn thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most gentlie in all his proceedings, doing nothing that tasted in any part of crueltie. He would oftentimes sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected least any man had wrong, he would licence them to

Big of king
Eugenius co-
mends his
people.

Commeda-
ble poian-
ce.

The victori-
ous conquest
ascribed to
Arthur.

This crashe
no final doubt
worle of the
great victorie
ascribed vnto
Arthur.

Geffrey of
Monmouth.

The Brit-
tains repent
themselves of
the league
concluded
with the
Saxons.

The request
of the Brit-
tains to haue
one of their
owne name
appointed to
succeed king
Arthur.

Reginold
king of the
Brittains
ought chieflie
about all this
to be punished
Eugenius
suspended of
his punishment
for death.

The queene
Doluager
with hir two
sonnes into
Ireland.

Constantine
proclaimed
here appa-
rent & prince
of Brittain.

The heron
and the
rebe from
plead

plead
were
of rig-
mon
thou
wise
dow
of hi
betu
nie
their
frail
also
leag
Brit
Al

at ch
vnto
po
it is
the
Brit
will
stet
Hee

date
the
did i
tifu
such
nor
don
tho
Sci
tish
othi
Mo
the
hin

A
deli
wit
per
aso
the
nie
cor
fell
hin
the
req
no
na
rol
for
an
E
try
mi
ler
do
bo
am
pa
th
tel

ri
by
to
re
be
of
to

of all such
rough the
iffers and
bteine the
p know to
tremelle,
their par
onald also
and trust
these out
with them
e in secret
y sojourned,
if oths and
erance he
cit enter.

to their in
nelochte,
bedcham
ugh he had
the quick
ce entered
ne the king
hat his ent
to murder
dome upon
is age, and
it naturall
not his, if
wobett they
scape their
if life, and
end of king
being the
ins, the fift
pere after
ps was bu
lled Colme
nies, as in

genius, the
which Euge
r in the last
There were
his reigne
there upon
n ante wife
ished, to the
attempt the
and crowned
ie forgiue the
ned Donald
ce, and made
manic men
of counsell
. The talke
ouths, name
t the queene
doubting not
ls of his two
e, the one na
ed with them
eves after, the
to say, Regi
mought up by
his birth and

cigne, to win
himselfe most
nothing that
ild offendines
if he suspected
icence them to
plead

by thing
dignus to
was his
pope.

Commenda
to the
pope.

the bidet
conquered
fined to
pope.

the emper
doubt
wille of the
pope and
dignus to
pope.

belly of
pope.

the bidet
was rep
dignus to
pope.

Registred
kingdome
ought ch
about all
to be puni
Eugenius
suspected
his prede
sois death.

The queene
Dowager
with his
sonnes into
Ireland.

Constantine
was rep
was app
a prince
dignus to

plead their case anew. And such as he perceived were not of abilitie to follow their sute in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasure. He ordeined also, that no orphan should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vered by sute of law. Moreover, that no widow should be constrained to come pass a mile forth of hir owne doores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore anie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receiuer, he caused to be duile punished, to restraine other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Pictas, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did achieve all those worthie victories, which are ascribed unto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreover it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Poynandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authors. Onelie it is certaine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur lived in the daies of Justinianus the emperour, about which time the Gothes, Vandals, Burgundions, & Frenchmen did invade sundrie parts of the Romaine empire, plentifully waiking and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. Therefore leaving all doubtful things passe, I will proceed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scottish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varrieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geoffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthy to be noted here, to the end that euery man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terroz of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to war wealtie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Pictas, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and hereupon comming unto Arthur, required of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succeed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his decesse. Arthur not gainsaieng their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselves, being deliued of the blood rofall, and such a one as in whome they had perceived some towardlie prooffe of wisdom and valiancie: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioicing of the people dialing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed upon Constantine, the sonne of Cadwallo duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yong gentleman, both for his person and other his worthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the piers of the realme into the counsell chamber, and there presented unto king Arthur, as one most meet to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaved himselfe so honorable, and with such a shew of gentle demeanour, that he won him much praise, with an opinio of high worthinesse amongst all the

British nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Pictas deceased, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie unto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath bene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Morozed, succeeding him in gouernement of the British kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heire apparant of Britaine, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours unto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honoz of his kingle estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongst other things, that there should none succeed in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs decesse, but the children begot betwixt in. Loth and his wife quene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified unto the British people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadwallo was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agree unto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, abusing him unto that thing which was merelle repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnelie taken upon him, and to moue his subiects to do the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almightie God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Hereunto answere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to cease by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to anie pact or promise made, but according to the dutie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his decesse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Pictas loued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens livings, they might happlie within short time perceiue, that both insue oftentimes upon such rash and vnadvised attempts.

The British ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such ordaine therewith, that immediatlie they resolved to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottis men to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like manner lately receiued at the Britains hands. Moreover, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons offsones to make warres upon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Morozed unto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable unto their request, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled unto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incursions into the Scottish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enemies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

Lothian to
both the
name of
Loth the
British king.

Morozed suc
ceeded Loth
in the king
dome of Pic
tland.

Morozed com
plained
unto king Ar
thur, for that
Constantine
was created
his heire ap
parant.

The answere
made to the
British am
bassadours.

The Pictas
purpose to be
reuenged on
the Britains
by open war.

The Pictas
solicit both
Scots and
Saxons to
make warre
upon the Bri
tains.

Eugenius the
Scottish king
agreeable to
the request of
the Pictas.

Arthur set
teth forward
toward the
Scots and
Picts.
Humber a fa-
tail place for
the Britains
to be banqui-
shed in.

Bishops treat-
well betwixt
the parties to
bring them to
communica-
tion for a
peace.

Spordred and
Eugenius
were persua-
ded unto
peace.

The Bri-
tains would
not consent to
have anie
peace talked
upon.

The battell is
began.

A cruell bat-
tell.

A cruell po-
lice.
This was
one of the
Picts.

The Bri-
tains put to
flight.

Twentie
thousand of
Scots and
Picts slaine.
Spordred is
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie invasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the river of Humber, where to the banks whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatal for the Britains to be banquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certaine bishops of those three nations that took great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings unto peace and concord, considering what mischief and great bloodshed should ensue, if upon willfullness they would take to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their encountering together in battell, they should so infectible their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might have ready means and occasion offered to execute their greedy desires to conquer the whole Ile. Spordred and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest travail of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might have assurance that the league made with kingloth should in euery point be observed. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would have bene contented for his part to have agreed hereunto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance unto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded thereunto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their unskillful sute, seeing the enemies ready ranged in battell at point to give the onset, so that (as they alleaged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, unless they went about to betray the armie, under pretense of a cloaked treatie for an unprofitable agreement. These of such like words were vnneth ended, when suddenly the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed together right fiercely. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the river Humber (where unto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, carried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the midst of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted thereunto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer upon victory, but rather were it wisdom for euery man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediately hereupon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtil practice of the enemies devised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfully continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in manner euery mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being banquishers, there died in that mostall battell about 20000 men, together with Spordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations, of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, they were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himselfe, with Catuan or Caluan (as some booke haue) brother unto Spordred, who bare such good will and intire loue unto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Spordred. Also there were killed Caline and Calolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onely excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found queene Guainoze Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equallye divided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certaine faire charrets laden with rich stuffe and tewels, also horses and armours, besides sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Unto the Picts fell for their portion queene Guainoze, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich prete and bottles. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines thereof. In which castell they were detained under sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness whereof there be remaining unto this day the granes and monuments where manie of these captive Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countie called Hegill, not past 10 miles from Dunbarre: but amongst the residue, that of Guainoze is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countie, told for an assured truth, that if anie woman chance to tread upon that grane, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue more than the said Guainoze did. But whether this be true or not, certaine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that grane, not onely eschuing it themselves, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recover againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations encountered thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Sauour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yere before the battell, were scene manie strange sights in Albion. Grassie and heards in Potheshire appeared to be all stained with blood. There vnto Camelon, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starrs to euery mans sight continually for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwene crows and pies on the one side, and rauen on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chase danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and next kinfolke of such as were

Arthur with
30000 Brit-
ish slaine.
Caluan
slaine.

Caline and
Calolan
slaine.

Guainoze
Arthurs
wife.
The spoile
of the
campe
divided.

Dunbarre
Angus, not
that in
Angus.

The table
of queene
Guainoze
graves
buried in
Hegill.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange
and
vnneth
heard.

Eugenius
king of
the Scots
11. H.B.

Small
election
of
king of
Scotland.

Eugenius
king of
the Scots
11. H.B.

Eugenius
go
gouerneth
his
people
with
clemencie.

Constantine
crowned
king
of
Britaine.

The cruellie
of the Bri-
tains in
murder-
ing the in-
nocent child-
ren of
Spordred.
The lineage
of
Spordred
clearly
perishing.

The Saxons
came into
England,
and
the
Brit-
ish
were
driven
into
Wales.

Constantine
king of
Britaine
was
murdered
by
his
owne
people.

Constantine
king of
Britaine
was
murdered
by
his
owne
people.

Constantine
king of
Britaine
was
murdered
by
his
owne
people.

Eugenius
king of
the Scots
11. H.B.

Small
election
of
king of
Scotland.

Eugenius
king of
the Scots
11. H.B.

slaine, he
land: & li-
be a with
their an-
countrie,
warding
which no
amongst
he gouer-
nencie, li-
immedia-
slaine, &
British k-
none am
the same
such as he
lie murther
wife run
to saue the
They wer
grane fast
familie an-
died to as

The cruellie
of the Bri-
tains in
murder-
ing the in-
nocent child-
ren of
Spordred.
The lineage
of
Spordred
clearly
perishing.

The S-
ment tha-
lie by the
teine Arth-
itude of t-
pare a mi-
same into
beat downe
B. Consta-
part of the
his name
hane with
reigned ce-
died, &
forsooke
about, and
pling him
at length
monke he

The Saxons
came into
England,
and
the
Brit-
ish
were
driven
into
Wales.

Constantine
king of
Britaine
was
murdered
by
his
owne
people.

Constantine
king of
Britaine
was
murdered
by
his
owne
people.

Constantine
king of
Britaine
was
murdered
by
his
owne
people.

Eugenius
king of
the Scots
11. H.B.

Small
election
of
king of
Scotland.

Eugenius
king of
the Scots
11. H.B.

After l-
kill, i-
fraz, his b-
in admitt-
inclination
tuffie won-
tion to war-
put men in
take it (that
ed) hee he
his getting

Arthur was
a point
of, with
brother
re loue
that he
against
d. Also
th the
bittie,
number
the one
the

of the
spolles
s wife,
the wo
being
of had
rich
be the
soners,
Qual
diuers
ittie of
s, which
Angus,
in those
reth no
in which
during
of the
graves
in that
in Dun
inoze is

untrie,
chance
barren
the said
not, cer
dare no
chuling
daugh
weake
as, and
not able
mities,
untred
our Sa
the W
niment

me ma
arbs in
h blond,
h a calfe
a lambe
appeared
ur. The
euerie
o daies
tborne
on the
ore that

scots at
fat had
se can
wards.
is were
Name

Arthur was
30000. W
ains Name,
Catharine
Name.

Catharine
Name.

Queen
Guinevere
Name.

Donbarre
Angus, not
that in Lou
thian.

The fable of
Queen Guine
veres grave
buried in Ang
gus.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange and
unkethy women
ders.

Eugenius
swarthy his
soldiers.

name, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of
land & livings, that they imioient the same, might
be a witness in time to come of the good service of
their ancestors, thewed in defense of their king and
countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in re
warding the same upon their issue and ppgente. By
which noble beneuolence, he wan him such loue
amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed hoto
he gouerned the state of his kingdome moze by cle
mencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains
immediatly vpon knowledge had that Arthur was
Name, crowned Constantine his successor in the
British kingdome, and for that there should remaine
none amongst them aliuie to make anie claime to
the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or
such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruel
lie murdered thousands children, in most pittifull
wise running vnto their mothers lap, beseeching hir
to saue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie.
They were brought vp in Catholane their fathers
grand fathers house, and being thus made auaie, the
familie and linage of their father the foresaid Spo
dred was utterlie thereby extinguished.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertise
ment what losse the Britains had susteyned, not on
ly by the death of their most valient king and chief
teine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a mul
titude of their nation as died in the battell, they pre
pare a mightie nauie of ships, and passe ouer the
same into England, where being landed, they cast
beat doone the Britains, and drue them with their
B. Constantine into Wales, to recouering all that
part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after
his name was afterwards called England. Some
have written, how that after king Constantine had
reigned certayne yeeres in Wales, his wife and child
died, whereupon wearing wearie of this world, he
forsooke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other
aboue, and secretly departed into Ireland, where ap
plying himselfe for a time in ministering to the poze,
at length being knowne, by the perswasion of a
monke he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the dis
cesse ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that
countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian
religion, he there suffered martyrdome by the hands
of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at
length (but manie yeeres after his death) canonized
a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene euen
vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scot
land by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same
time that the said Constantine was driven into
Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one
Aurimike the first (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The
same Aurimike though he were not christened him
selfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be prea
ched amongst his people, and concluding a league
with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inuol
olate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish
king Eugenius also liued in peace the residue of his
life, without anie trouble either by foreign enemies,
or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere
of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 559.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colme
kill, where he lieth buried amongst his ances
tors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him
in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such
inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may
lustie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuot
ion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to
put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he
take it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is repo
sed) he had the same borne before him; and at
his getting vp and lighding doone from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about
him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reuerent
lie kissing it. This crosse was of silver with a crucifix
thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the
staffe, containing these two words: *Christianorum
gloria.* He commanded also that the signe of the
crosse should be set vpon the tops of steeples, and on
the highest towers of the gates of castles & towines.
Whereouer he forbad the crosse to be grauen or pain
ted vpon anie pauement, least anie man should
vnrerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had
priests and other religious men in such honoz, as no
thing could be moze, appointing them to haue the
tenths of all those fruits which the earth yelded.
Sundrie ordinance he made also, for the graueous
punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a
priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any
of them a blow, should lose his hand for it: and he
that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and be
burned quicke. Again, he bestowed manie rich
teiwels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches,
prouiding the ministers of sufficient livings, and ap
pointed that they should haue their houses nere vnto
their churches, to be ready to execute that which
appertained vnto their offices, when anie need re
quired.

The king being thus vertuously disposed, caused
the whole number of his subjects by his example to
be the better affectioned towards the aduancement
of religion. The report and fame whereof moued
that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come
ouer forth of Ireland (where he had the gouernance
of sundrie houses of monks) with twelue other ver
tuous persons into Albion, and there gathering toge
ther a great number of monks, being here and there
dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed
them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had
builded and founded for that purpose, appointing a
mongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought
most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and
the other tidelue, which he brought ouer with him
from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the
Ile of Jona, now called Colmekill, toke great
paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true ar
ticles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of
Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane
that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long
time in Britaine, returning into their countrie,
brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and
taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore infor
med hereof, passed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as
then king of the Picts, earnestly travelling to in
struct both him and his people in the right belife, and
to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions
of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the
same time, that blessed man Kentigorne, otherwile
called Spungo, gouerned the church of Glasgow, as
bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie
of this saint Colme, had much conference with him,
to both their comforts, concerning the true articles
of our faith.

This Kentigorne was descended of the blood rof
all of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous
woman Chamertes or Chameto, daughter vnto Lofh
king of the Picts, whome a yong lustie gentleman,
or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eu
genius the Scottish king rauished by force, and be
got of hir the said Kentigorne. He was greatlie in
fauour with the foresaid Brudeus the Pictish king,
as one that was nere of his blood. For the same
Brudeus was nephew vnto the foresaid Lofh by his
brother called Apelethon, and therefore succeeded in
the kingdome of the Picts, after that Spordred was
Name,

Crosses set
vpon the tops
of steeples.

Conuall be
notion toa
wards church
men.

Conuall libe
ralitie toward
churches.

Saint Colme
commeth ouer
forth of Ire
land into
Scotland.

The heresie
of Pelagius
in Britaine.

Kentigorne
bishop of Glas
gow, other
wile called
Spungo bi
shop of Wales.

Chametes
daughter ra
uished by Eu
genius king
of Scotland,
of which rau
ishment the
bare the for
said Kentig
orne.

The castell of
Calidon now
Dounheld.

The bishops
see of Doun-
held.

Saint Colme
returneth into
Ireland.

Saint Colme
cometh againe
into Scot-
land, bringing
with him Ai-
dan sonne to
king Conran.

The death of
Conuall.
578. H.B.

Saint Colme
present at the
buriall of king
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
created by
Kinnatill.

The prophesy
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill.
Kinnatill li-
eng upon his
death bed, fir-
rendereth his
kingdome in-
to Aidans
hands.

saime, as before is expressed. Kintigerne went with
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise
called Dounheld, where they remained six moneths
in a monastirie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto
them, to heare their goodlie instructions. There is in
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-
monlie called Dounheld, indowd with manie faire
reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without
shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kintigerne
returning into Glasgou, and saint Colme into Ire-
land, where reporting manie things, touching the
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with
what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of
diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into
Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by
commandment of king Conuall, which Aidan (as
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenis, fled
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bee
made away by the same Eugenis. Saint Colme
taking the sea with this Aidan, and coming on land
on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there ar-
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,
and after the birth of our Saviour 579.

Saint Colme then being thoroughlie certified of
his death, and that the corps was forwarde on the
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at
the funeral, and so doing, was as one of the chiefest
there in executing of the obsequies. Which being en-
ded, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-
uall was intronized king in Argile, by the free elec-
tion of all the estates, he neuertheless kept on his
former purposed iourne, and came vnto Kinnatill,
bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrarie to most mens
expectation: insomuch that embracing Aidan, he bad
him be of good cheere, for it should shortly come to
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should
succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these wordes,
it is incertaine, but sure it is that his purpose was
to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the king-
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a
right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death,
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for
within twentie daies after his coronation, being
surpassed with a grievous disease of a catarrhike
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Whereupon follo-
wed a feuer throughe increasing of a flagmatike hu-
mor, bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his
death, he rendered in most deuout wille into the hands
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it
were by deliuerie of scissin, euen there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble
stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his
crozier staffe, made a brieue exhortation, as well
to the king as to his people, admonishing them
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all
things to remember to walke in the waies of the
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and
prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with
all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either
the people forgot their duties towards God, or that
the king regarded not dutie to execute or fulfill his
office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious libe-
ralitie and high benefites bestowed vpon him, it
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, con-
spiracies, and other mischiefs should rise among them,
to the irreuerable losse of the realme, by bringing
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes
& ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these
or the like his wholesome aduertisements, all the peo-
ple reioicing thereat, promised with one voice, and
therewith bound to follow the same, and to be euer
readie to obeye the commandment of their prince,
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and
there deliuered the countie of certeine Wiltish ro-
bers that had invaded it. After this, striving to
mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his do-
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefest
peeres of his realme, to be holden yereleie in three se-
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Loughabhar,
and Cathness, there to heare and determine all
sutes and quarels of his subjects, & to giue order for
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-
quired also saint Colme to be present euer with them,
that matters touching religion might be the bet-
ter provided for, and that the people might take all
things done in those publike sessions in right god
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest
authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-
teine yeres together, till it chanced that diuers of
the nobles being together on hunting, fell at vari-
ance, and thereupon making a fraie, sundrie of them
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the
arrest, strooke and beat the officers verie sore, and in-
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Wudcus king of the
Picts, so by wilfull exile to safe gard their liues. King
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accusto-
med, required to haue those outlaws deliuered vnto
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according
lie as they had deserued. Wudcus taking pittie of
the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length
he procured warre to himselfe and his countie,
for Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people,
first to settie a great boote of cattel and prisoners out

Aidan.

Aidan recei-
ued the crowne
sitting vpon the
marble stone
after the custome
in those daies
vsed, by the
hands of that
holie father
saint Colme.
Who willing
that silence
might be kept,
laid his right
hand vpon the
kings head, and
in his left hand
holding his
crozier staffe,
made a brieue
exhortation, as
well to the king
as to his people,
admonishing them
of their duties
each towards
other, but espe-
ciallie he exhor-
ted them vnto
peace and concord,
and before all
things to remem-
ber to walke in
the waies of the
Lord, for in so
doing they might
hope for wealth
and prosperitie
in the state of
their common-
wealth, with all
other good gra-
ces, whereas o-
therwise, if ei-
ther the people
forgot their du-
ties towards God,
or that the king
regarded not du-
tie to execute or
fulfill his office,
in giuing God
thanks for his
bountious libe-
ralitie and high
benefites bestow-
ed vpon him, it
should come to
passe, that in-
terine seditions,
conspiracies, and
other mischiefs
should rise among
them, to the ir-
reuerable losse
of the realme, by
bringing the same
into danger to be
ouerrun with
some forrein
power, if they
did not repent
in time, and call
to God for his
fauour, that it
might please him
to reduce them
againe into the
right path of his
lawes & ordi-
nances, whenso-
ever they should
so fall from the
same. When
saint Colme had
made an end of
these or the like
his wholesome
aduertisements,
all the people
reioicing thereat,
promised with
one voice, and
therewith bound
to follow the
same, and to be
euer readie to
obeye the com-
mandment of
their prince, and
the holie instruc-
tions of their
bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall
ministers. The
assemble being
once dissolued,
the king departed
into Galloway,
and there deli-
uered the coun-
tie of certeine
Wiltish robbers
that had invaded
it. After this,
striving to main-
taine good orders
and quiet rule
through his do-
minions, he ap-
pointed an as-
semble of the
chiefest peeres
of his realme,
to be holden
yereleie in three
seuerall parties
thereof, as in
Galloway, Lough-
abhar, and Cath-
ness, there to
heare and deter-
mine all sutes
and quarels of
his subjects, &
to giue order
for the admini-
stration of the
lawes and all
publike affaires,
as they should
see cause and
occasion. He re-
quired also saint
Colme to be pre-
sent euer with
them, that mat-
ters touching
religion might
be the better
provided for,
and that the
people might
take all things
done in those
publike sessions
in right god
part, because
such an holie
and vertuous
father of the
church was
amongst them,
and hauing the
chiefest authori-
tie.

The prince
of the people.

The kings
tourne into
Galloway.

When
saint Colme
was
present
with
them,
that
mat-
ters
touching
religion
might
be the
better
pro-
vided
for,
and
that
the
people
might
take
all
things
done
in
those
pub-
like
ses-
sions
in
right
god
part,
because
such
an
holie
and
ver-
tu-
ous
fa-
ther
of
the
church
was
amongst
them,
and
hauing
the
chiefest
authori-
tie.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
created by
Kinnatill.

The prophesy
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill.

Kinnatill li-
eng upon his
death bed, fir-
rendereth his
kingdome in-
to Aidans
hands.

The death of
Kinnatill.

Kinnatill li-
eng upon his
death bed, fir-
rendereth his
kingdome in-
to Aidans
hands.

The death of
Kinnatill.

out of Ang
Wherein
rode into
to a field, &
from Calit
with great
the victorie
Arthurnus
sed not gre
Colme tro
and declar
sented alin
as had infi
for the bay
such repen
mitted him
who being
died, the ki
wile suffe
vnto him
the matte
length sai
red himsel
vnto Wud
of diuerse
fection on
uelling th
kings, th
matters
and their
Thus sa
he came f
les vnto l
some doc
servants
mandem
uing drit
and occu
tries, the
ning seu
kingdon
ning nei
man of
went by
deus the
Scots,
gainst d
to haue
so for th
called
thought
shed the
Scots;
to the
being v
more e
sed vpo
kingde
Wud
mottor
counse
rupted
still pi
formal
gainst
with it
warre
that hi
the lea
amiti
ceiulin
with ti
restit
faints

I was in-
colme hill,
he marke
ed, by the
ho willing
hand upon
olding his
as well
ing them
pectallie he
d before all
ates of the
wealth and
wealth, with
e, if either
od, or that
or full his
ntious libe-
on him, it
ions, conspi-
morg them,
by bringing
th some for-
e, and call to
ic him to re-
if his lawes
fall from the
n end of these
s, all the peo-
e voice, and
md to be euer
f their pince,
ops and other
le being once
illoyay, and
e Britissh rob-
e, studieng to
ough his do-
of the chiefest
elle in these
e, though he
determine all
give order for
all publike af-
aion. He re-
uer with them,
ght be the bet-
might take all
s in right god
us father of the
ing the chiefest
et state for cer-
that diuers of
g, fell at vari-
sundrie of them
has were most
gs officers, to
disobeying the
rie soze, and in-
us king of the
their liues. King
h cases accus-
deliuered vnto
them accord-
taking pite of
e things in their
n, till at length
id his countrie,
ded in that he
ublike offend-
er of his people,
ell and prisoners
out

out of Angus.
Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like
rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto
to a field, which was foughten in Hentith, not farre
from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkelb,
with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end
the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing
Arthurus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioi-
sed not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man faint
Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan,
and declaring vnto him how grievouslie he had of-
fended almighty God, in procuring such mischief
as had ensued of this warre, and reciting in particu-
lar the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto
such repentance for his trespass, that he whole sub-
mitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement,
who being about to depart in semblance soze offen-
ded, the king got him by the sleue, and would in no
wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared
vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse
the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At
length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffer-
ed himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired
vnto Budeus the Pictissh king, mouing him by way
of diuerse goodlie aduertisements to incline his af-
fection vnto peace. At length he did so much by tra-
uelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two
kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all
matters depending in controuersie betwixt them
and their subiects.
Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which
he came for, returned againe into the westerne Is-
les vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole-
some documents and vertuous examples instruct the
seruants of God in the way of his lawes and com-
mandements. In this meane time the Sarons ha-
uing bynen and put backe the Britains into Wales,
and occupieng all the residue of their lands and coun-
tries, they diuided the same into seuen parts, orde-
ning seuen feuerall kings to gouerne the same as
kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioi-
ning next vnto the Picts, one Edelred reigned, a
man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He
went by all meanes he could deuise, to perswade Bu-
deus the Pictissh king to renew the warres with the
Scots, promising him all the aid he could make a-
gainst them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots
to haue bene euer enemies vnto the Sarons, but al-
so for that he himselfe was descended of the nation
called Agathysles, of the which the Picts (as was
thought) were also come. But the cause why he wi-
shed that there might be warres raised betwixt the
Scots and Picts, was not for aie god will he bare
to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power
being weakened through the same, he might haue a
more easie preie of their countrie, the which he pur-
posed vpon occasion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne
kingdome of Northumberland.
Budeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest
motions and large offers, but at length through the
counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, cor-
rupted by bribes receiued at Edelreds hands, and
fill putting into the kings head sundrie forged in-
formations of the Scottisshmens dailie attempts a-
gainst the Pictissh nation; he determined to ioine
with the Sarons against them, and caused therupon
warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those
that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to
the league and all bonds of old friendship and former
amitie betwixt them. The Scottissh king Aidan per-
ceiuing the practise of the Sarons, and together ther-
with the vnturth of the Picts, the better to be able to
resist their malice, ioineith in league with the Bri-
tains: this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

usant: that if the enemies first inuaded the Bri-
tains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with
all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the coun-
trie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were
first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable
manner come ouer to their aid.

The Sarons hauing knowledge of this appoint-
ment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots
forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more
aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them:
and so both their powers being vnitied together, en-
tered into the Britissh confines. Aidan according to
the covenant came straight vnto the aid of the Bri-
tains. Edelred and Budeus refused to fight for
certeine daies, as it were of purpose, thereby to loca-
rie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then
far from home. Also they looked dailie to haue Cru-
line king of the West Sarons to come vnto their aid:
but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge there-
of, first thought it best to incounter with him, before
he should ioine with the other, and thus understand-
ing that their onelie refuge remained in their ar-
moz and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon
those Sarons, that at the first, sleaing Cutha Cru-
lines sonne, with a great number of other, they easi-
lie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far
in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a
trumpet, who being assembled herewith about their
standards, made such loy and triumph, as greater
could not be deuised, what with dancing, singing,
and plaicng on pipes and other instruments, accor-
ding to the manner in those daies. But as they were
thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenly
appeared the Sarons and Picts, which were with E-
delred and Budeus, appoaching towards them in
good order of battell, with whom were also the resi-
due of the West Sarons, that had escaped from the
late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains
amazed with the sight hereof, were suddenly stricken
out of countenance, inso much that Aidan went
amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhor-
ted them to remember how valiantlie they had al-
readie put to flight the other of their enemies, so that
there was great hope for assured victorie of these
likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie
courage against them, as they had shewed before in
assailing the other. Many other words he vied in ad-
monishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset gi-
uen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Sarons laid about them so stoutlie in the be-
ginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with
whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither
did Edelred faile in that occasion to encourage
them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Bu-
deus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter
in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incount-
red; so that finallie the same Scots perceiuing the
Britains beaten downe and soze distressed on their
side, fell through discomfort thereof to running a-
waie. There were slaine in this battell on the Sco-
tisshmens side, Brennus lieutenant of (as they ter-
med him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Duncar
the kings third sonne, and no small number of other
gentlemen besides. The king himselfe escaped by helpe
of his sonne, who staicng to get his father out of the
preasse, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue.
On the Sarons side, there was slaine Theobald E-
delreds brother, and Cutha the king of West Sarons
his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great num-
ber of other. Edelred himselfe lost one of his eyes.
Budeus the Pictissh king was hurt in the thigh, and
besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people.
Thus Edelred hauing got such a notable victorie
as,

The Picts &
Sarons en-
ter into the
land of the
Britains.

Centine of
Cruine.

The Scots
and Britains
put the Sar-
ons to flight,
and slae Cutha
the sonne of
Centine
king of the
West Sarons.
The trium-
phant top
made by the
Scots and
Britains vpon
their new
victorie.

The Sarons
and Picts.

The sudden
fear of the
Scots and
Picts, after all
their great loy
& triumphing.

Aidan exhor-
ted his men to
manfullie.

The Sarons
fight stoutlie.

Edelred.

Budeus &
of the Picts
maketh slaugh-
ter of the
Scots.

The Scots
run awaie.

Edelred lost
one of his eyes.
Budeus hurt
in the thigh.

**The Saxons
and Picts dis-
comfited and
chased.**

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noyse and din both of men and instruments. To much hardinesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather choosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to give backe neuer so little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scottishmens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alencinus Britains, Calian and Morbach Scottishmen. Each of these taking a severall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their bittermost indeuours therin, encouraging their hands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to strike to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside libertie of life, and advancement to the common-wealth of their countrie; where othertwise they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie misfayes, as shame, rebuke, and impossible seruitude. So that the Scottishmen and Britains encouraged heretofore, preaded vpon the enimies so fiercely, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following so cgerlie in the chase, that moze of their enimies were thought

Neither did Aidan the Scottish king live long
time after, for hearing (as is said) that Saint Colme
was dead, thozilie thereupon, more thorough griefe
than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world
after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement
ouer the Scottishmen, he died about the yeare of our
Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was
sent into Albion from Gregozie the pope of Rome
diuiners learned men (amongest whome were Angu-
stinus and spellitus) to instruct the English people
in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not recei-
ued. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these
instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons
was baptizsed with all his people. The Brittille pitei-
not their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide
because (as is supposed) the one nation through a na-
tural hatred, still sought the destruction of the other.
The South and East Saxons moved with the exam-
ple of the Kentish Saxons, thozilie after also
nourished their old superstitious idolatrie, and like-
wise receiued the christian faith. Edfred king of
Northumberland moved vnto displeasure herewith
sent word vnto these Saxons of the south parts (the

then all of
English
institution
he would
me into
There him
Scottish
Dies: &
therefore
parted o
Basse, I
land with
twist the
There to
bodie, as
forth, th
it, but I
monger
continui
mornin
who wa
the buri
found t
red wit
man mi
mande
the peo
rallie b
same b
maine
mon pe
An
bled to
king.
Benef
king o
was r
to the
after
into t
lungs
kingd
hands
of all
was
crosse
I
said,
long
of hi
day,
after
dead
appe
Bey
Cru
get
out
you
wh
feck
lure
he f
ter:
a fl
his
toll
fel
dei
sel
bu

re had done in the

no wish in his mo-
knowledge by di-
chronicles make
they went and at
were in fight toge-
the of berie vertu-
making intercessi-
the king the foresaid
as it was knowne
the (as they which
ther shewed great
ring unto his bre-
ledge o prophetic,
the enemies were
upon to giue unto
was an huge mul-
: namlie the death
ns, with other two
made the slaughter
one of them was
hitelline.

ell, the spoile of the
ill that which was
of Galloway, and
was restored by the
again. The resi-
amongst the foul-
sted, which was di-
to bestow the same
res. The banners
Pids, with manie
ent into the abbey
perpetuall monu-
vitozie. The pere
Colme now almost
also for troubled
he and died. Some
amongst his bre-
therwise called Col-
he died in an land
ish wyters affirme,
eland called Dume,
great veneration
e these Latine ver-
o read, if they list:
latur in vno,
shapim.

nd Brigitta pure,
sepulture.
the king liue long
d) that saint Colme
more through griefe
parted this world,
in gouernement o-
out the yeare of our
s Aidan there was
the pope of Rome,
whome were Augu-
the English people
they had not recei-
exhortation of these
the Kentish Sarons.
The Wyllysh priefs
old in no wise abide,
ration though a na-
tioned with the exam-
hostile after all re-
dolatrie, and like
Odelred king of
the south parts (as
then

Colme was
vued with
the spirit of
secret know-
ledge.

Colme king
of westsaxon
flaine.
Wyllysh
of whittine

The buriall
of the spale.

Colme
parted out
this life.

which berie
translateth.

Aidan king
the Scot-
men, depart-
eth this
world.

606.

Angulimus
and Apollin-
sent into A-
bion.

Odelbert
baptized.

The Sar-
had toward
the Wyllysh
priefs.
Sunder and
Odelred
the christen
faith.
Odelred
displacure.

then all of them generallie known by the name of
Englishmen: that sith they had forsaken the old
idolatries: and ancient religion of their forefathers,
he would sacrilegiously be no lesse emi-
nent unto them than unto the Scots and Britains.
There lived in these daies that holie man called a
secondly man borne: but dwelling amongst the
Pids, whome he instructed in the right faith, and
therefore was named the doctor of the Pids. He de-
parted out of this life within the threid called the
Wasse, lying about two miles off from the grasse
land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie be-
tween the same Ile, and an other called the Pale,
where were three parishes fell at contention for his
boie, as Aldham, Dinningham, and Wyckton, so far
south, that they were at point to have fought about
it, but that by counsell of some discreet persons
amongst them, it was ordained that they should
continue in prayer for that night, and in the next
morning stand to the order of the bishop of the diocess,
who was come thither the same time to be present at
the buriall. The next day in the morning there was
found three boies with three bodies decently cov-
ered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no
man might perceiue any difference. Then by com-
mandement of the bishop, and with great rop of all
the people, the said severall bodies were carried sepe-
rally unto the said three severall churches, and in the
same buried in most solempne wise, where they re-
maine unto this day, in much honor with the com-
mon people of the countries neare adjoining.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried
at Colme hill, the nobles of the realme assem-
bled together in Argile, about the election of a new
king. Where, by the generall voices of them all,
Benethus their the sonne of Comwell (sometime
king of the Scotchmen, as before is mentioned)
was now proclaimed king, and crowned according
to the manner; but he lived not past foure moneths
after, but died of a catarrhe the next falling downe
into the windpipe, and so stopping by his light and
lungs. He deliuered as it were the possession of his
kingdome, by way of surrendering the same into the
hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent
of all the nobles, a little before he died. For that it
was known he had a right thereunto after the de-
cease of Benethus.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name,
which had ruled ouer the Scotchmen. As it is
said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king
long before his fathers death, for when all the houses
of king Aidan were brought before him, and that day
demanded of him which of them should reigne
after him, he ouerpalling the residue (which he
desisted by secret knowledge should die in the warre)
appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also
Eugenius, declaring that it should be onelie he. This
Eugenius sheweth placed in the kingly seat, for
got not such holie lessons and vertuous precepts,
as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his
youth, so that studying how to defend rather than
which was his owne in peace and quietnesse, than to
keepe anie waies or means how to enlarge it, by
longfull inuading upon other mens possessions;
he grew into such fauour with all good men, as grea-
ter could not be desired. Unto all offenders he was
a sharpe iusticer, not sparing anie transgression of
his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or other-
wise, but rather those gentlemen which misused them-
selves in breach of god orders, he the selfe gave or-
der to see them punished; where if they behaved them-
selves worthilie, and according to their calling, there
was no prince more glad than he to aduance them
unto honor.

By these and the like his paterne doings, he was
both beloued of his people and also feared. He ne-
ther fauoured the Pids nor Sarons of Northum-
berland, for that the one nation being christen, per-
fected in their idolatrie, and the other called not by
all manner of means to forsake them; but yet taking
a trace with them both, he himselfe caused the same
to be observed. In the tenth yeare of his reigne, O-
delbert king of Westsaxons & Elfred king of Dor-
setshire, with aid of the Pids, banquished Odo-
lphus king of Britains, and chased him into Scot-
land, where he remained not long, sailing from
thence into France, and purchasing aid
of the king there named Cadwall, returned into
Wales, where banquishing his enemies the Sar-
ons, and slaying many thousands of them, he was
replaced againe into his kingdome. About the same
time was Odelbert king of Northumberland slain
in battell, at a place called Winstanburgh, not far
from the mouth of Humber, by Redwald and Odel-
bert, the sonne being king of the east Angles, and the
other of the middle Angles, in revenge of such iniu-
ries as the same Odelbert had done unto the Sar-
ons of the countrie called Mercia, continuing as in
the English historie more plainelie may appeare)
all those Saxons from the river of Thames unto the
river of Merse in Lancashire. Then was one
Colme a right christian prief appointed to reigne
in his place, by the assignement of the two foresaid
kings Redwald and Odelbert.

Called these things were a doing, there were
seuen sonnes of the aforesaid Odelbert, that detest-
ing the vnture dealing of the Pids, which refused
to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to
fall into the hands of Edwin, got them to Eugenius
the Scottish king for more succour of their liues.
Their names were Cuthred, Oswald, Oslafus, Os-
win, Oslas, Osmund, and Oslas. Oslas the onelie
daughter of Odelbert being taken amongst other
prisoners, and escaping from her taker, miraculou-
ly got a bote in the river of Humber, and with the
same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe
(as hath bene reported) she sailed south, & at length
safely arriued at the point of land which stretched
forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called
rann, hitherto day after her name, saint Oslas
head, where being receiued by the bishop of that dio-
cesse, she was professed a nun, and after continuing
in great perfectioun of obseruing that profession, she
was instituted abbess of her house, shewing still in
trade of life an orderly example for her flocke to fol-
low.

Eugenius the Scottish king did long while receiue
the sorrows of Odelbert, though their father had euer
bene a cruell enemy against the Scottish nation;
and within a while after their coming into Scot-
land, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and
preachings of the bishops and monks, who in those
daies continuallie gaue themselves unto that ex-
ercise, they finally abhorred their superstitious idola-
trie, and receiued baptisme, that salutiferous signe
and sacrament of our christian religion, whose chur-
ches also which the Sarons in time of the warres had
ouerthrowen and destroyed in Galloway and other
counties thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be re-
pared; moreover also he repaired sundrie castles in
those marches, and placed in them garrisons of sol-
diers, to defend them against all inuasions that
might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space
of fiftene yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace,
to the great aduancement of the common weale of
his subjects, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was
buried amongst his elders in the Ile of Jona, with
in the monasterie of Colme hill.

Colwall bene
quidred.

Colwall is
reliued into
his kingdome.

He more
had in Eng-
land.

King Odel-
berts name.

Colme.

S. Oslas
head.

Bonifacius a
goddie pze-
cher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning by the papallie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Saninianus, it is not certainlie knowne; but certein it is, as the Scottish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Tade, comming on land at the mouth of a little river, which blindeth the countrie of Colozie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots elien vnto this day, for that he traueled through the West part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to the confirmation in the faith; and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came ash land, another at a village called Tulline, and passing thence miles from Dundee, and the third at Kellenroth; where afterwards an house of canons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Rosse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Kollmarken.

Polocke a
preacher.

Polocke were
preachers in
those daies.

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient godlie man named Polocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Ar and Argile (in which countries he was most resedent) to flee and forsake their vicious liuing, and to endeavour themselves to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Polocke kept continuall companie with the fornamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland; and finally died also in Rosse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his reliques rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

**Ferqu-
hard.**

Ferquhard
king of Scot-
land.

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought up with Connane bishop of Sodor (that is, the bishop of Aran) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladly gave eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much appertene vnto their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents depelle in his heart, determined to forsake all worldlie pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more frelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinfolke. This being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, wharsoeuer the bishop of Meaur gave vnto him a peece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

Fiacre geth
himselfe for to
liue a solitarie
life in France

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doe, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, ptiuation of wit, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enemies; but his subjects among themselves fell at such diuision, that euery part of the realme was full of murder, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any sweetnesse of life or goods: all the which misorders spring, were now

rished and maintained through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus ready one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than take order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken by ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue thereinto.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behantours, was also infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he vied to haue sundrie Whittish preests in his companie: the which nation had bene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there hinder him, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe; and winning the place, got him into their hands; and immediately therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consulted together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. At fine they rest vpon this agreement to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were others of the Scottish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his prayers desired feruente of almightie God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world; which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldlie preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, with his infirmities (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publicke gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sara, which hearing of his brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in his purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigns in France, where she with her fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leaving in those parties a worldlie memorie not forgotten amongst them thetill this day.

The foresaid ambassadours returning forth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose forth foure of the ancientest peers amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise provided. These were named by that

Ferquhard
maintained
will becom.

**The desperat
end of king
Ferquhard.**

612

Donwald.
Donwald is
at Scotland.

King Edwin
is slain.

Ambrase
sent into
France
Fiacre

Fiacre
sent into
France

Dunro

Fiacre on his
bed.

age, war
as seme
time Fer
ed with
miseries
and so no
had been
mens liu
euer nou
hard, wh
the lords
in Argile
by comm
Eugenius
out of th
great for

This
Adams
fathers r
estate su
wealth,
gouerned
cells. Fi
grew in
time Ca
king of t
of Engli
pouers
thunder
dome. &
trie, and
toke a gr
Budeus
for aid v
his entre
times pa
wills des
the Witte
son of G
kingdom

This
fill in
where by
inuested
which is
time they
berland
is said t
one of
great wi
appeared
ment to
of his da
ding the
ring aga
whole de
faith, wh
instructi
But they
and most
vnder th
and Ben
sembled
into so
with wh
and toke
mon piti
which by
Then
vnto of
the rig
which he
on, the
earnest

re kings owne
as butte, was
nobles and states
to kill an other,
uld haue time to
; and hereupon he
amongest them,
But it came to
nothing regarded
that by means of
common agre
were taken by
once made priue

sed abroad in the
other his wicked
b the eronous
Which suspicion
bbed to haue sun
ie: the which ma
spot of that dain
he realme moued
herald to come to
to hold of all the
ffland, if it were
reported of him
summons, they
him in the castell
and winning the
and immediatlie
e keeping. This
ministration of
is depose Ferqu
In fine they rest
onozable ambat
quire him to re
there to receiue

eking that there
le committing to
his paters dell
at it might please
right continue in
t be occasioned to
d, which all con
hoire. And enen
For when those
the heremitage
und him (as ap
the leprouse, that
his solitarie life
eremite) for ante
nernement, they
nswere, with his
ch, as was not
auc ante publick
sister named Sh
retious trade of
life of godlie vir
in his purposed
Champaigne in
ies remained in
those parties a
amongest them

arning forth of
deformitie they
lie he had refused
him in name of
Scottish nobilitie
se forth foure of
em, to haue the
ome, till it were
e named by that
age,

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things
as seemed them good in all points. In the meane
time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and ver
ed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such
miserie, flue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne;
and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which
had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other
mens liues in time of the ciuill discord, that he had
euer nourished. After this wretched end of Ferqu
hard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632,
the lords of the land assembled themselves together
in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where
by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of
Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan
out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with
great ioy and triumph.

Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall
administration, transforming himselfe into his
fathers manners, reformed againe into the former
estate such things as appertained vnto the common
wealth, and had bene anie wise decayed and mis
governed by the slothfull negligence of his prede
cessor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie
grew into great fauor of his subjects. In the meane
time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda
king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part
of England ancientlie called Mercia, joining their
powres together against Edwin king of Nor
thumberland, deppriued him both of life and king
dome. After this, passing through the whole coun
trie, and entering into the confines of Ireland, they
toke a great part of the same by force of arms from
Hyndeus king of the Picts, who in balme had sued
for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that
his vntuall had bene notified more than inough in
times past. But Donwald being certified of Ed
wins death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of
the Britains by his ambassadours, that Cusfred the
son of Edelstred might be reformed vnto his fathers
kingdome, which Edwin had wrongfullie usurped.

Cusfred being granted, Cusfred leauing his brethren
still in Scotland, came into Northumberland,
where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was
inuested king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie
which is now called the marches. For at the same
time they had diuided the kingdome of Northum
berland into two kingdomes, appointing Cusfred (as
is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and
one Strike ouer the other called Deira, a man of
great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie
appeared. For certeine yeares after his aduance
ment to that dignitie, he found means to marie one
of his daughters vnto the foresaid Cusfred, persua
ding the same Cusfred to consent with him in resso
ring againe the heathenish religion throughout their
whole dominion, & bitterlie to renounce the christian
faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the
instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline.
But they intolod not long felicitie after so wicked
and most diuillish purpose, for the princes of Albion
vnder the leading of Cadwallo k. of the Britains,
and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie as
sembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entering
into Northumberland, and encountering in battell
with Strike and Cusfred, discomfited their power,
and toke them prisoners, who being put into a com
mon prison, flue each other to auoid sharper tortures,
which by due execution they daile looked for.

When was the kingdome of Northumberland gi
uen vnto Donwald brother to Cusfred, both in respect
of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale
which he bare to the advancement of Christs religi
on, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an
earnest enimie to his brother Cusfred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell,
he was one of the forwardest captains against them.
Vnto this Donwald was sent a Scotilman called
Corman, to instruct the Northumberland men in
faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie
ye may read more at large: finally he was slaine
by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie
appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of
Donwald the Scottish king, who sore lamented the
same, as of that prince whome he loued right intire
lie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long
time after the death of his deere friend; for that in
the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a
bote to fish in the water called Lochtaic for his re
creation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason
the bote sank vnder him. Certeine daies after,
his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried
amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare
of our Lord 647.

About the same time there liued in France three
brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto
Whiltan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his
wife Galghetes, descended of the lineage of the
kings in Scotland. The names of which three bre
thren were as followeth, Furseus, Follanus, and
Altanus. Furseus professing himselfe a monike of
saint Bennets order, passed ouer into France, there
to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being re
ceiued of king Cloduis, began the foundation of a
monasterie there called Latnie, in the which he pla
ced monks of that order, and began to sow in those
parties the seeds of the gospel, but not without the
darnell of mens traditions, as John Bale saith in the
14 centurie of the British writers. His two bre
thren Follan and Altan followed him ouer into
France, and both by word and example instructed the
Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to re
nounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed them
selves to be moniks, and men of religion (as they
were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords
vineyard, spending their time in reading the scrip
tures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise
praier and thanksgiving: so as no small number by
their wholesome doctrine and good example were
converted to the christian faith. Follan at length
was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded
in France called Fosse. About the same time there
was also a contention amongst them in Albion for
keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops and
some of the Britains varieng in their account from
all other prelates of the west: but at length through
persuasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it
ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that
feast according to the account of other nations.
These things chanced in the daies of king Don
wald.

After the decesse of Donwald, his nepheue Fer
quhard the sonne of his brother, the other Fer
quhard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a
man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuer
thelesse rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie af
ter he had attained the crowne, insonmuch as it was
commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and
most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie chan
ged into an insatiable and most cruell monffer. Be
fore he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond
measure. There was no gentleman that wanted
monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to
bestow in dowry for the marriage of his daughter,
but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might ac
count himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other de
uout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in any
necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieved
daily.

I 2. H.B.

Donwald
the Scottish
king drowned
645. H.B.Anno 854.
Higebertus,
Folense mo
nasterium.
Strife about
the celebra
ting of the
feast of EasterFer
quhard.
Ferquhard
the second of
that name cre
ated king of
Scotland.
Ferquhard
being king
was courteous
before he
was king, he
threw libe
ralitie.

to their great ease and comfort. To be these, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vncourteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alleging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hee vnderstood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had piked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiving such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length because they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Yet there were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, contrary to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his greedie appetite, together with theirs that followed his companie.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantly at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customablie vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so murthered, that being laid to sleepe, he would streight vomit out such heauie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drownded in the filthy lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certaine yeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuided a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, prophesying as it were by diuine inspiration, that Fergushard sore detestling his owne wicked doings, should shortly be punished by the hands of almighty God, according to his desertings.

And sure his words proued true: for within a moneth after, as the same Fergushard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all enraged by the pursue of the hounds, slue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie whereupon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthy disease: for a venemous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet, and priue parts, there issued filthy corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that bineth might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had bene infected with the dropsie, and thereto was it verie hard withall. Finally he lye byed so abundantly in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid of cleansed of them.

At length, when he had bene bedded in this sort for the space of two yeres together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon him for his finnes, and thereupon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioysing hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almighty God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiveness of his finnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humbly receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackcloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, he there yelved by the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholly to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to attaine the same. Thus Fergushard ended his life, in the 18 yere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottisshmen, and in the yere of Grace 664.

In this Fergushards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindeserne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their see. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the deceasse of Fergushard, and then was Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindeserne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Sarons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda some to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman travelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongst the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the church of Lindeserne in the daies of Baldwin that succeeded the last mentioned Fergushard.

This Baldwin was the sonne of king Donwald: and after that Fergushard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuaded king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, struing to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Vereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offenders to be punished, that other harnelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that by this means all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennox and Argile: for first through brawling among the heathmen, their masters made a fraie, whereof rose such

Gifts are required as a loane.

So, what a pretense couetousnes hath.

For their goods sake prelates are troubled.

The king is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

A drunkenhard he was also.

A prophesie.

The king is sicke.

The wellerne
his talie
gave with
with Lennox.

Baldwin
went about
to punish
the author
of this commo-
tion.
The captiues
became friends
together, and
so into the
Picts.
The Island-
men appea-
red the cap-
tives of the re-
bels.

He buildeth
the church of
the abbey of
Colmekill.

A great pesti-
lence & death
vpon earth.

Scotland
was free of
the pestilence
and plague.

Whorehouse
the mother of
licentious.

Colman erect-
ed a monaste-
ry.

Baldwin the
Scottissh king
brawled in
his bed.

did so eat and loathsome sight his legs, feet, corruption and eth might any lei, as though and thereto was so abundant no wife be rid

in this sort so; ereabouts, he ce, and to con- ule fallen up- causing bishop as then about whole summe right penitent did not onelic unication, pro- d him to be of the mercie of ecclesie all such entant hearts: e like words of sinnes, with e mercie upon ament, got him hecloth. Then next fillos, he ice of Colman, ghostlie father) him to commit, & not to doubt me. Thus fter- after he began in the pore of

Aidan depar- n sent for forth ouernement of nshops of For. This Finian returned for his dan. He died a, and then was indefferne, who ramples of ho- of Sarons un- Cod. And a- e former Pen- opite how Pen- s Colman: and ough the most tting forth the purchasing him He came to the Spaldwin that arn,

of king Done- was dead and Ted king: which red, studieng to the Pias, Sar- god example to e had a speciall es in due forme nished, that o- i quiet, so that ginning of his terwards there of Lennor and long the heards hereof rose such deadlie

deadlie enmitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the weslerne Isles aided them of Argile, and the people of Salloway the other of Ken- nor: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the of- fenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the viter ruine of those coun- tries.

The king at his arrivall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their cap- teins, but rather the captains and authors of this tur- mult themselves. Whereof they having knowledge, made an attonement together, being imposed there- to of necessitie, so to avoid the prepared punishment devised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Isles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise took them and de- livered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were safely conuied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserved execution. Thus that commotion vnbawfulie begun, was speedlie appeased, and the name of Spaldwin by rea- son hereof so feared amongst his subjects, that dur- ing his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiving the abbey church, wherein his an- cestors had their sepultures, to be in decaye, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forth- with set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was used about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Saviour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a fore and greivous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceased) than there were left alive: for it continued the whole space of thre- peres together. At length, through common prayer, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that such great mortallitie by his mercuriall appointment did cease and giue ouer.

The Scottismen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yeeres after. Yet- ther were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe fevers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome spaciouse of diet, which their fathers in times past had used, they fell vnto riotous banquet- ting and excessive feeding, whereby they became sub- iect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious hu- mors growing thereupon. Colman bishop of Lindes- ferne seeing wonderful numbers of Englishmen perishe death of that contagious sickness, by licence of the king, to avoid the present danger of death, which by fasting there he saw no means how to es- cape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the weslerne Isles, he erected a monastirie there, wherein he re- mained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of For- thumberland, the people of that countrie joining with the Danes, made sundrie roads into the Scottish borders: which intreatie when Spaldwin reuenged with more displeasure downe to them of Northum- berland, than the Scottismen had received, it caused the Danes and Northumbers to prepare themselves with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Spaldwin died, being strangled in his bet one night by his owne wife, vpon suspition of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after she was apprehended with those that were

prinie to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, ac- cording as she had most iustlie deserved. Spaldwin was thus murdered in the pore after the birth of our Saviour 684, and in the 20 yeere of his owne reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, nephew to Spaldwin, as sonne to his bro- ther Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadors vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to make him vnto peace. Egfred having heard the ambassadors which were thus sent, seemed as though he had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so long as his promise should be once readie, and he vpon granted to the matter for the space of 11 moneths, in which waie time he might make his preparati- on. Eugenius having some secret knowledge of Eg- freds purpose, promised likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the occasion, he strictly commanded that none of his subjects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred having all his pre- paration ready, sent a companie of his men of war- into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bootie, where- by the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelic from thence a great number of cattell, but also the owners of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Im- mediastlie hereupon were sent ambassadors from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not with- out much ado, after certaine daies attendance, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred their message, received for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alleging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched bootie out of the confines of his dominions, and that forso- had well deserved farre more damage than as yet they had received, whereupon he minded not to con- tinue friendship with them that knew not how to keepe their heres from robbing and straling from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies af- ter, he should take for open warre at the hands of him and other his aides.

Eugenius receiving this answer from Egfred, besought God, with the other onelic sought to dis- late the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Wherewith gathering his power together, he repa- red into Salloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enemies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come already into that countie, and had be- sieged a strong castell called Downfale, the chiefest fortresse in those parts of all Salloway. And yet Egfred might wane the same, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter with Eugenius, who haden fell towards him. They met nere to the backs of the water of Lewis, as then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which lately before had fallen, where they fought a verie long and bloody battell: so- the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the e- nemies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great advantage per- ceived on either side, the kings, according to the cu- sties of valiant captains, exhorting their people to sticke to it manfullie: but in the meane time, cer- teine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without con- mung downe at all to aid their friends: which man- ner the residue of his people perceiving, doubted of some

Eugenius the fifth.

Egfred king of Northum- berland.

A truce gran- ted.

Eugenius his commit- ment.

The truce broken.

Ambassadors sent by Euge- nius vnto Egfred for restitution.

Egfreds an- swer.

Eugenius gathered an armie.

The castell of Downfale be- sieged.

King Egfred
slaine.
See more
hereof in
England.

Twentie thou-
sand Saxons
slaine.

Wendens
king of the
Picts.

Inuasion in-
to Northum-
berland.

Cuthbert bi-
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
first died.
688

Eugenius the
first succedeth
Eugenius the
first.

A league be-
tweene the
Scots and
Northumber-
land men.
Truce taken
with the
Picts.

some treason denised against them, and thereupon began to thinke backe. Egfred aduised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be able waies able to shew or do them. But whilste he was thus busilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so force, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the river so to escape the enemies hands, of whome the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbered in mires and mosses, also amongst streits, rocks, mounteins and clifles, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped auaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie above six thousand. By this overthrow the force of those Saxons of Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie fore diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that tourne.

Wendens the Pictish king hauing knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing lozie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, fore afflicting th inhabitants, insomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els utterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) perswaded the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Beruolke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after ensuing.

Where is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succedeth Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Sferquhard, and by perswasion of bishop Adannan (with whome he was brought up) & of S. Cuthbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subiects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Hothobert, through the earnest praiers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adannan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable encounter, saue onelie by light incurfions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmehill, amongst their predecessors.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the river of Humber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noyse, as it had bene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into blood in diuers places in Pictland, and cheefe conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Cozne as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthermost parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hearts, imagining some great alteration to ensue.

Ambirkeleth the nephew, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the first, succedeth Eugenius the first in the government of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, stoutlie changed the rebwith his manners and good disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men indged that he would haue proued a patrone of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a patrone of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking exesse of meats and drincks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he toke nothing in hand worthie of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must needs thorough his negligent slothfulnesse fall into decaye and ruine: whereupon Garnard king of the Picts, supposing he had convenient time to reuenge all former injuries receiued at the Scottishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verie pittifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambirkeleth (being fore blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subiects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie togither, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, do cuer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appeere) forth he goeth without anie great god order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was so overwhelmed with all kind of excesse gluttonie, immoderate surfeiting, in satiable lecherie, and deliting altogether in slothfull ease, and sluggish idlenesse, the root from whence all such filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no manner of regard to that which chiefe appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was behoufull of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done. Neuertheless marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was called vnto

warre faith-
out anie sa-
table incen-
ter.

The death of
Eugenius the
first.

697

conuersion
visions seen.

Eugenius the
first is es-
teemed king of
Scots.

Salne
ke
re
ne
po
ca
mi
no
to
bel
of
bel
So
par
cel
the
ma
the
So
ple
foll
one
the
Aft
dai
late
Eu
Sp
len
to n
of h
ted
lou
the
less
thor
and
of a
con
heel
the f

Spence com-
plished the
conquering

the king is
mounted.

Ambirke-
leth.

Ambirkeleth
succedeth
Eugenius the
first.

The king
turned from
vertue into
all licentious-
nesse.

The queene
slaine in the
of her husband

Garnard king
of the Picts
invaded
Scotland.

Ambirkeleth
gathered an
armie against
the Picts.

The king is
slayed of
his murdres.

The mar-
shes are ban-
ned.

An example of
a godly prince.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

The king
gathered his
armie to be
against.

he earnest
Cutbert
ie to haue
warre con-
one onlie
bloudshed
which fell
enth were
ither with
fore him
deceitful
that were
mention
he fight of
hips under
forth for
here was
of armoz
places in
die masse
he haruest
it parts of
ig kene of
rfull feare
eat altera

the death of
Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the
king is re-
turning of
home.

Eugenius con-
fesseth
his sinnes.

Writing to
Mordack.

Eugenius
learneth
of his husband

Writing to
Eugenius
of his sinnes.

the marriage
of Eugenius
and Mordack.

the example of
his prince.

Writing
to Eugenius
of his sinnes.

ay) the son
Eugenius the
o after his
the rebirth
ere be fore
ndoz of the
t he would
intraric to
erne of all
othing but
ing excelle
leslie con-
e, when he
ite and de-
ie forme of
ozough his
and ruine:
apposing he
er injuries
gathered a
tring into
ll slaughter

Ambirke-
leth.

Ambirkeleth
succeedeth
Eugenius the
first.

The king
turned from
virtue into
all licentious-
nesse.

Eugenius
the king
of the Scots
invaseth
Scotland.

uned of his
ng his sub-
vinte tog-
ad amongst
their owne
o ever stand
melie when
ere) forth
(God wot)
which was
glutonie,
te, and de-
uglyly idle
le vices fa-
maintained
e no manner
d to his cal-
ne into the
f practise to
cheuefull, of
ers how the
arching for
iter of Day,
d downe his
s occasioned
to

Ambirkeleth
gathered an
armie against
the Scots.

Eugenius the
brother and
nephew of
Eugenius the
first.

to go forth of his lodging to do the necessities of
nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of
his seruants that were groomes of his chamber, he
was suddenly shot through the head with an arrow,
but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was
never anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the
king immediatly died of the hurt, after he had reig-
ned not fullie two yeres. He was buried in Colme-
kill amongst his noble ancestors.

The lords and peers of the land not greatlie la-
menting the death of such a monstrous person,
because the armie for what of a gonerous should not
fall into ante danger, they elected Eugenius the se-
uenth, being the brother of the late deceased Ambir-
keleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the
realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage,
neither destitute of honorable qualitties and good dis-
position of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he
caused generall musters to be taken of the whole ar-
mie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was
not able to match with his enemies, he found means
to conclude a peace with the Britissh king, pledges
being deliuered on either side, for redempcion to be had
of all injuries and iniuries that had bene committed
betwixt them. The Britissh returning home, and the
Scottissh armie disbanded, Eugenius with the most
part of the nobilitie remoued into Angle, where he re-
turned his inuention of the kingdom, sitting by in
the stone of marble, according to the custome and
manner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was
the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of alliance,
Spontana the daughter of king Carnard being co-
pled in marriage with Eugenius: the first yere
following being great with child, was that there
one night within the kings bed-chamber, in deed of
the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countie of
Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers
death, had conspired to murder the king, and had
slaine him in deed; had he not through his god hap-
laken forth of his owne chamber the same night,
Eugenius being suspected of the murder, and euill
spoken of for the same amongst his subiects, was at
length with great danger of life and honor, enforced
to make answer by wate of arraignment for clearing
of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appoin-
ted as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie be-
loued was Spontana amongst all the degrees of
the Scottissh nation. But in the end being found gilt-
lesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement
should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended
and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioicing
of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were
condemned and hanged by naked on gibbets by the
heels, together with certeine cruell massiue dogs,
the which might so denounce them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former
suspicion, minded to haue bene reneged on those
that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the
goodlie admonishments of that reuerend father A-
daman, he qualified his displeasure. After this, gi-
uing his mind to the advancement of religion and
politike gouernement of his subiects, he ordeined
that the histories of his ancestors should be written
in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue
to read the same for example sake. These monuments
he also appointed to be kept and reserved in the ab-
beie of Jona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall
memoirie: and such as should write the same, to re-
maine and haue livinges there in the abbey. Moreo-
uer, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be
to meane and tender for the maintenance of the mi-
nister that should serue the cure, he caused to be aug-
mented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He

concluded a league with the Sarons and Picts, and
obserued the same during his life, which he ended at
Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeres,
thereof the last fell in the yere after the incarnation
of our Saviour 717, the 15 indiction. His death was
greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons,
as they that interlie loued him for his noble and
most princelie qualitties.

A little before his death, he betooke the possession
of his kingdom vnto Mordack that succeeded
him. This Mordack was the nephew of Eugenius
the seuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he
was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberall
nature, before his advancement to the crowne, so he
shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during
the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had
attained to the same. About all things he wished a
generall peace to continue amongst all the princes
of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a
peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English
kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein contei-
ned. In those daies (as S. Beda doth testifie) foure
seuerall people liued in peace and quietnesse within
the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners,
language, lawes, and ordinances: Sarons whome
he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts.
His words are these that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league
with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of
the diuine peace and vertue with the catholike
church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, con-
tending themselves with their owne bounds, go a-
bout to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent
deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains,
though for the most part through a familiar hatred
doe despise the English nation, and the state of
the whole catholike church, obseruing not rightlie
the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie blages,
yet both the diuine power and humane force viterlie
resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe
to attaine vnto their purposed intentions; as they
which though partlie free, yet in some behalfe are
thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the English-
men: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace
and quietnesse of time, manie amongst them of
Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other,
lateng away armour and weapon, applie themselves
to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to
be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to ex-
ercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the
age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. With
these words doth Beda end his historie, continued
till the yere 734, in the which yere Mordack the
Scottissh king ended his life.

He repaired sundrie churches and religious hou-
ses, which being defaced with violence of the eni-
mies invasions in time of warre, had not bene re-
edified by his ancestors. But amongst other, he
bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie
of S. Martin lieth, in the towne ancientlie called
Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Whithorne.
Saint Beda calleth that place Victimaria, and the
bishop which at the same time held the church there,
he nameth Ada, auouching how he was the first that
was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Martin.
Which if it be true, it must needs be that afterwards
some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it
is notified in the Scottissh histories, that the westerne
Ales, Galloway, and other regions nere adjoining,
were subiect vnto the bishop of Sodor (whose see is
in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the
third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops
see in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as
before is specified.

Eugenius the
seuenth depar-
eth out of this
life.
716. H.B.

Mordack.
Mordack
succeedeth
Eugenius the
seuenth.

A loner of
peace.

Peace tho-
rough out all
the land of
Albion.

The testimo-
nie of Beda.

734.
Mordack en-
ded his life
the same yere
that saint Be-
da made an
end of his hi-
storie.

Candida Ca-
sa now called
Whitterne.

*Ethfine.**Ethfine succeeded Ethfine.**A peaceable prince.**Four gouernors vnder the king.**Trust gouernement.**Donald of the Isles maintained robbers.**The oppression of the commons of Galloway.**Donald of the kings lieutenant beareth with offenders.**The deceasse of Ethfine, 762. H.B.**Eugenius.**Eugenius the eighth king of Scots. Donald of the Isles apprehended.**Donald and his accomplices put to death.*

But now to returne touching the gouernement of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the deceasse of Moridake last remembred, his nephew named Ethfine, the sonne of the seventh Eugenius, succeeded in the state: a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Moridake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Picts, he duellie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowne to be open barrettores and offenders in ante wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable examples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to do, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Moridake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Contrath the thane of Murray land. These hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernement of the realme, vnto themselves so vprightlie in manie points as they ought to haue done; but winked now and then at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks and alics, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accustomed manner of licentious libertie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other inferior states. Donald of the westerne Isles, a man of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclining to all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie vpon rauenine. For looke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in ante place abroad where they might late hands on it; so that all the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they most haunted, were brought in to wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Neither did Moridake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chastise such insolent misdemeanors, either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile. The people hereby vered with continuall iniuries; brought manie pitifull complaints before Moridake, who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and supplications, but the more they complained, the worse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethfine, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers infused. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Moridake, was inuessed king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie thereupon he halsted forth to catch Donald of the Isles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chiefest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Moridake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, vnto compense of such losses, as though his contriued fallshood they had sustained. Also he did put Donald, Collan, and Contrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he was him wonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through out all his realme; and therewith were offenders put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misdoers against the simple and meane people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessors had done. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is ener readie to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this worthie prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongst his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his insatiable fleshlie concupiscence, seeking all means he could deuise to despoile young virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such comparisons as could best further his purpose in that behalf, and deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, besting altogether to haue them in his companie.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthy concupiscence, he fell dailie in more greuous vices, as into excessive couetousnesse and beastlie crudelie, consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. His wickednesse remained not long unpunished, for the lords and peeres of his realme, perceiving how he proceeded gainlie in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisements either of God or man, they flux him one day amongst them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accused. They caused also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had bene of his counsell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hangged, as they had well deserved. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about thre yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, though the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Ethfine, in the yeare 767, who being established in the same, began freelie to practise all kinds of vices, which most abundantly reigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessors in all points of wickednesse. He toke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessive gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whom he vsed as concubines, that his wife was no better esteemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Altho being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take some greife and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome persuasions, to turne his mind from such sinfull vsages and filthy trade of liuing.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie means to reforme him, but that the more she laboured to conuert him, the more he laboured to conuert her.

*Fergus the third was married by his wife.**A rightous king.**Offenders put in feare.**Eugenius persecuted with sensual lust and concupiscence.**A filthy light.**Condemned linked with crudelie.**Eugenius murdered.**The end of Eugenius the eight.**Fergus the third.**Fergus the third was married by his wife.**A wicked prince.**The queen was with child.*

men & Welch Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leasure to attempt anie enterprize against strangers. Neither were the Picts free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by anie foireine enemies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius
departeth
this life.
788.

Achatus.
Achatus created
king of
Scotland.

He maketh
the nobilitie
to agree.

Then after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, Achatus the son of king Ethine (a man highlie renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and byright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderstand what grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the commonwealth stood in, if the same were not by some good means qualified: and therupon calling them together, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being bitterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on each side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

The Irishmen
will
revenge.

Irishmen
take a preie
in Isla.

Irishmen doe
seek peace.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achatus hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken by before anie further force were vied: alledging how there was no cause wherefore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene given but by a sort of rousers on either side, without commandment or warrant obtained from anie of their superiors. Whobeyt the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chaunged) moued altogether with indignation for the slaughter of their countymen, made a direct answer, that they would sweetlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilest the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craiers passed ouer into Isla, where getting together a great pyete, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were wonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seeke for peace shortly after vnto Achatus. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Cuenlochthe; where hauing declared there message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almighty God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserved it: Achatus answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborn, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Neuerthelesse, setting apart all injuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing intioed peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by ballie routing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his pères, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Picts, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprize or inuasion into France, the Scots and Picts should be ready freightwates to inuade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Picts, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achatus certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriving in Scotland, and coming to the kings presence, declared effectualle the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should bee no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and inturious enterprizes, as they daulie toke in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the aduancement of the whole christian commonwealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honozable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his olone palace, hauing all the chere and honozable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish commonwealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtful, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his counsell: and therupon calling them together, and appointing diuers of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilest he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Spar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approued wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who there vpon standing forth, began as followeth.

Do man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achatus, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing moze profitable, moze honozable, or moze pleasant

one confide
ration.

in crime at
and
from
off.

God counsell
Colman.

The m
boys are
reale
teins.

, com-
quilt,
which
newed
to lesse
Kithly
cience
1) hoto
: cruell

great, Carolus
anding, Magnus in
rouing, league with
ch mer, the Scots,

oaks of
en com-
did ma-
thought
league
s, with
t as the
o2 inua-
d be rea-
me; and
inst the
uld take
land.

unto A- Ambassadors
matter sent into
ming to Scotland,

in of such
th of the
ng Eng-
other to
d posses-
estreated
they dal-
ghbo2s:
o2 the ad-
wealth,
dowings,
I the Sa-
ns should
said Eng-
ts of ch2:
bordered

liberation
emselues
of counte-
king, and
chere and
uised: but
e disputa-
cloding of
ent for the
2 that the
ught it ne-
and there-
g diuerse
anting, to
d with the
present) be-
war (a man
nen for his
touching
who there

2, king A-
deurous to
chmen, as
be better,
2, o2 more
pleasant

pleasant to almightie God, than to ioint in league
and friendship with a nation of greatest power and
wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds
of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottis
name be highlie renowned and spoken of through
the whole world. But trulie these considerations con-
tending so well at the first, are not so much to be re-
garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-
upon: for surely a naughtie and pernicious end of
this determination shall evidently teach vs (though
too late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of
reason in establishing this league, if we once con-
sent to conclude the same. As it anie other thing (I
beseech you) to make a league, and to ioint in socie-
tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the
Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expe-
dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a
mere and in manner a domestick enemie at hand,
whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from
vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and
large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make wars
against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-
gards, putting our bodie in hazard of death and
wounding for their cause, which doell nothing nere
vs: yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome,
gods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruc-
tion: I would thinke it good therefore to take better
advisement and deliberation herein, least whilst we
seek for vaine glorie and counterfeited honor, we do
not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next
neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much
trauall by our elders, for the which they so often
fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-
lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing moze
pernicious vnto a free nation, and people bozne in li-
bertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of
warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-
sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)
into bondage: for the auoiding whereof, not onelie
men, but also all other living things are ready to
fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in
the chiefeest heat and most earnest h2unt of the warre
(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according
to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake
vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league
with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-
ger: shall we haue anie iudge afoze whom we maie
bring them to answer for their default, and by whose
authoritie they may be constrained to be vs satisfied
for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine
at the Englishmens hands: Are we of that force
and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after
we are banquished and in manner brought to vtter
confusion by those warres which we shall enter into
for their cause: If euer we be brought vnto that
point (as God forbid we should) that through want
of substance, and decaye of force, the Frenchmen
shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall
not be able to resist the English puissance: afoze
whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-
king of this league: We shall daillie haue to doe
with our enemies after the conclusion of the league
(if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with
our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be
still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we
haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to
our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there:
vnto commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,
France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but
onelie such as the Englishmen doe permit. Againe,
when our merchants shall passe into France, what
hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of
dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such
as be sailing: Either must they perishe and be cast a

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the
hands of our enemies together, with all their goods
and freight. What discommodities hereof shall rise,
your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-
cumpect counsellors, doe well enough perceiue. I
therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should
continue in the former peace concluded with the
Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cu-
stome of our late predecessors, who saw well enough
what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-
tish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an
vnknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing
as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue
in suspition, with they seek for amitie so farre off) ex-
cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to
imploie and iopard both life and libertie for the safe-
gard of the French, without regard of our owne.
Spanie in that assemble shewed themselves soze
offended with Colmans words, supposing the
league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable
and necessarie.

Then one Alban, a man of great nobilitie (whome
the king had lately before instituted his lieutenant
in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-
ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-
sent amongst those foure people, which at this daie
haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,
or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand
and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we
would not denie but that those considerations and
advises which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be
followed; because that then there should be no occasi-
on at all, why we should conclude anie league with a
nie forren nation. But forsomuch as there was ne-
uer man that found more vntruth and breach of pro-
mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these
Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are
now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and
Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-
pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we
must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against
the Englishmen, ready to assaile vs both with open
force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with
such allies and confederats, as by their support we
maie be the better able to withstand the malice of
such unfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I
prate you: The Saxons in times past being requi-
red of the Britains to aid them against their eni-
mies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie re-
warded for their seruice: but they contrarie in re-
compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in
stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destru-
ers: turning their weapons points against the Brit-
tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their
aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-
ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spoil-
ed them of their kingdome & libertie. What league
or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues
are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either
they saw occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to
gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they
that haue neuer bene ashamed so to doe, where hope
to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie
hand bene offered. Into what furorie and most mi-
serable calamities hath the frecherie of the Saxons
brought the illie Britains: How oftentimes haue
they broken the peace established with vs, and also
with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon
anie such thing: Yea and that moze is, amongst them
selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-
gainst another, moze with craftie traines than with
open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so
manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene
traitorously murdered and made auaie, that scarce
A. J. may

Alban his
ration.

The English
Saxons brea-
kers of pro-
mise.

Colmans
counsell is
mistaken.

Caroline
counsell

Caroline
counsell

Caroline
counsell

The ambassa-
dors are hom-
rable inter-
tained.

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casualty, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

"may there be anie found that will take vpon him the supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not manie yeres ago, since Oswin king of that countrie was ridd out of the waite through treason of Alfwic that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by strike, whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert was slaine by Hollo, and Hollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne subjects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murdered. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth of Gods word hath bene committed, wearie of and abhorring this woad madnesse, rage and wicked misdeemeanor of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes, abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the Englishmen doe absteine at this present from making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reuerence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto such ciuill sedition and discord, as now doth reigne amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, notwithstanding all leagues or covenants of peace confirmed to the contrarie. To repress therefore and abate their subtill practises, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chastise such outrageous furie of this wicked nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. Fortune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and occasion herevnto. For here be at this present the French kings ambassadozs, offering that vnto vs, which (being so great a benefit) we might scarce wish for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league against the Englishmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Germanie doe acknowledge for their soueraigne. Dought this to be despised of men that haue their perfect senses? Dought the societie of the French nation to be refused of vs, inhabiting here in the uttermost parts of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them, vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most notable benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and all those nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and soueraigne lord. Whereby, on also free passage for merchants shall be open, to passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchandise and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euery one of you (so that he wete the thing with himselfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and stedfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scottish commonwealth, than the vniuersall promises and great disolualtie of the Saxons. To which of you is it unknowne that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welshmen, if their force might answer directlie to their wills? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to auoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onlie that part of Gallia which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, i.e. meane on this side the river Rhene.

religion; for the which the Frenchmen are continually in arms, if we set more by vertue and constancie than by unfaithfulness and breach of covenants and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our owne rest and quietnesse; and to be briefe, if we passe vpon vs and libertie, the most dearest things that may happen to man, let vs with full hart establish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmitie continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confidence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowne to vs, both for the safegard of our realme, & restraint of the Englishmens unlawfull attempts and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either shall or may at any time enterprise against vs. By this oration Albian drew the multitude easilie vnto his purpose.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of all his subjects were in manner wholie inclined to the league, commanded all the companie to be there in the same place againe the next day. And so breaking vp their assemblee for that time, the king made the French ambassadozs that night a collie supper with a banquet, and after hauing conference with his nobles and lordes of the counsell, it was agreed by generall consent amongst them, that for the soleme ratifying of this league with king Charles, according as he had required, there should go with his ambassadozs at their returne the lord William the brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable and learned personages, being men of perfect knowledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure thousand men ouer with them to serue against the infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Whereupon the next day going first to church, and there making their common supplications vnto almighty God, according to the rites and ancient customes, they after resorted vnto the counsell chamber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French ambassadozs all that was concluded by him, and other the estates of his realme, touching the message which they had brought from king Charles. Who retorsing (as should appere) greatlie hereat, gaue most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue for their beneuolent wills herein shewed towards king Charles their maister, and all the French nation. After this, remaining certaine daies with Achaius, who made them all the chere that might be imagined, they departed towards Hungus king of the Poles, vnto whom at their comming to his presence they made the like request on their maisters behalfe, which they had made before vnto Achaius.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most hartie thanks for their good wills, but yet he would not grant to conclude ante league with them at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importance, required no small time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution therein. The ambassadozs hereupon returned vnto Achaius without speed of their purpose with Hungus, and the second moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the passage of those that should go with them, the lord William the kings brother, together with the same ambassadozs, & such foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names were Clement, John, Kaban, and Alcuine) and also hauing with him those foure thousand men of war, which were at the first appointed to go with him, passed forth towards France, where he with all the whole companie landed within few daies after in safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At their

The Scottish their receiue all the lers whi of the f sing the owne i

The league published heraboe.

The articles the league.

The league with the Frenchmen agreed vpon.

The league concluded.

The armes of Scotland.

Hungus king of the Poles.

The belient of will.

Hungus refused to conclude ante league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambassadozs returned.

France is promised.

William the king of France.

Clement, John, Kaban, and Alcuine.

and

are continu-
and constan-
f covenants
and honoz of
countre, our
le; if we passe
things that
harts esta-
and firmelie
it and const-
moditie and
our realme,
ill attempts
they either
in it vs. By
easilie into

the minds of
inclined to
ie to be there
And so beca-
king made
offlie super-
nce with his
agreed by ge-
the solemn
arles, accor-
with his an-
William the
er honozable
perfect know-
ed most met
ld take force
e against the
ligion, where
appoint them
o church, and
ions into al-
id ancient cu-
uncell chan-
ired into the
luded by him,
ching the mel-
Charles. Who
recreat, gaue
ill the resious
ved towards
French nati-
s with Achai-
might be ima-
s king of the
o his presence
iffers behalfe,
us.

men most
yet he would
h them at that
matter being
utred no small
full resolution
returned unto
se with Hun-
things being
e of those that
in the kings
sadoys, & such
ozth amongst
(whose names
tine) and also
men of war,
with him, pas-
e with all the
daies after in
desires. At
there

The league
with the
Frenchmen
agreed upon.

The league
concluded.

Hungus king
of the Pias.

Hungus re-
fused to con-
clude any
league with
the French-
men.

The French
ambassadors
returne home.

Claudius,
Clement,
John Spar-
bell, Robert
Alcumie.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

the French-
men received
the league
agreed upon.

their comming into France Charles the emperoz
received them in most gladstone wile, doing them
all the honoz that might be deuised, and the souldi-
ers which were come to serue him vnder the leading
of the foresaid William, he retained in wages, vi-
sing them after the same sort and rate as he did his
owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

Shortlie after also at the request of the Scottish or-
tors, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and
confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league
betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie
published by heralds at armes, according to the ma-
ner in those daies vsed, the same to indure betwixt
those two nations and their posterities for ever. The
chiefe articles compaised in this league were as fol-
loweth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the
Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme,
to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both
nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which
the Englishmen should attempt against either na-
tion, should be accounted as common to them both.
The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the
Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of souldi-
ers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen
as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things
necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise
aid the Scots in time of wars against the English-
men at their owne proper costs and charges. What-
souer he were, priuat person or publike of these two
confederat nations, that against either of them
should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell,
bittels, or in anie other manner of wile; the same
should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their prin-
ces and countries. Neither might either of them
conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the
consent of the other. These were the principall
articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt
the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and
saue ingrossed in parchment, and reserued as a mo-
nument in both realmes, for a witnesse vnto such
as should come after of this friendship thus begun, as
the Scottish chronicles affirme.] And for further me-
morie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes,
being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace
seamed with floure delices, signifieng thereby;
that the lion from thence forth should be defended by
the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings
should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie,
liberties, religion, and innocence, which are repre-
sented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds do
interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement,
and John, remained still with king Charles, but Ra-
bane & Alcumie returned into their countrie. In all
such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards
made against anie of his enemies, the said lord
William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his
fame and authoritie dallie grew in all places where
he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable
stead in his expeditions against the Barons, Hun-
gartans, and other; but namelie his estimation in
Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the
said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appoin-
ting this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan,
and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the
said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that
within short time the same was not onelie fortified
with new walls, repared and replenished with great
numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull
buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citi-
zens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen
being called thither out of euerie citie and towne
thereabouts for that purpose.

The citie being thus restored to his former estate
and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieu-
tenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew
themselues thankfull, deuised for a perpetuall me-
morie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling
one of those which the kings of France giue, saue
that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that
their citie (after the destruction thereof by the Goths)
was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by
the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge
the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did insti-
tute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerie
yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies
they crowne a lion. And further that there should be
kept vpon the charges of the treasure within the citie
certeine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue
a lion for his cognifance) and thereupon as the Sco-
tish chronicles affirme, those beastes grew to be had
in such honoz amongst the Florentines. Thus this
valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing
his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of
chualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the
number of those tielue martiall warriors, which
are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotel-
gilmore.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in
warres, he was neuer married, whereupon growing
in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he
builded diuers abbies and monasteries both in Ita-
lie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with
lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such
number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said
abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according
to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he
were a Scottishman borne. In witnesse of which
ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remai-
ning in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing chan-
ged from the first order or institution. Before the ac-
complishment of these things, by the foresaid lord
William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king
Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and
Davia were instituted by king Charles, chiefele by
the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered
Scottishmen, John and Clement, in somuch that
Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the
students at Paris, and John of the other at Davia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achai-
us, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or
not much differing from the same, Adelskane the
sonne of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons, taking
vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia,
and Northumberland (which Egbert his graue
father had receiued into his gouernement) desirous
now to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part
of the British dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira,
and contained the marches about Berwicke, al-
ledging how the same appertained to his kingdome
of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulentlie ta-
ken from his ancessors by the Pias: but forsomuch
as there was a commotion raised the same time in
Mancia, he was called backe to appease it, and here-
upon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, sa-
uing such prisoners as he brought away with him,
he returned. Hungus the British king sore roma-
ching this iniurious enterpise of the Englishmen,
determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast,
and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who
had married his sister) to haue his aid against them.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to do the
Englishmen a displeasure, sent forthwith vnto
Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With
which, and with his owne power, king Hungus in-
uaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching
from thence a great botie of goods and prisoners;
but yet he forbore slaughter of men, and burning of
houses,

The armed
of Florence.

A lion crow-
ned.

Lions kept at
Florence.

Scotelgil-
more.

William be-
married ma-
rieth Chis-
t his heire.
Monasteries
of Scottish-
men in Ger-
manie.

The vniuer-
sities of Paris
and Davia.

Adelskane en-
tereth into
Deira.

Deira wasted
by fire and
sword.

Hungus at-
ted with
Scottishmen
maraudeth
Northumber-
land.

He warred
without
slaughter and
burning.

Athelstane
purfueth
Hungus.

houses, for a reverence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iourne into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heeles, that berie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a broke side, not passing two miles from Waddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approach. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wished desire, and herewith conning vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane his
cruell procla-
mation.

The Picts
are amazed.

The Picts
enter the
campe.

Athelstane
doeth challenge
his enemies.

The Picts
prepare them-
selves vnto
battell.

The English-
men are put to
flight.

Athelstane is
slaine.

Willone sword.

A dreame.

The crosse of
saint Andrew.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfullie amazed with the strangeness of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their provision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Wherevpon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done; the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so heretvpon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen vpon the break of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their force impetuous; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater number than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more cruellie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans sword. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, with there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie scene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patron and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of joining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliques of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout prayer after the accustomed manner. They vowed there also at the same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognifiance. Which opynance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruic, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his inuiolent enterpryse.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings; needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basins, & such like. Whereouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the reliques of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme; and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answere before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answere for secular crimes afore secular iudges; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus had so freelie bestowed vpon them.

The nobles of the land maintained feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortly after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether about

Some say
that the
crosse was
patroue

Some say

Why shoul
d they be
called
crosse in
war
time

Athelstane
buried

Hungus
reth saint
Andrew
church

Images of
gold and
siluer

Tenths to be
giuen to the
clergie

Feredeth
kech from
the
clergie their
priuiledges

Priests to be
tried afore
secular iudges

about
remor
he tak
of the
for tha
the sai
rented
places
put for
ration
pose to
write to
adu the
sai
not v

150
of Pict
throw
ple in
tempt
warde
Achai
this li
bout t
the P
corbin
cessors
and of
shop
also b
bethe
ledge,
dit au

Chaires de-
parted out of
this life.
819.

Conuall.
Conuall suc-
ceededly A-
chans.
Rue and a-
mour.

Hungus
fale
in a con-
sumption.
Conuall de-
scended also.
802. 10. Ma.

Dongall.
Dongall suc-
ceededly after
Conuall.

A severe pu-
nisher of ma-
litiadogs.

Alpine con-
demned by
the nobles, take
vpon him to
be crowned
king.

Alpine brui-
ling to recue
the crown
the.

Alpine was
killed recoi-
red of Don-
nell.

A
king
tith ki
the P
mitie
how
betw
and q
Hung
ceasse
of his
of kin
him, I
parte
nesse.

D
states
and g
what
of the
diner
one
the ci
but ei
there
into
king
the n
coun
amoi
state
and f
a fel
keth
of D
prom
the st
vnto
noth

is awakened,
as the apostle
is people toge-
ther fight, but
had appeared
therefore to be
of such assured
trust their cru-

was not onlie
ere with them
and gladnesse,
so lesse discour-
int And also to
th and pietie
o their hearts,
joining, their
tall resistance
aid) and put to
after the bat-
tles, Huns-
ing him, vnto
regulus, now
ade their offe-
relics of the
for their vic-
cuffed mae-
rie same time
forth as well
should weare
ge and cogni-
e after remai-
struction and
nto our time.

And in the next
was fought,
that his head
it to Inchgar-
was shewed to
enterpise.
o him selfe yet
the holie apo-
mselfe to haue
ugmented his
parations, but
the celebrating
rich and coslie
es, cruets, ba-
to be made the
s of fine gold
with a case also
lickes of saint
ed that the spi-
ill increase of
, and such like
spiritual per-
re before anie
all priuiledges

For feredeth
amongest the
a all such gifts
further ordi-
es, that they
e secular ma-
former reue-
nloy the other
ed vpon them.
o feredeth in
ill persons had
aue (as some
to such ruine,
me thronicles
mentioned of
not altogether
about

Saint M^o
dew the
Scottish
patrone.

Saint M^o

why Scott
men be sum
And yet
crooke in war
fare.

Athelstan his
buriall.

Images of
gold and sil-
uer.

Centho to
guen to the
clearge.

Feredeth
both from the
clearge the
priuiledges.
And why no

And why no

And why no

And why no

And why no

And why no

about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Ve-
remond in most of his accounts, as the author whom
he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the account
of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And
for that we meane not to presume whole to derogate
the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dis-
sented from him, but rather followed him in most
places, leaving such doubts as may be worthilie
put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the conside-
ration of the diligent reader, such it is not our pur-
pose to impugne, but rather to report what we find
written by others, except now and then by the way
to admonish the reader of some vnlikelihoods (as
the same doth seeme to vs and others) and haplie
not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king
of Picts, as Achatus king of Scots, after the ouer-
throw and death of Athelstane, liued with their peo-
ple in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen at-
tempted nothing against the Scots and Picts after-
wards, during the time of their reignes. At length
Achatus, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed
this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was a-
bout the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer
the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, ac-
cording to the manner of kings amongst his prede-
cessors. In the daies of this Achatus (beside Clement
and others, of whom before ye haue heard) liued bi-
shop Geruadus a notable preacher in Murray land,
also bishop Glacian with Spodan and Spedan two
brethren, all doctors and men of singular know-
ledge, in respect whereof they were had in great cre-
dit and estimation with the people.

After the deceasse of Achatus, Connall that
was his vncles sonne Dongall, the brother of
king Ethine, succeeded in gouernement of the Sco-
tish kingdome. Betwixt this Connall and Hungus
the Pictish king, there was wonderfull loue and a-
mitie shewed, both of them studieng by all means
how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance
betwixt their people, whereupon ensued great wealth
and quietnesse vnto both their kingdomes. Finallie
Hungus wasted with a continuall consumption de-
ceased, deliuering by his kingdome into the hands
of his sonne Dorstologus, and that in the presence
of king Connall, who likewise liued not long after
him, for in the six yeare of his reigne he likewise de-
parted out of this world, by force of naturall sick-
nesse.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathius was re-
ceined to succede by the common consent of the
states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdom
and great knowledge. But for that he was some-
what seuer in punishing the misordered behaviours
of the nobilitie, and misgouerned youth of his realme,
diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing
one Alpine the sonne of Achatus to make claime
to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie,
but either to follow their minds, or else to be mur-
thered amongst them, consented to go with them
into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him
king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to
the manner. Howbeit, at his coming into that
countrie, he found means to conuey himselfe from
amongest them, leass through his means the quiet
state of his countrie should be brought into trouble:
and forthwith being escaped out of their hands with
a few other that were priuie to his intention, he ma-
keth all the hast he could, till he came to the presence
of Dongall, who receined him in most iollfull wise,
promising that if it should be thought necessarie by
the states of the realme, he would gladlie resigne
vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of
nothing more than to see the aduancement of the

house of Achatus. Such (saith he) were the merites
of that famous prince towards the preservation of
the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much
wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the
inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, be-
sought him to continue in the administration, exalta-
ing God and the world to witnesse, that he minded
nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouerne-
ment of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as
touching his offense, in that he had gathered an ac-
mie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his
fault, but the conspirators which had forced him
thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he
had not consented vnto their desires. Within thre
yeares after, there came messengers from the re-
bels to excuse themselves also, & to put all the fault
in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to
their forged words, gathereth his polver, and ma-
keth such speed towards the place where he vnderstood
the said rebels were assembled together, that he was
vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his set-
ting forwards. So that before they could make anie
shift to escape out of danger, which they went about
to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie con-
demned and put to death. Which execution put other
presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of
the realme remained afterward a great deale more
in quiet.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus
the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found
means to murder his brother Dorstologus, to the
end he might reigne in his place: and though sup-
port of some of the nobilitie he attained to his pur-
pose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more
firmelie in the estate, he frankelie bestowed his fa-
thers treasure amongst his lords and chiefest pers
of his realme, and toke to wife Wama the king of
Apercia his daughter, whom his brother the forena-
med Dorstologus had married, that thereby he
might assuage the said king of Apercia his displea-
sure, which otherwise he should haplie haue concei-
ued for the death of his other sonne in law the same
Dorstologus. His feare was great on each side, and
therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting
lest one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers
death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad
without a gard of men of warre about him, whome
he had wone & made his fast friends by his passing
great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length
yet, his wife to reuenge hir former husbands death,
found means to strangle him as he lay one night
fast asleepe, hauing dronke a little too much in the
euening before, and in this sort he came to his end,
after he had reigned much what about the space of
two yeares.

Thus both Eganus & Dorstologus being made
away, without leauing anie issue behind them, for-
somuch as now there remained none of the posterie
tie of Hungus to succede in gouernement of the
Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephew to the said Hun-
gus, by his sister fergusiana, with the aduise of king
Dongall, made claime thereto, and therupon sent
his messengers vnto the lords and peres of the Pic-
tish dominion, to requir them on his behalfe, that he
might be receined to the gouernement of the king-
dome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they
well vnderstood: and that if they thoughtlie conside-
red of the thing, they might perceiue it was the pro-
uision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull
succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to
succeed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this
meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be
ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall
L. 14. warres,

Alpine his ex-
cuse vnto
Dongall.

Dongall ma-
keth an arme
against the re-
bels.

Eganus
murdereth his
brother.

Eganus is
strangled in feare.

Eganus is
strangled of
his queene.

An ambassa-
dor sent vnto
the Picts.

warres, as by discorde and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their utter ruines.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadoys come into the court.

King Feredeth his answer vnto the Scottish ambassadoys.

Dongall his displeasure seeing the Picts answer. Ambassadoys sent againe.

Ambassadoys are not receiued.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The Scots willingly giue themselves vnto the war.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should hostile come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scottish ambassadoys, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed any further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe took vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadoys: and thereupon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpore the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therefore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclaimed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make any further claime or demand vnto the kingdom.

Vpon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And thereupon the second time he sent his ambassadoys vnto them, requiring them either to do him reason without any further tumultuous cauations; either else within three moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadoys passing forth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Camelon, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

The ambassadoys being terrified with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time laie in Carrlike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarrell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilst Dongall goeth about to provide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be drowned in the river of Speite, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all full and all obsequies.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernment of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefe studie was vpon his first entering into the estate, to follow his late touching his title to the Pictish kingdom: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mighty host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed forth towards Angus, not farre till he came to the castell of Forfair, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subiects arranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, whereupon immediatlie nere vnto the towne of Kessenothe they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercely. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand ouerthrowne; but Feredeth lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succour with 400 of his countermen, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: whereby ensued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of thinking on either part, by meanes whereof it seemed doubtfull for a long space vnto whether side the victorie would incline.

At length Feredeth perceiving the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrink, speedilie pressed forth to succour the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entering thus with great violence amongst the thickest pease of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by any other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiving their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whereupon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, so long as any daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small joy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

The captiues of the Picts weeing with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Whereupon the Scots tarried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to vieto the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment any deceit by their departure, as by laweing of some ambushments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knowen how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

Alpine

Feredeth the king.

The Scots determine to haue one king.

Alpine was an ancient man.

Feredeth the thirde of his.

The Picts are their cloth full king.

Alpine was a plowman.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

Alpine from 3 people part of and the cencie their t pere: ned th Scots utter: sance field) incur so to i we: did by they r bold:

(who: ther: i with) Scol but a fice,

peop/ befor: peat: Fere: For: com: with: arm: the f: mar: yet: and: His: capt: keep: furt:

chof: mai: into: the: Sci: on: unt: to: crie: Sc: wh: lie, till rig: tha: the: liti: Cl: Edoine king of England for ad, with a summe of mo: ne.

Alpine was a plowman.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

The Picts fled by night.

are of
at 830.
ll fume

to the
by the
studie
follow
dome:
a migh
ght re
ie passed
ne to the
bird day
Pictish
inged in
nelfe in
were bn
joining
first en
nie was
utenant
h 400 of
the thome
of the Sco
ing with
on either
full for a
would in

ble ward
alled forth
of such as
ing thus
peafe of
and exclu
that hee
tered, ne
that were
in present
3, deter
ther upon
in banquet
e flaine all
Feredeth
Pictis giue
ht was on
ed them in
reir camps
the great
des.
with them
altitude of
longer in
ed people
he campe,
some into
ey thought
The Scots
word was
et, how the
heir campe
e. Where
farre from
there were
ad, and to
whether the
e, as by lat
: but upon
t was once
; but that
ng thereat,
), diuiding
to their ac
toile.

Alpine

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his en
mie Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre
from Jofalair. After this causing the mulkers of his
people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third
part of his armie in that mostall and cruell battell,
and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, li
cencing those that were left alieue to returne vnto
their homes. This battell being fought in the first
pære of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weak
ned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the
Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of
vttier ruine (if they should commit their whole puis
sance effones to the hazard of another foughten
field) determined to pursue the warre by making of
incursions and incursions onelie vpon their enemies,
so to bee the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if
it were possible. And so much bereely the Scottishmen
did by such their continuall robes & incursions which
they made into Angus, that the countrie was left
bold and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Brudus the sonne of Feredeth,
(whome the Picts had chosen to succeed after his fa
ther in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to
withstand those daile inuasions thus made by the
Scots vpon his countreies and subiects. For he was
but a slouthfull person, and verie negligent in his of
fice, whereupon he was had in derision of his owne
people, who in the end due him amongst themselves
before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole
pære. Then succeeded Beneth, the second sonne of
Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother.
For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and
committing with them into Angus, he came no soner
within sight of his enemies, but that casting off his
armoz, he fled incontinentlie, leaving his people in
the field; and for that his haste, was flaine by a plov
man that met him by chance, and knew him not, but
yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie,
and therefore deserued not to haue anie other fauour.
His people seeing themselves destitute of their head
capiteine and gouernoz, retired from their enemies,
keeping themselves in order of battell without anie
further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Beneth, the Picts
chose to their king one Brudus, a man of a stout and
manlike stomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring
into the estate, comming into Angus (which region
the Scots had made waste) caught there certaine
Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp v
pon gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadoz
vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and
wronges betwixt the two nations, and to haue the an
cient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the
Scottish lords, hauing quicklie aduised what to an
swer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadoz plaine
lie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace,
till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the
right heire. Brudus vnderstanding by this answer,
that the Scots would still follow the warres against
the Picts; to be the better able to withstand their ma
lice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the
Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots.
He sent therefore his ambassadoz with a great
summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northum
berland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue
some number of his people for his wages to serue
him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come
himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place
Brudus should appoint, to go against the Scots in
defense of him and his subiects the Picts. And anie
of the Picts reioiced greatlie, that they should haue
aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue
assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrust

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of
the old eninitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this
meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the
countreie of Angus, euen from the mountaine of
Crangebene vnto the riuer of Tait, whereof Bru
dus being certified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto
king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring
him to send to his aid a power of Englishmen, to
helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inua
ded his countreie. To which demand Edwine made
this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with
cruell war made against him by other Englishmen,
but also had bene requested by Leues surnamed
Pius, as then French king, in no wise to indamage
the Scots his confederats, so that for that pære pre
sent he might not conveniently send to him anie
succours, but if he would defer the warres till the
next pære, he should haue the best helpe that he were
able to shew him.

Brudus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and de
luded by the Englishmen, commanded by solcenne
summons, that all such of his subiects, as were a
ble to beare armoz, should assemble in nether Cali
don within eight daies after, with conuenable pro
uision of vittells, there to know his pleasure. His
commandement was obeyed: so that a mightie ar
mie of men at the day and place appointed came to
gether, which being mustered, they streitwaies re
moue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunheld,
where they passe the riuer of Tait, and so enter into
Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once
gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place
where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Brudus
the night before the day in the which he thought they
should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert
warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the
hostes that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to
be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and col
drels, part of them being clad in armoz, and part in
white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to
speares and ianelins. Amongst them also he ordeined
an hundred horsemen to be placed, whome he made
pruise as then to his intention, by whose leading that
feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to
be atchued. These he caused to lie couertlie within a
wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be
fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew
themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell
which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being
now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be
sene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, there
lieth a great large plaine, compassed on eche side with
mountains, as then full of woods & launds, but now
for the most part bare and without anie trees or bu
shes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Al
pine beholding forth of the castell, how the Picts ap
proched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & er
hozing his people to shew themselves valiant, pla
ced them in arais. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight
than their gouernozs would haue wished them, be
gan the battell before they had commandement, with
such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was
soze disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came
speedilie to their succours, greatlie rejoycing them
for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so
much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight
was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that
those which before were put backe, began to winne
ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies
verie fiercelie.

But herewith did the counterfet troupe of horse
men, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth,
and shewed themselves vpon the backs halfe of the
Scottish

Englishmens
assistance.
The Scots
take Angus.

Brudus sen
deth vnto E
dwine for aid.

Edwine defer
reth his aid.

Brudus be
ing deceived
of the English
men, called his
owne subiects
to the warre,
assembling
them at the feet
of Calidon
wood.

Brudus en
treth into An
gus with an
armie.

A wonderfull
policye used by
Brudus.

The treach
erie of Alpine
his armie.

Rashlie the
Picts begin
the battell.

The Scots
being deceived
with a coun=
terfet trope
of hoſſemen
ſled.

King Alpine
taken by his
enemies and
after beheaded

Kenneth the
sonne of Al-
pine inuested
king of Scot-
land.
834.

The Victs
giue thanks
vnto God for
their victorie.
They make a
bow to conti-
nue the warre.

The good
counsell of
grauē men is
despised.

The Scots
are animated.

The Dicts
fall at vari-
ance within
themselves.

Studius died.

Dusk on It,
over the Picta

The head of
king Alpine
is stolne, and
solemnlie bur-
ied with the
bodie.

Scotthymen, appearing in sight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in deed : with which sight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare, least they should be compassed about with multitude of enimies, they brake their arraie, theyw off their armor, and toke them to their feet, so to escape and saue themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chafe, & were beaten downe on each side as they were ouertaken by the Picts. Alpine himselic was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Palsalpine. His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from this fowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed in to Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine entred first into the estate.

The Scots having achieved this great and iollull victorie, assembled at Camelon by commaundement of their king, where causing a solemne procession to be made, in rendering thanks to almighty God for their good successe in their passed iournie: they take a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots war, till they had utterly destroyed the race of them: and here with ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were indeed some ancient personages amongst them, that spake against this insolent outrage of the people, acknowledging that in time of prosperous successe men ought to vse a modestie: but certaine youthfull persons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then assembled. The Scots being certified hereof, were nothing herewith discouraged, but rather put in god hope of better successe, sith the enemies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Scots assembled their power together, and setting forward towards the Scots, though a light occasion they fell at variance amongst themselves, and fought with such hatred together, that the king was not able to appease the strife, till night parted them in sunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he assailed alwaies to haue agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be, in the morning he gave them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie so, that time. Whus lived not past three moneths after, for, through griefe that things went not forward as he wished, he fell into a grievous disease, and finally he thereof died. After his decesse, the Scots chose his brother named Dunsken, to succeed in government of the kingdome, who applied his whole endeavour vpon his first entering into the estate, to appease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whileſt he was thus buſſile occupied about the ſanie, there were certeine Scots, which fore diſdained to vnderſtand that the head of their late king ſhould remaine vnburiſed, in ſuch reprochfull ſort amongſt their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Wiſſiſh tong, they ſeined themſelues to be merchantmen of that countrie, & coming into Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night ſeaſon to ſeale to the walls, and ſecretlie taking awaie the head, eſcaped with the ſame home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and so now the head of king Alpine being recovered, was closed in a leaden coffin, and Bonneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekeill, where he buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchres of his elbers, together with the residue of the bodie in verie solemne wise, as appertained. And further, those persons that had put their lues in adventure to fetch the same head from the wals of Camelion, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuities, to remaine to them and to their heires for ever. After this, Kenneth beuiling for the sweetie of his subjects, furnished all the holdes and castles on the frontiers of his enimies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreover took order, that all the youth of the realme should be in a readinesse upon an houres warning, to go forth against the Scots, if they attempted any new inuasions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take a
nie enterprise in hand effronces against the Pias, re-
membering how infortunatelic they had fied the last
time: so that for the space of three yeeres there was
no great exploit atchiued, saue certeine roads and
incurfions, which both the nations continuallie used
to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion ser-
ued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous
to be reuenged of the Pias, for the death of his father
king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and
attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth
yeere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chie-
fest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuaide them
to aid him in all such enterprises as he ment to take
in hand against the Pias, whome he purposed to
pursue with open warres, till he had them at his
pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus as-
sembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie a-
bout to moue them to the warres, he could stir them
no more to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand
to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise
had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke
of stomack, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuise
a wretie thift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblie for the same day, he commanded that they should come together againe on the next morow, to consult further for the state of the realme, as they should see cause. The same euening also he had them all to supper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were sone brought into a sound sleepe. Now had the king appointed for curie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments pretie deuised and made of fish skins buskiled, bearing in one of their hands a staffe of such rotten wood as shyneth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore borne, to the end that uttering their words through the same, the sound of their voices should seeme farre differing from the usual speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they entered the chambers to each of them assigned, where (as is said) the lords late fast asleep, who being at the first as it were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting whether it were but a dreme, or some true and unfeigned vision). Wherewith also were heard certaine fewerrall voices, far greater than those of men, declaring that they were messengers sent from almighty God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them to obeye their king, for his request was iust: the Pietish kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, ought to be recovered from that people, which for their great offenses and sins towards almighty God, should hostilie come to bitter destruction: such was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maiestie.

Kenning
ified the
realm.

er A partie hath
e. deuised by the
t, king to per-
as suade the ne-
bilitie.

The lords de-
clare their vi-
sion unto the
king.

The answer
of king Ach-
neth.

Kenneth entered into Sterling =

Dusken has
like invaded
his enemy,

The English
men fled.

Dynken sen-
beth to the
Engliſhmen.

Of such
sights there
were many
those days:
and oftentimes
no doubt
med to be
gentle
in said.

The plots
are banqui-
ng.

ma
 sta
 wi
 ma
 in
 fio
 hai
 lie
 bp
 cla
 the
 the
 hal
 the
 & n
 go
 bee
 wi

 but
 mt
 the
 the
 in
 the
 wa
 the
 m
 p
 int
 nit
 the
 ter
 fin
 the
 by
 S

 an
 an
 h
 pa
 bel
 for
 wi
 m
 fic
 the
 the
 the
 for
 sel
 D
 nu
 wa
 fir
 an
 p
 to
 br
 ne

 let
 id
 gi
 id
 fir
 st
 th
 nu

ber of his
where he
res of his
in verie
those per-
to fetch
were by
is in per-
res for e-
tie of his
ls on the
munition,
nozouer
ould be
go forth
du inua-

to take a
Picts, re-
d the last
ere was
oas and
illie bled
ation for
desirous
his father
none and
he fourth
and chie-
de them
t to take
posed to
n at his
thus as
acellie as
fir them
in hand
no wise
eir lacke
to deuile
iccoz d.
ie for the
come to
t further
e cause,
supper,
it was
uerwar-
ey were
the king
me man
made of
hands a
ght, and
end that
ound of
in the v-

they en-
here (as
g at the
verfullie
oubting
in vnel-
eine se-
7, decla-
nightie
nd them
the Pict-
ceitage,
chich for
nightie
on: such
e mate-
sie, in c.

Kenneth for-
tified the
realme.

Kenneth cal-
led his nobles
to revenge his
father's death.

A pretie gift
deuised by the
king to per-
suade the Picts
to submitte.

Which
sights there
were made in
those daies:
and oftentimes
no doubt effe-
med to be hea-
uenlie visions
in c.

Kingdom des-
cended by di-
uinitie into the
king.

Kingdom
of the Picts
and
the
Englishmen.

Kingdom
of the Picts
and
the
Englishmen.

Kingdom
of the Picts
and
the
Englishmen.

Kingdom
of the Picts
and
the
Englishmen.

Kingdom
of the Picts
and
the
Englishmen.

ieslie, against the which might neither counsell nor
puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus
made an end of their words, they sliue his their
traues under their innermost garments, and there-
with quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures
made of fish scales (as I haue said) into their bosoms,
in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these vi-
sions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that
had seene these sights, laie still for that night, great-
lie musing on the matter. In the morning being got
up, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they de-
clared to ech other what they had seene and heard in
the night passed. And for that all their visions which
they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie be-
halfe like, and nothing differing one from an other,
they beleued verelie it was some celestiall oracle
& message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they
go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had
bene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars
with all their forces against the Picts.

The king told them he had seene the like vision,
but they ought to keepe it close, least by glozing to
much in the fauour thereof by almightie God toward
them, they might happlie displease his diuine maie-
stie, which otherwise they might perceiue was readie
in their ait. Then finally might the vision be publi-
shed, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the
warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of
the king was well liked of them all, and commande-
ment giuen, that all manner of prouision should be
prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth
into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to pro-
uide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered
their men in all parts, so that there was leuiued a grea-
ter host than had bene seene in those parties of long
time before. When the whole power was come tog-
ther, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entering
by great violence into the Pictish borders about
Sterling.

Dursten the king of Picts aduertised hereof,
and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts
and such Englishmen as he had retained, to serue
him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and
passing by the Scottish armie in the night, incampeth
betwixt them and home, in such sort that the day did no
soner appere, but the one part desirous to be in hand
with the other, without token of trumpet, or com-
mandement of capteine, they rushed together most
fiercelie. The hastie speed of the Picts to soine, put
them to no small disadvantage; but the departure of
the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to
the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them:
for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, declared them-
selues to be highlie recomforted with that fight.
Dursten in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a
messenger, willing them with large promises of re-
ward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen an-
swered, that their vse was not to fight without order
and commandement of their generall, and that the
Picts like vnskillfull men had cast awaie themselves
to be slaine by the enemies hand, where it appertained
vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when
no hope of victorie appeared.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves
left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs;
whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their
ground and defended them, they began to shrink:
which the Scots perceiuing, strooke on the more
fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to with-
stand their force, fell to running awaie. They made
their course towards the water of Forth, which was
not farre from the place of the battell, where being o-
uertaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that
they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither
gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The
Englishmen whilst the Scots and Picts were thus
occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward
with all speed; and by reason of the mountaines which
they had to passe, that took awaie the sight of them
from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie
without any pursute. Dursten himselfe so lone as
he perceiued how the field went against him, got him
to his house, which he had appointed to be readie for
him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of
danger with a few other in his companie.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in
the place of the battell all night, keeping strong
watch about their campe, for doubt least the Eng-
lishmen had bene lodged in some secret place neere
by to haue set vpon them at butwares, if they might
haue seene any advantage; but in the morning when
it was knowne how they were quite gone their
waies, and returned into their countrie (as before we
haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pic-
tish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the sol-
diers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And
then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to
his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in
this iourne so manfullie imployed. Within few
daies after, the Pictish king Dursten sent his am-
bassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Ken-
neth was contented to heare him, and promised to
grant a peace, so they would surrender into his
hands the gouernement of their kingdom due vnto
him by right of inheritance. But this condition be-
ing viterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that
the warre was effronces renewed with more cruellie
tie than before.

The yere next ensuing this battell, Kenneth got
Mernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing
all the castles and holds with men, munition, and
bittels. But whilst he went about to subdue the
countrie about Sterling, word was brought him
that such as he left thus in garison in those countries,
were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie
mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in
wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he
had in hand with the people of Mernes and Ster-
lingshire for their submission, and returned in great
hast towards Fife, where being arrived, he put all to
the fire and sword, not leauing one aliue of the Pic-
tish nation within all those quarters. The like cruellie
tie was shewed through the whole countries of M-
ernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware
how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of
allegiance.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots
raged in such wise through those countries, Dursten
assembling all the power of his countries, came
forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning ei-
ther to put them backe out of the confines of his do-
minion, either else to die with honor in the attempt
thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length
he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a fa-
mous abbie of chanoines of saint Augustines order,
and here he found Kenneth with his armie already
incamped. The next day, when both parties were re-
die to haue giuen battell, Dursten wishing rather
to aske peace whilst his power was yet in safetie,
than after he were once vanquished (if such were his
misaduenture) to intreat for the same in baine, sent
an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he
might talke with him before he ioined, for that he
had to say certaine things, which being followed,
might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of
both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

The English-
men escape.

Dursten ef-
faced by flight

The Picts
sue for peace.

Kenneth get-
teth Mernes,
Angus, and
Fife.

Fife is put to
the fire and
sword.

Mernes and
Angus is
cruellie puni-
shed.

Dursten
cometh to
rescue his
people.

Kenneth

The persuas-
ion of peace
by Dunsken.

Agnes, An-
gus, and Jife
is required of
the Dairs to
release.

Kenneth his
answere.

The order of
the battell.

King Duns-
ken imbolden-
eth his pro-
ple the Dairs.

The women
were a cum-
brance to the
Dairs.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse a
nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a
communication, and so thereupon both the kings in
presence of both their armies arranged in the field
readie to fight, came together in a place appointed,
either of them being accompanied with a like num-
ber of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accor-
ded. Here Dunsken with manie reasons going a-
bout to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the
same was betwixt the two nations: and againe,
how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too
much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to
this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant
a peace, the Dairs should release all such right, title
and interest as they had in the countreies of Agnes,
Angus, and Jife, vnto him and his successors the
Scottish kings for ever, so that he should make no
further claime vnto anie other of those countreies
which the Dairs as yet possessed.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vn-
derstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but si-
thens the Dairs fought in an vnjust quarell, as to
desiaud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hyngus,
who latelie reigned amongst them, of the rightfull
inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had
brought cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots
hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at-
teine that by warre which by other means they could
not atteine at the hands of the vnjust possessors, they
had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if
the Dairs were desirous of peace, they ought to cause
a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his
hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was rea-
son they should. And what commoditie might there-
of inlieue to both nations, being by such means once
ioined and vnited into one intire kingdome, he doub-
ted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie enough.
And as for other conditions of peace than this, he
told them plainelie there would be none accepted.
Thus did the kings depart in funder, without anie
agreement concluded: and being returned to their
armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint
of sword.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew
themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether
the Scots should rule and gouerne the Dairs, or the
Dairs the Scots. With these and manie other effec-
tuall words when he had encouraged his folks to the
battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two
wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he
set first archers and arcuballisters; and next vnto
them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with
such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude
with all kind of weapons, as was thought most
expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea-
ding of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike
knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and
the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The
king himselfe with a troope of horsemen followed
them to succour in all places where he saw need.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to
the battell, which the Scots began with such a chere-
full shout, that the Dairs euen vpon the first onset
were so amazed, that if Dunsken had not with com-
fortable words relieved their fainting stomacks, the
most part of them had fled without anie stroke stric-
ken. But being encouraged through the presence of
their king, shewing himselfe with cherefull counte-
nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them
to stand by him at that present, there was fought a
right sore and cruell battell betwene them. The wo-
men that were amongst the Dairs, of whom there
was no small number, speciallie in the right wing,
made such a woollull noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumbryance
to the Dairs, than aid, when it came to the point of
seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortly
beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken-
neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the
backs of the Dairs, now left bare by the running thus
away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring
in amongst them, disordered their arraie in such wise,
that by no means they were able to aid themselves,
or come into anie order againe: so that in the end
they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and
take them to their kete, thereby to escape the dan-
ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons
laie here & there strewd in the place of the battell,
that the Scots were forced in following the chase
to breake their arraie, so to passe the more speedilie:
by means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of
the Dairs, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiving, comman-
ded to sound the retreat, and so gathering his peo-
ple about their standards, he appointed certeine
companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of
the enimies, whilst he himselfe with the residue a-
bode still in the place (where the field was fought)
all that day and the next night following. The Sco-
tish capteins that were sent to follow the chase,
earnestlie executing their kings commandement,
made great slaughter of Dairs in all places where
they might ouertake them. Dunsken the Dairish
king himselfe being pursued to the river of Arie,
for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine
with the whole residue which he had about him. It
is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the
Dairs that day at seven sundrie times, and in seven
sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the
Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed
the chase returned to the campe; where they presen-
ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other
spolie of Dunsken the Dairish k. which they brought
with them, besides great abundance of other pil-
lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies
that were slaine. Dunskens armour and other things
belonging to his owne bodie, was offered by to
saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name
with in the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a
monument of this victorie to such as should come
after.

After this the whole preie and spolie was gathered
and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was
counsellor to haue discharged his armie, and to haue
departed home; but he purposing now to make an
end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for-
wardnesse, called together the multitude, and in
this wise began to utter vnto them his mind and
purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when
he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres
not ended, if he mind the preferuation of himselfe
and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought,
not to cease from pursuing the enimies once van-
quished, till he haue either made them his friends,
or else utterlie destroyed & rid them out of the way;
for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the eni-
mie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened
and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he
shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro-
cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap-
pilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake
somewhat of this danger now present, the state of
the Dairish kingdome (as ye know) is sore infiebled,
their power being diminished by force of warre, is
brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands ut-
terlie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation.
Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for
vs by anie means to draw them (our hono: saurd)
vnto

“ br
“ si
“ so
“ th
“ al
“ th
“ sh
“ w
“ s
“ th
“ it
“ te
“ st
“ th
“ ce
“ al
“ di
“ ol
“

the commo-
dion the
kings salerig.

ernell not
submitted by
the Scots
upon the
Dairs.

The king-
the Dairs
slaine.

Scotland par-
to vnto dis-
armour.

new names
regimen vnto
Duerie
Angus,
Agnes,
Agnes.

the.

An ordered
king armie

Southian.

reward gi-
uen vnto Bar
which was
the fortresse
of Dunbar.

The familie
of Dunbar.

ance
int of
ortlie
ken
in the
g thus
itring
wife,
dues,
he end
a, and
se dan
apons
attell,
e chafe
ilie: by
nds of

man
is poe
erteine
hase of
side a
ought)
he Sco
e chafe,
ement,
s where
Pictish
The king of
the Picta
Name,
re flaine
im . It
with the
in fenen
with the
ollowed
pfefer
nd other
brought
ther pil
enemies
r things
ed by to
is name
ine as a
nd come

gathered
eth was
d to haue
make an
uch a for
, and in
mind and
ne, when
e warres
himselfe
he ought,
nce ban
friends,
the way;
r the eni
eakened
enture he
shall pro
than hap
ay speake
e state of
infiebled,
warre, is
hands vs
le nation .
ossible for
not faued)
vn to

into our friendship . But the Picts are of such a
stubborne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that
so long as there remaineth anie one of them alieue,
they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge
all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by
this warre . Whereupon I doe verelie belieue, that
there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth,
will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the
Scots . Therefore sith we can not make the Picts,
thus latelie scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke
it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) vt
terlie to destroe the whole nation, by putting to
sword not onelie both men and women, but also all
their youth and young children: least they being de
scended of that linage, hereafter in time to come,
arme themselves to the reuenge of their parents
deaths, and that not without perill of the bitter losse
of our countie and kingdome.

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cru
ell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to
stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it
most expedient for the suertie of the Scottish com
mon-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them
all . Such crueltie hereupon was forthwith shewed
throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was
not one living creature of humane shape left alieue,
sparing such as saued themselves within the walles
of Camelon, or in certaine other holds and fortres
ses, and also about two thousand of those that fled in
to England: for all the residue were most unmerc
fullie murdered and slaine, without respect either
of age, sex, profession, or estate . Thus Kenneth ha
ving dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countie
into his owne hands, making partition of the same
as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles,
according to the merits of euerie of them dalie
beieued and considered, he added new names vnto e
uerie quarter and region (either after the name of
the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or
other notable water or place, according as was the
ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of
the Pictish names might end together with the in
habitants.

The countie ancientlie called Hozestia, was gi
uen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Pernan, by
reason whereof the one part of the same countie
was called Angus, and the other the Vernes . The
linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this
day . The region which till then was named Otholi
nia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, af
ter the name of one Fife Wasse: whose valancie
was thoughtlie tried in these last warres with the
Picts . There remaine vnto this day tokens and old
ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Lenix
and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth)
was fenced about with seven rampires, and as ma
nie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthie
man after his decesse had their habitation by the
space of manie hundred yeres . Louthian retained
still the former name, so honorable was the remem
brance of that famous prince king Loth amongst
all men . The strongest castell of the whole countie,
Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine na
med Bar, whose counsell and forward seruice stood
the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which
the Picts were thus subdued . That fortresse euer si
thence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar,
that is to say, the castell of Bar.

There descended of him a noble house or familie,
bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great
same and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the
earles of March had their beginning, and continued
long in that dignitie from one to another, with sun
dy branches of right famous memorie . The names

of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some
kept their old names still . Otholucia thortlie after
began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer
of Annan that runneth through the same . And so
likelie Tweddale toke name of the water of
Twed . And Cludsdale of the riuer of Clude . In
like manner manie other countiees, townes, and ca
stels had their names changed at the same time, af
ter they came into the possession of the Scottishmen,
vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their
victorious acts atchiued against the Picts . Further
more, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawn
the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the
Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie
in the same, as well by reason of strength of the
place, as also of the strong garison which was appoin
ted to defend it.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure a
broad in the countie, came thither with a mightie
armie to besiege the citie . And first sending vnto
them within, to know if they would yeild, he was an
swered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots
could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter
of all such as fell into their hands, aswell of women
and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they
were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life .
Whereupon the siege continued by the space of ma
nie daies . Whilest the Scots in the meane time got
together a great number of sagots, and other such
bussh and stufte to fill the ditches withall, which were
verie deepe and broad, at length when they within be
gan to want bittels, they requested a truce for three
daies, in the which meane time they might take ad
uise for the surrender of the citie . Kenneth misstru
ing no deceit, granted their request, and thereupon
commanded his people to ceasse from all manner of
annoiance of the enemies, for that terme.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared them
selves of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon
the Scots . There was also an old gate forlet and
stopped by with earth and stones vpon the one side of
the citie, so that of a long time before there had bene
no way forth by the same . Wherefore in the darke of
the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ra
mell therewith it was closed vp, about the third
watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of
battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the
standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse
than of ante issue to be made on that side, by means
whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the
other that kept the inner watch, inso much that the
slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent
with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene
in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the
night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts
withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie
they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small
number of them slaine at the entring . The citie al
so had bene taken at the same time, but that the
Picts out of the turrets and ioupes of the walles,
discharged a wonderfull number of quarels, darts,
arrowes, stones, and other things vpon the Scots,
as they approached nere to the gate, where their fel
lowes (that made the issue) halted to enter againe
into the towne . There were slaine of the Scots at
this bickering aboue six hundred, therewith Ken
neth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the
falshood of the Picts, he vntoed by open oth that he
would not depart from the siege, till he had put the
citie and them within to fire and sword, without
sparing of ante, either one or other.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wone the
citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended
their

The chan
ging of the
names of the
dales.
Annandale.
Tweddale.
Cludsdale.

The gentle
women are
preferred in
Camelon.

Kenneth sen
deth vnto Cas
milon, coman
ding them for
to yeild.

They of Cas
milon require
truce for three
daies.

The Picts
issue vpon the
Scots with
great fortune.

An extreme
bow made by
king Kenneth

The constan
cie of the
Picts when
they were be
sieged.

their walles so stoutlie, that he could not atchieve his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths together. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittels till arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend unto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obdinate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft
bled by Ken-
neth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, joining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should give the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandment, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and having their labours readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten together to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their bettermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to driue them out of the citie againe.

The Scots
enter the
citie.

The Picts
are miserable
slaine, with-
out regard
of person.

Ladies and
gentlewomen
desire the king
to be pardon-
ed of their
lives.

All the Pic-
tish nation
destroyed.
The citie of
Camelon is
throwne
downe.

The castell of
Maldens is
left of the
Picts.

The slaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in enerie passage & corner of the streets, inso much that the Scottish lords and other capteins, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slaue all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded upon all estates, as well religious as other, and like wise upon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pittie vpon their wofull estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. Then were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings as well priuate as publike, with churches and chapels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pavement and foundation of some part of the walles.

At the same time the castell of Maldens, now called commonlie Edenborough castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell void, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Sauioz 839, from the first comming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the first comming into this Ile, as well of the Scots as Picts, resteth doubtfull, and that as well by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable coniectures, we haue in the historie of England moze largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, unto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking vpon vs so franklie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, through want of such helps in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were seene the same yere two comets or blazing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in haruest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also seene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running together with burning flauces, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at seruice holding his crozier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About none daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countreies of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with brailing of horses, as though two armies should haue bene together in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These vncouth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerselie: some of them affirming the same to betoken ioy and hapie prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and bitter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth having thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, together almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergusse out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligentlie kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought nere unto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were used to sit, when they receiued the investiture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandment of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine perles were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the afore said Fergusse the first his comming ouer forth of Irel and into Albion there to reigne.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes perswade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer the

The Scots
were quiet.

Keneth mar-
ried Innes
& opinnances.

Keneth mar-
ried Innes
& opinnances.

The tables of
the law to be
kept.

Galles to
be hangd.

Penitment
for theft and
murder.

A woman co-
demned to be
drowned, or
burned quick.

Whisperers
have their
tongues cut out.

The punish-
ment for a
liar.

A man accu-
sed to be con-
demned by
ten or quere
of men.

Robbers to be
put to the
sword.

Magabonds
to be shipped
and burnt in
the stake.

The Scots shal
not suffer for
the husbandes
of the
same.

The con-
science and
the
more to haue
the punish-
ment.

to
oth
got
ent
the
the
gu
an
in
do
go
lei
co
fo
of
re
th
th

Keneth mar-
ried Innes
& opinnances.

The Scots
enter the
citie.

The tables of
the law to be
kept.

Galles to
be hangd.

Penitment
for theft and
murder.

A woman co-
demned to be
drowned, or
burned quick.

Whisperers
have their
tongues cut out.

The punish-
ment for a
liar.

A man accu-
sed to be con-
demned by
ten or quere
of men.

Robbers to be
put to the
sword.

Magabonds
to be shipped
and burnt in
the stake.

The Scots shal
not suffer for
the husbandes
of the
same.

The con-
science and
the
more to haue
the punish-
ment.

ting of the
ubbing to
void, and
singdome
ep first be-
pore after
coming
the world
But where
first com-
: bids re-
stie of ap-
tures, we
gelie wit-
rous to se-
wing here
it an end,
r the Sco-
helie to set
as in the
lps in the

comets or
beholders,
arrest sea-
one thereof
entines al-
s, running
one being
banished a-
s at service
as kindled
e quenched,
ne date, the
e countries
heard such a
irmos, with
should haue
of either na-
ire. These
divisions
c to betoken
oging, how
lanitie.
Kenneth ha-
ne, together
the marble
ought out of
regise out of
cited) to be
that time it
which regi-
to remaine
the establish-
countrie: he
it of ground
he had with
ne place, the
o the Scots.
the Scottish
ned the inue-
rs haue re-
neth, at the
him remo-
ion it, where-
ake of the a-
ig ouer forth

se few of the
scotishmens
could by no
ing troubled
reuerie of
scas ouer fir-

The resolu-
of the Scots
were disper-
sed.

to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse
other of them remained still in England, where they
got their living either by some manuell occupation,
either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from
thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of K.
Kenneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the enlar-
ging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightlie
and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he
made the same well nere the middest of his king-
dome. Other things he did also touching the politike
gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no
lesse worthie of praise than his noble and famous
conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes
for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and
other officers should proceed in the administration
of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to
rehearse part as yet being died, that alwell the au-
thor, as the time of their first establishment, maie
the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this hi-
storie.

The Chapters of those lawes which
yet remaine to be obserued,
are these.

Et euerie thire haue certein men
skilled in the lawes appointed to
be resident in the same, according
as in the beginning it was insti-
tuted. Let their sonnes also in their youth
be brought vp in knowledge of the same
lawes.

Let them onelie keepe in their custodies
the tables of the lawes, with the register
bookes of the kings & pices of the realme.

If any of them be conuicted of extort bri-
bing, or other the like vniust dealing, let
him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie
remaine vnburiel.

Such as are codemned for theft, let them
be hanged, and those that are proued guiltie
of murder, let them lose their heads.

A woman which is condemned to die, ei-
ther let hir be drowned in some riuer, ei-
ther else let hir be buried quicke.

He that blasphemeth the name of God,
of the saints, of his prince, or of the cap-
taine of his tribe, let him haue his tongue
cut out.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neigh-
bours hinderance, let him haue his sword
taken from him, and be banished out of all
mens companie.

Such as be accused of any crimes that
deserue death, let them passe by the sen-
tence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11,
13, 15, or more, so that the number be odd.

Robbers by the high waies, destroyers
of corne growing in the fields, as is vsed by
enimies in time of warre, let them die by
the sword.

Fugitiues, bagabonds, and such other
idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt
in the cheeke.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbands
offense, but the husband shall answer for the
wifes misdeeds, if he be priuie thereunto.

Any mans lemmen or concubine shall
suffer the same paines that he dooth which
offendeth with hir.

He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it,
unless he require for safegard of his life,
to haue him to his husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans
wife in adulterie, the consenting vnto him
therein, they shall both suffer death for it.
But if the consent not, but be forced a-
gainst his will, then he shall die onelie for
the same, and she shall be released.

If the child hurt the father either with
tongue, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived
of that member, and then hanged, his bo-
die to remaine without buriall.

A murderer, a dunbe person, or he that
is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not in-
herit his fathers patrimonie.

Wizards, wizards, necromancers, and
such as call by spirits, and be to seeke vpon
them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine
before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent slouth, suffe-
reth his arable ground to be choked by
and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first
fault let him forsaite an oxe, for the second
ten oxen, and for the thirde let him forgo the
same ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy
friend being slaine, see him buried, but let
the enimie lie vnburiel.

Anie straie cattell that commeth into
thy grounds, either restore them to the ow-
ner, either els deliuer them to the searcher
out of thieues, commonlie called Tonode-
rach, or to the parson or vicar of the towne:
for if thou reteine them in thy hands by
the space of thre daies, thou shalt be ac-
counted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belon-
geth to an other man, let him cause it to be
cried in the market, or els he shall be iud-
ged for a felon.

He that striketh him, with whom he go-
eth to the law, about anie matter in con-
trouersie, shall be iudged guiltie of the acti-
on, and the other let free.

If oxen or kine chance by running togi-
ther to kill one another, the truth being
not known which it was that did the hurt,
that which is found without hornes shall
be iudged the occasion of the death; and he
that is owner of the same, shall haue the
dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to
whome it belonged.

If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned
to death, and buried, so that no man eate of
hir flesh.

A swine that is found eating of corne
that groweth in the field, or worming vpon
the tilled grounds, let it be full for anie
man to kill the same without danger.

Other kinds of beasts, wherein other
men haue anie propertie, if they breake in-
to thy pastures, or eate by the corne, im-
pound them, till time the owner haue satis-
fied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

These were ciuill ordinances belonging
to the good gouernement of the people, or
ther there were, which appertene to reli-
gion:

Whoso-
euer of
murder
shall die.

Adulterers
shall die.

A child hur-
ting his father
shall die.

Who are not
to inherit.

Wizards and
wizards, &c.

Sowing of
graine.

Emil hus-
bandrie.

Warrill of
friends.

Wailes and
straies.

Things
found.

Aduersaries
in suite of law.

Oxen or kine
hurting ech
other.

A sow.

Swine.

Beasts da-
mage fait int.

Articles con-
cerning religion

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of ho-
lie daies.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, bigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honoz of our S. Christ & his saints.

Priests.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthe of death.

Ground to be
left untilld.

That ground wherein anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it untilld for seuen yeres space.

Graues.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Buriall of no-
ble men.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horse; who after the corpes is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and there with the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place fro whence he came: the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer vp vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister doth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth governed his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Kenel his
church, now
called Saint
Andrewes.

The bishops see, which before had bene at Abirne, shie, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Kenel. Euer since which time the towne hath been called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland; for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the see of Perthlake, now called Abirdeen: but such as were reputed of virtuous behauiour and knowledge met for the office, vnder the authoritie & rourne of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident: Yet such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue bene about the number of fortie bishops resident there; since the first institution of that see; manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbered according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Isles of Orkney on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yeres in great renowne and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Forthmout, in the yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Isle of Colmekill, and there honozable buried amongst his ancessors.

After his deceasse succeeded in government of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuerthelesse he had continued scarce two yeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all god orders in his realme, by his naughty examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquetting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue bene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe the frontiers of his realme, were imployed on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntmen, falconers, cokes, batwodes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembering what appertained to their duties, spared not but freely admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauiour, if he reformed not his manners, nor restrained the licentious doings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their words were not regarded, but for the same they themselves ran into displeasure; they forsooke not a little, to see to small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without anie feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that hostilitie, through want of all god gouernance, was placed in stead of right, and contempt of Gods honoz embraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

In this meane while, the residus of the Scots remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the reconerle of their dominion out of the Scottismens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seates. At length Albert and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded through instant sute to take that enterprise in hand, the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernement then remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the kings naughty demeanoz and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both Britains and Englishmen joined their powers together, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the countrie of Mers. From whence immediatlie king Albert (being appointed as general in that towne)

The bound
of the Scotch
kingdome.

King Al-
bert depar-
ted out of
this life.
856. H. B.

Albert is put
slight at
Perth, or
Forburgh.

Donald,
the fourth
king of the
name suc-
ceeded his
brother Kenneth.
The king
of Scotland
was now
young.

Albert his
position by
water is ta-
ken by the
Englishmen.

The king
admonished
of his nobles.

great dif-
ficultie in the
countie
tamps.

The Scots
campe sub-
sisted in
the
tamps.

The English
kings request
aid of the
Englishmen.

Albert and
Ella kings of
Northumber-
land.

Scottish
nobles
were
not
willing
to
submit
to
the
nobles
of
the
English
king.

The English
men and
Britains
joined
their
powers
together
with
the
Scots.

The whole
armie of
the English
was
sent.

being
past in
the
lands of
the Scots
kingdome.
de, and
ompa-
ned a
gloze,
abun-
t in the
ied into
ried a

ment of
stering
to Ken-
realme,
it of of
he had
that he
by his
is mind
as in
banke-
for plea-
e had no
ld haue
on a forte
ce of his
s hunt-
and such

embling
but free-
insue of
his ma-
his ser-
ued that
the same
proved
it of such
sh the re-
small lust-
e of cor-
fending
nismuch
rnanee,
tempt of
e of ver-

Pits re-
do not to
them to
it of the
ets into
might be
Obert
ersuaded
in hand,
hat they
ient then
in of the
at trade
ded with
lishmen
he coasts
gue both
wers to
passed the
pe in the
the king
iourme)
sent

sent an herald vnto Donald the Scottish king, com-
manding him either to surrender vp vnto the Pits
all such regions as the Scots had taken from them;
either else to lake to haue the Englishmen and Bri-
tains no lesse their enemies than the Pits, whose
cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and
defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these
nelmes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he
toke a god hart vnto him, and in defense of his
realme caused musters to be taken throughout all
his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to
incounter his enemies, whome he found at Jed-
burgh ready to giue battell: where after sore fight,
in the end Obert with his people was chased to
the next mountains. Donald hauing thus obtai-
ned the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had
bene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer
Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he
came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at
anchore certeine English vessels, laden with proui-
sion of vittels and all other things necessarie for the
furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these
ships, with small resistance toke them, spoiled them
of all such things as were found aboard, and after set
fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the
souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to
small vse or commoditie: for all the poorth of the ar-
mie, through example of their prince, was so corrup-
ted in vicious customes, that the campe was reple-
nished with hoges, batwds, stews, and dicing tables,
in such wise, that all such prouiision as should haue
serued for store and staple of vittels, was spent in
riotous banqueting without anie order or measure:
so oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouerne-
ment lacketh) there happened amongst them in the
armie, discord and variance with sundrie murders
and slaughters.

When the enemies were aduertised how far out of
order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want
of god and discret chieffeins, Obert with all speed
got a mightie host togither againe, and before his
approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vp
on them one morning in the breake of the day, and
assailed them in their lodgings, wherein he found
them so vnprouided of all helps to make resistance,
that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appea-
red amongst them: some of them running vpon
their enemies naked without all discretion, other
breaking forth of the campe to saue themselves by
flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie
way to escape the enemies hands, though it were
with present danger of breaking their necks downe
the sliding banks and craggie rocks, being forced
thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and
Britains, who most eagerlie pleased vpon them in
all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow
and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There
died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue
twenty thousand persons. King Donald being fast
asleepe at the first assault of the enemies, as he that
had drunke ouer night more than enough, was ta-
ken before he could make anie shift for himselfe,
with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this
ouerthrow, was rised, the spoile being diuided a-
mongest the Englishmen and Britains. But when
the same of this infortunat battell was noised once
through the realme of Scotland, how the king was
taken prisoner, his campe woone, the armie discom-
fited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre
slaine, those few of the nobles which were left alive
remaining prisoners in the enemies hands, there
was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without re-
conterte. Some there were that blamed fortune,
some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, o-
ther bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance
put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases
commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are e-
uer sundrie opinions. Spaine ran vp and downe
the streets and high waies, to inquire the certeinie
of all things, and whether there were anie hope at
all left to resist the enemies, also which way the eni-
mies held, whereabout they went, and what they pur-
posed to do.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowne that
the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the
Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed
with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks)
stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into
the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard
of in anie region. So that all prouiision to defend
their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were
the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor.
The Englishmen hereupon toke all the countrie e-
uen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains
seized into their hands all that which lieth from the
bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, find-
ing no resistance in their way at all. Herevnto as-
well the Englishmen as Britains vied the victorie
verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the
Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their
hands, but pilets and all passed one way, that is, by
the edge of the sword.

King Obert purposed to haue passed the water
of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so
ouer Tait into Angus: but hearing that the Scots
had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he
staied certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that
the enemies were nothing of that puillance or num-
ber, as at the first they were reported to be; he de-
termined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand
of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind
and weather, that rose in that instant, there were
fue thousand of them drowned, the residue being
constrained to land againe on the same side from the
which they lofed, hauing lost through violence of the
weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their
vessels. Obert being also admonished with this mis-
fortune, thought god to attempt no more the furi-
ous rage of the water, but determined by land to
go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should
find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his
power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so inuade
other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his coming thither, certeine Scottish am-
bassadors came vnto him to sue for peace, which
they humble required at his hands in name of the
whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the
state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much
on brittle fortune, the which the with his selfe neuer
stable, but commonlie vseth to call backe againe his
grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer
hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanqui-
shed seemeth to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As
for the Scots, though it might appeare that their
force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should
little auail them: yet were they minded to die in
defense of their liberties, rather than to submit them-
selves vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The
words of these ambassadors being throughlie weighed
(though some toke them in great disdain) yet in the
end it was supposed that after victorie thus had a-
gainst the enemies, honorable conditions of peace
ought to be preferred before doubtful warre.

Whereupon answere was made to the ambassa-
dors, that both the English and British people with
their

The English
men inuade
Louthian, the
Britains
Galloway.

The Scots
left comfort-
lesse.

The Bri-
tains as yet
kept posses-
sion of Cumb-
erland, and
those other
counties li-
eng by the
coast of thole
well seas.
The victorie
vied cruellie.

A great manie
Englishmen
drowned.

Fortune is
brittle.

Ambassadors
sue for peace.

Fortune is
brittle.

Though some
toke them in
great disdain

though some
toke them in
great disdain

though some
toke them in
great disdain

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbryeton. It was called before Caer Precluth, thar to, the cite upon Clud, as H. Lihoid holdeth.

Hoffages are required.

The Scots mislike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countreies as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anye claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anye of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time enen after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluth, standing at the mouth of the same river, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbryeton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anye of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anye of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anye of them to be dytuen to land on the south shore, within anye of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within thre daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constrained them to the contrarie. Moreover, they should not fortifie anye towne or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should covenant to pay unto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliuer thre score hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparant of the chiefest noble men of all their realme and countrey. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anye of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anye other treatie of accord.

The ambassadours returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, perswading them to haue respect to the time. And with the force of the realme was so inflected, abated, and brought vnder lot through aduerser fortune: better it was to yeld vnto necessitie in saluing part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulness to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonour to receive conditions of peace at the enemies hands, with these wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Calo appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anye wise did reach.

The multitude moued with these words of Calene, whose graue authoritie (by reason of his age, and toime) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finallye determined to follow his opinion, in receiving the same conditions of agreement which Osbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in manner as is before rehearsed. Which being throughlie accomplished in

such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Osbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestly required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland; and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those thre people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Osbert, as it was couenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in use till manie yeres after. Osbert also in this place caused a stone brydge to be made over the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden brydge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone brydge he set by a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

*Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis,
Arma his fiant Bruti, fiant Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.
I am free march as passengers maie ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.*

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iourne, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Osbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen or friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and livings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilst anye of them remained alieue.

Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norway and Denmarke, vnto their countreimen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found alieue within anye of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrey, was receiued with moze ioy and honor than he had deserued, in hope yet by this scourge of aduerser fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Nevertheless, he had not bene at home long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remouing from his companye such honorable personages as wished the succour of his estate, with the advancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrey stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vnder his rule and gouernement, they found means to agree with him, and commit him vnto safe keeping. But the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

King Donald
sent into
Norway and
Denmarke.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

The Scottish
king in
his
860.

in the like
with his
ther with
nred so to
the wite

nds were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

crue thi.
ken, Belondent
shmen. Scot.
nglishmen
ed to their
when they
ne hands,
they doubt
ied, least
come ent
le Ditch in
the post
re unto the
nake some
ined alius.
Dits, which
e best thist
if them got
marke, but
t could not
on after by
s not to be
omissions.
o unto the
ne time the
aine to his
and honor
scourge of
formed his
ot hane at
his old vict
n his com
ed the suer
of the com
pope mis
he realme,
ie wop in,
undiscret
is to appe
ig. But the
es after he
was

in the like
with his
ther with
nred so to
the wite

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

lands were
Britains
at all that
a betwixt
iberland:
ireels, li
twixt the
at by this
scottish sea
uined the
ns. And
on march
ie with the
covenan
Here (as
mint, and
upon came
er in they
land shall
nie peeces
one bridge
ead of the
there, and
off of this
con were
allers by:

was thus put in ward in great desperation line
himselfe, in the first peare after he had begun his in-
fortnat reigne, and in the peare of our Saviour
860.

The same peare that the realme of Scotland was
brought into such miserable state by the puissant
force of the Englishmen and Britains, as above is
rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in
the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth
old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of
that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the
enimies should come and take that region out of the
Scottishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pa-
storing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a
strange sort, suddnlie died. Fishes likewise, in
shape resembling the figure of man, were found
dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway
there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out
of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the
saunour of them lying on the ground, both men and
beasts died of certeine diseases, which they toke
through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuina-
tion, affirmed that these things did signifie an in-
fernat reigne, with an euill end unto king Do-
nald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made
away himselfe in prison (as before is exprest) Con-
stantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned
king at Secone, in the chaire of marble there, ac-
cording to the manner as then vsed. After his first en-
tring into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in
hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to
haue recovered out of their possessions, those coun-
tries which they had lately taken from the Scots in
his predecessors time; but his counsell aduised him
otherwise, declaring that the state of the common-
wealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his
late predecessor, that till the same were reformed,
and such intestine discord, as through licentious li-
bertie reigned amongst his subjects might be ap-
peased and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue a-
nie worthie enterpryse abroad against forreigne e-
nimies.

Hereupon by their aduertisements and good ad-
uise, he deuised a reformation of all such disorders
as were growen by in all parts of his realme: and
first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests
should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle
with anie secular businesse, but to be free from go-
ing forth to the warres: neither should they keepe
horses, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were
found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to
his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a
peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his
benefice. For the youth of his realme he toke order
(to bridle them the better from wanton delights and
sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past
one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie deli-
cats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might
dissemper their braine, so that if anie yong person,
either man or woman were knowen to be drunken,
they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his
realme, should exercise running, wrestling, throw-
ing, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid
slothfullnesse, that their bodies might with such ex-
ercises be made the more able to endure paines and
trauell: and for the same purpose he toke order, that
they should lie vpon the bare boards, with one man
tell onlie shouen under them, so that they should
fast nothing neither by day nor night, that might
norsell them in anie wanton delights or effeminate
pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as
kept bittelling houses for banketting there, should

be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell
houses. Thus were the Scots by observing of
these ordinances, made within short time of glori-
ous and excellent feeders, sober and temperat men:
of delicat and easfull persons, hard, tough, and able
to abide anie trauell or labor: were the same neuer
so painfull: and hereof the state of the common-
wealth began to grow to good perfection, so that
Constantines administration was liked of the most
part of all his subjects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prosper-
ous reigne of that worthie prince, was one Euan,
a man of an ancient house, & borne in the westerne
 Isles. Such haue bene the vnquiet nature of the
Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to
lie contented anie long time either with peace or
warre: for being once wearied with the charges
of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace;
and hauing in time of peace heaped together some
wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement
of their superiors, but either are ready to fall out
with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some
commotion amongst themselves. This Euan
therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of
Dunkasage in Loughaber, practised a conspira-
cie against the king, with a number of other light
persons being gentlemen borne, mistaking the ad-
ministration of things, onelie for that they saw hold
their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferiour persons,
and to vie such wild and insolent misdeuour, as
they had done afore time, was now restrained by
lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for
the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue
moued the people of Loughaber, Murray
land, Kesse, and Castlesse, to haue ioined with them
in their traitorous interpryse, some of them in whom
Euan put most trust, secretlie aduertised the king
of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent
number of men together, made such speedie hast to-
wards Dunkasage, where the chiefe capteine of the
rebels as then lay, that he came before the same per-
ante inking were knowen to them within of his
approch. By meane thereof comming vpon them so
at vnwares, he had the castell sone at his pleasure;
and immediatlie hereupon caused Euan to be trus-
sed by on a high paire of gallowes, for a spectacle to
all his complices. And furthermore, least the other
conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefe
teine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that
were accused to be of Euan's confederacie, the which
he put in strict prison, there to be safelie kept, till the
peeres of the realme had determined with good deli-
beration, what should become of them. This busines
being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for
quietnesse, there suddenlie followed a greater and
more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the
world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they
fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to
all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Picts, for
that the residue of that nation which had escaped the
hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned
vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands,
he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the
injuries which the Picts alledged they had suffered)
to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen.
He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be
prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in
a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion,
vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one na-
med Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chiefe
teins hauing their ships and men with all prouision
appertaining once readie, toke the sea, and sailed
spit.

houses be b-
mied.

Scots were
made sober
and able to
abide hardies

Euan disqui-
eted the king
and realme.

The vnquiet
nature of
Scottishmen.

Euan lieuten-
ant of Dunk-
sasage conspi-
red against
the king.

The king is
aduertised of
Euan his
treason.

The king co-
meth to Dunk-
sasage with
an armie.

Euan is exe-
cuted.

Euan kept
in prison.

One trouble
followeth
another.

Cadane king
of Denmarke

The cause
that made the
Danes to
make warre
against Eng-
land and
Scotland.

A great nauie
sent into
Scotland.

forth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they toke land within the countrie of Fife, before any tidings were heard of their coming thither.

The Danes
of great
crueltie.

The inhabi-
tants fled the
countrie.

They that
fled into May
Island were
slaine.

The uncerten-
tie of writers
in this matter
of these mar-
tyrs.

Constantine
assembled a
mightie army.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namely for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, overthrowing and burning up churches and chapels, where soeuer they found any in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and goodlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting forth the word of life into the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Island called Haile, which lieth in manner in the midway of the passage ouer the fforth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monastirie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restrain the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Island of Haile; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodian, Caius, or (as others write) Monanus archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stolband: the names of the residue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fleeing out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of misbelieve against the christians, they arrived here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence soeuer they were, certein it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable injuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted any further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subjects. Hereupon leueng his people, and assembling a mightie host together, he passed forth with the same towards his enemies, the which were lodged in two severall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Leutin, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that late on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might be passed ouer at the fords.

After this soe and tempestuous weaether, the aire cleared vp and waied verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enemies, whilst the other could not

come ouer vnto their aid and succor. ¶ In this campe which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue slayed his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the same, and assailed all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could doe, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captains were constrained of necessity to set them in order of battell, sith they would needs giue the onset vpon their present enemies.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armes; certein linnen garments, wrought with red filke, shewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armour might lightlie hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the muster of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araic of battell. But anon coming nere together ready to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie frontlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Spanie of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditch were oppressed with thornes, as well of their owne companie, as of their enemies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and struing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellowes (which stood on the other side ready to haue passed the water, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whom Hubba was one, to the great reioicing of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twice from perill of death, as first from amongst his enemies, and secondlie out of the roaring streame of that deepe and swift raging riuer.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enemies to the worke, with that happie successe toke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue, so that for two daies together, there was such dancing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not bene heard of. ¶ Sea so farre proceeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselves for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same whole in their possession: and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captives after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept aliuie to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. ¶ Great adoe and manie waies were spent hereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselves: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie proceedings against their enemies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed. Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselves in such order,

The order of
placing of the
Danes arrie.
Hubba had
the right wing
where he had
the left wing.

The Scots
Danes were
their battell

The Danes
apparel
The weapons.

All men of
bodie and
limbs.

The battell

The Danes
take the flight

Hubba was
sued from
by ouerwinning

The Scots
toke of this
victorie
deraiing

The Scots
for the reason
to follow.

The Danes
approach
towards the
Scots.

The Danes
not quarrels
and the Scots
Danes.

The Scots
not arrows
and darts as
the Danes
were.

The Scots
are put to
flight.

Constantine
proceeded
against his
enemies.

is ce my
e Scots,
to haue
ampe, to
the same,
nes with
them in
he could
heir battell.
ips, and
captains
n order of
set upon

irmoz cer
like, thew
off. Their
e push va
nts being
no armoz
se kind of
r huge bo
ishmen to
n araic of
r readie to
n new cou
ence, who
so that the
good space.
h side, both
pressed as
tome their
m making
staine, di
e oppressed
nte, as of
following
e upon such
ther there
o get ouer,
e streame;
wes (which
led the wa
t manifest
r, amongst
sing of his
ered twise
est his ene
me of that

Call men of
bodie and
ings.
A battell.
The Dances
take the fight

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

The Scots
take of this
victorie in
derate top.

The Scots
for to reade
to fall out.

Constantine
proceeded
gained his en
ities.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

Hubba was
sauced from
downing.

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuise
for the dividing of the spoile, perceiuing occasion
now offered to giue the onset, forthwith araised their
people in this sort.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in
the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an
Englishman bozne, who was fled out of his coun
trie, for that he could not beare such inturries as Al
bert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great re
proch and dishonoz of his house and name. He had
with him in this left wing certeine bands of Eng
lishmen, with those that had escaped ouer into
Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with
all the residue of the armie, kept the battell or middle
ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & man
hood that day, with the same should either put them in
possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the
substance and riches contained therein, either else
bring them perpetuall scrutubie with ignominie a
mongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He
therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all,
vowed with solenne oth, either to retorne with vic
torie to his campe, either else to die in the place, wil
ling them all to make the like couenant. Whereby,
on the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much
for this his motion, that there was not one amongst
the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like
oth. Constantine keeping in manner the like order,
placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the
left Duncane the lieutenant or thane of Athole, ap
pointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he him
selfe stood. And first he ga. ie them all hartie thanks in
that they had so valiantlie achieved the victorie in the
last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their
former glorie with anie faintnesse of courage, re
creant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further
he willed them in no wise to be afraid of their eni
mies, in respect moze for their hugeness of bodie,
than for anie of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for
if they assailed them with one whole and entire con
sent, according to their wanted forwardnesse & man
like prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight,
and obtaine a full victorie. Wherewith he also war
ned them not to run rashlie upon the enemies, but to
suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that
meanes he thought the Danes would with their ear
nest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be
moze easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this deuise did not a little abate the Scottish
mens courages. For the Scots be is, when they
shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and
noise, and therewith to run upon their enemies, by
which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the eni
mie in feare, and incourage themselves to the bat
tell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched
forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in or
der of battell: but when they perceiued that the
Scots came not forward, they also staid in the mid
way to refresh themselves, least at the joining they
should be out of breath. Anon after, passing for
ward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw
darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots
let lie at them againe with arrowes and darts as
thicke as it had bene a storme of hails.

After this they rushed together with great vio
lence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes
had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and
after compassing the maine battell round about,
they constrained the same in the end with great bloud
shed and slaughter to giue backe and fle out of the
field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this in
fortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who be
ing first taken was had into a caue by the sea side &

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by
the enemies. The place was called certeine yeeres
after, the blacke den: but now they name it the di
uels den, in memorie of that heinous murder there
committed. The Scottish nation also had bene utter
lie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of
Constantine, perceiuing how the field was lost, es
caped awaie with two companies of his best men of
warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of moze luc
kie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a go
uernoz to be the soner overcome by their eni
mies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they
crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our
Saulour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began
to rule the estate of the realme. The same yeere
were manie wonders and vnketh sights seene with
in the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the
Forth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there ap
peared fishes in great numbers, like vnto men in
shape, swimming by and downe in the streame
with halfe their bodie aboue the water, and hauing
a blacke skin, which couered their heads and necks,
from their shoulders vpwards like an hood. These
are called Bassinates, and vse to go in great com
panies together, as though they were skulles of her
rings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great
misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people
haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers,
and all maner of other waters were frozen from the
beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of Ap
rill; and when the frost brake, and the snowe mel
ted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the
plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the
like had not bene seene. Furthermore, when the same
thunke and went away, in the mud and slime there
was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were
dead, and began to putrisie, the aire was so infected,
that manie deable diseases insued, whereof great
numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover,
there was a mightie starre or comet seene with fire
raies issuing forth of the same, which both night and
day solowed the mone during the moneth of Aprill,
to the great horroz of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing
banquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of
fife, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and
spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabi
tants into Northumberland, whither they fled for
refuge. Where the Danes being aided with certeine
Englishmen in fauour of Buerne, due in battell
both Albert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The
crueltie of the Danes was such after they had atchi
ued the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such
as saued themselves by flight. But chieflie there
rage appeared most against priests, and such as pro
fessed themselves men of religion. For the Danes
being Ethniks, persecuted most egerlie those that
in anie wise professed Christ. The like outrageous
murdering of the christians was practised through
out the countrie, and at length came vnto that
blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then o
uer the people of the Eastangles, as in the English
hystorie moze plainlie maie appere. Howbeit other
of the English kings maintained the warres with
these Danes certeine yeeres after this, with variable
fortune; the most part of that people which inhabited
on that coast toward the Germane seas, either be
ing slaine or brought into miserable bondage and
thraldome. But Alured, which succeeded his brother
king Edbert, not in the kingdom of Northfolke
and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in
the kingdom of the Westsaxons, rebelled a great
part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was
thus

Ethus bzo
ther vnto
Constantine
was saued by
flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like
vnto men in
shape.

Bassinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the
mud & slime.

A comet.

The Danes
went into
Louthian.

King Albert
& Ella slaine.

This crueltie
inuated Pro
fesse also.

King Alured
rebelled those
harmes.
Hector Boerius
us misbeth
thus

the chrys-
ps and
undis-
ir com-
recom-
compa-
as they
eained
ight to
feither
maner
he com-
d) was
hich the
ient cu-
r lines,
with his
alleges,
nge the

eine na-
sednesse
but that
eat con-
nued in
he was
e, more
increa-
till ad-
nmon-
here ne-
take in
ntrie to
into the
in those
ien with
ancient
ng fife
uld offer

olate of
s of his
countrie
ie passed
and pla-
render,
edion, so
his plea-
were a
with the
her, but
y should
what
oubting
he mat-
it beft
utation
e before
passe o-
to loine
e latelic

shorning
n of the
g of the
it tog-
who fuf-
er to go
ie still in
ig either
ig garri-
Gregorie
ple into
offer of
his

Herbert
commanded the
Danes.

Gregorie
Danes
to the
battell.

Gregorie
Scots
to the
battell.

Gregorie
Scots
to the
battell.

Gregorie
Danes
to the
battell.

Herbert
commanded his
Danes.

Herbert
commanded his
Danes.

Gregorie
Danes
to the
battell.

Herbert
commanded his
Danes.

Gregorie
Danes
to the
battell.

his dominions that bordered vpon the same.
In those parties at that selfe time there were two
armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not
far from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt,
who had latelic taken and sacked that citie, and the o-
ther of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the
said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which
the Scots had made of his countrymen at Ber-
wikke, threatened fore that he would not leaue a man
aloue of the Scottis race within anie part of the con-
fines of Albion. Which bow manie of the companie,
following their capteins example, likewise made.
Shortlie after, hearing of their enemies approach, the
whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued
forth of their campe to giue battell.
Here the Scottis king standing with his people
in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some
comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage
them to fight: but such halt was made by the Scots
to pzeasse vpon their enemies, that he saw it more
needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in per-
fect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome
he saw readie inough of their owne accord to fight.
Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went a-
mongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remem-
ber how cruellie Constantine their king was some-
time murthered, after he had yeldded himselfe pris-
oner to these enemies, with whome they should now
ioine.
The Scots here vpon running to the battell with
no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue
their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons,
but bare them downe with long speares and iauel-
ins, and withall the bilmen following them made
great slaughter on ech side, so that there needed net
her exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of wil-
lers to keepe them in arate. For the wrathfull sto-
machs of the souldiers onelie brought the feat in
such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight
and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe,
got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon
better lucke than those that escaped to the campe,
for the egerneesse of the Scots was such in chasing
the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could
staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes
where they made greater slaughter than they had
done in the field.
The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble
his men togither againe, being dispersed here and
there: but when he vnderstood how he had lost the
more halfe of his whole host, he curied that vnhappie
day, and determined to retire vnto Kassin, who as
then was capteine generall of all the Danes that
were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his
wounded men, whome he was faine to carrie with
him, could not make forward with anie great speed,
so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his
waie, when word came to him, that Kassin fighting
with the Englishmen vnto warlike, at a place called
Welcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multi-
tude of his people: and there vnto his head was car-
ried abroad vpon a doluine the countrie from to wne
to to wne to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie
of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began
now manifestlie to decaie.
Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged
therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most
meet for his purpose, where he determined to abide
in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes
in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie
king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes
forth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder
his subiection: neuerthelesse he permitted the in-
habitants to inioy all their possessions still, wholie to

ceining of them in name of soueraintie a pærelle
tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake
vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwikke,
where he remained all the winter season in consulta-
tion with his nobles about the publike affaires of
the realme.
In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared
againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed
to make a iourneie against the Britains, who held (as
before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But
he was not diuised to vse anie force in this warre:
for the Britains being bered afore this time with
warre by the Danes, had compounded with them
for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for thertie
yeeres space: but the Danes without regard to
their promise, shortlie after (with a greater poluer
than at the first) entered into the Britissh borders, re-
newing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force
was sore enfeebled, by reason of the two last ouer-
throwes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, fea-
red to incounter with them, and therefore after con-
sultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they
might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to
become their friends. Wherevpon sending vnto the
Scottis king an herald, they require to ioine with
them in armes against the Danes, common enemies
to both their countries, promising that if they would
so do, they would willinglie render into his hands
all such possessions which they held at anie time be-
longing vnto the Scottis kingdome.
Gregorie weeing with himselfe how necessarie
this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike
weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the
god suertie and aduancement of Chyestes religion,
whereof the Danes were grauous aduersaries (for
this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and
Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselves to-
gither in aiding each other, there was no nation in
the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto
the request of the Britains, and so accepting their
offer, he had all those regions which pertained some-
time to the Scots, and were now in possession of the
Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this
means were the Scottis confines enlarged and
extended vnto their owne ancient limits and for-
mer bounds.
This dissention and variance being ceased after
this maner, it greatlie reioiced the minds of all the
inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes
looked for nothing more than present destruction to
insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie
while amongst their enemies. Wherefore they prac-
tised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remai-
ning betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, English-
men, and Britains. Wherein they needed not great-
lie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclu-
sion of the same league, the prosperous successe of
the Englishmen (which for a season had followed
them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their
king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the
Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the
Danissh puissance) to repent themselves of the
league, which they had latelic made with the Scots,
so that Constantine, whome a little before they
had receiued to be their king after the decaile of his
father, raised a poluer, and with the same entered
into Annandale, to recouer that countrie out of the
Scottissh mens hands. But hearing in the end that
Gregorie was comming with a great armie to suc-
cour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each
side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe to-
wards Cumberlanc with their bottie, thinking there
to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.
But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met
with

tants of North-
umberland
to inioy their
lands.
King Grego-
rie wintered
at Berwikke.

King Grego-
rie prepared
an armie a-
gainst the
Britains.

The Bri-
tains send to
king Grego-
rie.

King Grego-
rie his consi-
deration.

A peace con-
cluded, and
lands surren-
dered to the
Scots.

The Bri-
tains repent
them of the
league made
with the
Scots.

The Scots
ouertrow the
Britains.

Constantine
is slain.

Herbert king
of Britaine
sent ambassa-
dours to Gre-
gorie.

King Grego-
rie his an-
swere.

Gregorie re-
quired a reli-
gation of
Cumberland
and Westmer-
land.

Peace was
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.
870.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-
tell, wherein when Constantine perceived how his
people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more
regard to his hono^r than to the suertie of his life, he
rushed forth into the foremost p^reaile, there to succour
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-
bout amongst a great companie of his enimies,
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of
the chiefeest lordes of all the British nation. The other
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled
to saue their liues, leauing the victorie so vnto the
Scots.

This ouertrow did put the Britains in danger to
haue bin utterlie ouerrun, what by the Scots on the
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-
swer they should haue none, sith they had so vntrust-
lie broken the league concluded with their confede-
rats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the pros-
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this
Ile, against their common enimies the Danes.
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-
trie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former
damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottishmen to ex-
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-
tempted the warres against him and his people,
laing all the fault in Constantine, who against the
wills and contrarie to the minds of his subiects, did
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-
nat enterprise.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these am-
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that
he understood well enough, that the Britains now
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they
had vnto their othe of covenant; but onelie for that
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,
they were sure that in the end they should be like to
haue the soile: and therefore he was fullie thus resolu-
ed, not to conclude any peace or truce with such
disloyal people, till they had resigned ouer into his
hands the whole possession of the countries of Cum-
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to
pretend any claime or title vnto those dominions
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of
covenants, to render into his hands not onelie the
keies of all the towne, castels and fortresses in the
same countries, and to auoid quite their waies into
Wales to offer their countriemen there, but also to
deliuer sixtie noble mens sonnes and betres appa-
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end
they descended to conclude a peace with the
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottish
king, sith they saw no better meane to preserve their
nation from present destruction. And thus deliue-
ring the appointed number of pledges, they left the
countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void,
surrendering into the Scottishmens hands the pos-
sessions of all the towne, castels and fortresses, and
therewith departed into Northwales, where they
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Conway
and the riuer of Dee, out of the which they expelled the
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which
they named Stradelind, mainteining warres a-
gainst the Englishmen manie yeares after.

King Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his king-
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he
resolved (with their aduise) to follow such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence dailie chanced vnto
them. Wherevpon it was agreed, that they should
go first vnto Powke to conquire that citie, whilest
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the
one nation nor the other could attend to make any
attempt to hinder the Scottishmens enterprise. But
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-
gorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prospe-
rous successe against his enimies the Danes and o-
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-
newed, by which means both their powers might
ioine together against their common enimies, when
they should attempt any wrongfull inuasion.

This request was granted, so that thortie there-
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots
should inioy possession of Northumberland without
any claime to be made to the same by the English-
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant
passage to any enimie of the Englishmen through
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scot-
tishmens enimies to passe through England; If a-
ny Englishmen did rob or steale any thing out of
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the
offendours with the receiueurs should be deliue-
red to the Scottish magistrats, to be punished according
to the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,
as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two
ships of Dublin arriving on their coast, sent ouer a
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,
made great slaughter of the people on each side.
King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, straightwaies
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge
of his coming drew to their ships with a great prey
of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imma-
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Wherevpon Gregorie without delay got together
his ships and followed the enimie with all his armie,
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-
gether which of them should haue the gouernement,
by reason their king was latelie dead, and had left a
sonne behind him being but a child in yeres, to suc-
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wis-
er sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much
prouaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they
should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of
the Scots: against whom when they had agreed vpon
on the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a
power, one Owen being generall of the one, and Co-
nelius of the other; for these two princes were heads
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the
gouernement of the realme rested, and therevpon by
consent of the residue had the leading of all them
that were of their faction.

These two capitains with their armies inuaded
themselves vpon the bankes of the riuer Bane, un-
der the mountaine called Fute: their camps being
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for
the

The picture of
the Scots
haue taken
Powke.

King Alured
sent ambassa-
dours vnto
king Grego-
rie.

Peace con-
cluded.

New com-
mencement of
peace.

The passage to
be granted
vnto the eni-
my.

Punishment
of robbers.

Galloway in-
uaded by the
Irishmen.

The Irish
men pursued.

A truce was
taken betwixt
the two
parties.

The two Ir-
ishmen ge-
ther their
powers.

Two armies
one nearer the
other.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Scots
made pro-
vision of vi-
tals.

The things
said.

Herbert
king.

King Grego-
rie called the
Irishmen.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

The Irish
men pursued.

the en-
ger to
was t
had fa
with t
uiffon
Irish
those
shoul
custo
bread
drink
they
uiffon
nile g
ton t
peopl

rest
mean
entim
seaso
of the
the t
was
that l
might
the r
mies
hill t
bers
soff
to fig

on by
bout
toat
mou
hant
they
vpon
bein
thei
strit
toke
a fe
from

ped
fort
wai
fior
fou
with
bet
Ser
the
ried

and
fein
he c
two

han
also
feri
the
the

the
the
Gr

feri
frou
uiff

fan

ced unto
y should
y whilest
with the
ther the
ake anie
rse. But
to Gre-
s prosper-
es and o-
hane the
Scots re-
rs might
ies, when
on.

lie there, Peace confis-
e princes med.
to league,
the Scots
d without
English.
er of their
as com-
ots grant
n through
the Scot-
id; If a-
ng out of
ie; but the
lured to
cording to
uld be ob-
nen.

glishtmen,
ide, wood
loaway, by
men into
nowledge
oiled two
ent over a
Balloway,
each side.
restwaies
nowledge
great prey
ith imme-

it togther
his armie,
at realme
ntion tog-
ement, by
had left a
es, to fac-
f the wis-
their coun-
rties, but
so so much
t them for
elues, they
ouerrun of
agred by
is raised a
e, and Cor-
ere heads
rie for the
reppon by
if all them

in camped
Bane, vi-
nps being
the other,
possible for
the

the Irish
appare.

the Scots
prou-
dion of
the day

the Scots
came in
three battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the Scots
came in
two battels.

the enimies to approach them without manifest dan-
ger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose
was to prolong the time here in this place, till they
had furnished the Scottish armie, and then to deale
with them at their pleasure. But the industrious pro-
uision of Gregorie passed the politike deuile of the
Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of
those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him,
should purueie himselfe of vittells, according to the
custome of the countrie, for fittie daies space, as of
bread, cheefe, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for
drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith
they were sure to find water inough in euerie place
where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & ser-
uile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wan-
ton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish
people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies
rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the
meane time which way he might best indamage the
enimies; at length concluded to send in the night
season two thousand of his souldiours vp to the ridge
of the forenamed mountaine called fute, through
the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same
was couered, to the end that getting to the top of
that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps late, they
might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with
the rest of the armie went about to assaile his eni-
mies) tumble downe stones from the hyowes of the
hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great num-
bers of them, either else to confounde them to come
forth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so
to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, toke vp
on him to haue the conduct of them that should go a-
bout this enterprise, who conueieng his hand ouer the
water of Bane, and so vp on the backeside of the
mountaine, in the morning when their fellows fell in
hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Ben lodged,
they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe
vpon the Irishmen, that about a thousand of them
being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake
their ground, & to flee in manner without anie stroke
stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them,
toke a great number of them prisoners, and due but
a few, hauing before hand such commandement
from their prince.

Whilist this mischief fell vpon Ben and his
people, Cornelius with his folkes cursling that in-
fortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their
waies in good order of battell, till they were farre
inough out of danger. The bodie of Ben also was
found amongst other in the rising of the campe,
with the head bruised in peeces, and the baines pa-
shed out with some stone throwne downe by the
Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at
the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be bu-
ried in christian sepulchre. He caused also women
and children to be sent awaie harmlesse, onelie re-
teining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore
he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor
sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in
hand made anie resistance: and commanded them
also that they should prouide themselves of vittells to
serue them, whilst they should lie abroad & remaine
there in that countrie.

Hereupon manie of the Irish people thus tast-
ing the mercifull clemencie of the Scottish king, yelded
themselves vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that
Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittells to
serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the
strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he en-
uironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the
same certeine daies, at length they within wearied

with continuall trauell and lacke of vittells, opened
the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not
permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile,
but appointed the townesmen to redeme the same
(their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of
monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of
three daies, he departed and came afoze another citie
called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and
therfore preserved the citizens from all hurt & annoy-
ance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto
Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but
as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that
Cornelius was comming towards him with such
an huge armie, as the like had not bene scene with-
in the memorie of man in that Ile. Whereupon Gre-
gorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon
report of these newes, he got him vp into the next
mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in three
battels. In the first there was a great multitude of
hermes with darts and bowes: in the second were
a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes
of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which
they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the third
battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with
all the chiefe nobles of the countrie, were an infi-
nite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen forth
of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to
their custome) diuided themselves into two wings,
and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were three
sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with
long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as
bare long swords and leaden mallets.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts,
forward they make one towards another to begin
the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throlving
of darts was spent, and that they came to some) kept
off their enimies with long speares or ianelins, in
such sort, that they were not able to come nere them:
which disadvantage Cornelius perceiuing, com-
manded on high, that they should with their swords
cut those ianelins in lunder. And as he lifted vp the
visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to
the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face
with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart
out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had died,
incontinentlie to saue themselves, threw off their
armour and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victo-
rie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell,
howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull num-
ber slaine: for the Scots pursued them even vnto
Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie be-
set on each side with a mightie siege. There was got
into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multi-
tude of people, that of such as were receiued into it
fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were
there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie
and safegard of their goods. By reason wherof being
thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittells, so
that either they must of necessitie yeld, either else by
some issue auoid that danger wherein they were pre-
sentlie betrapped.

But for so much as they saw no great likelihood
of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was con-
cluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane
for those noble men which were inclosed within that
citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were
none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend
the countrie from the Scottishmens puillance) they
should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king
for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions
as might be obtained: for other remedie in that pre-
sent

The townie
was peised.

A gentle
ransome.

Pontus was
surrendered
also.

Cornelius
came with an
huge armie.

The Irish-
men came in
three battels.

These might
we name Cal
lowglass, if
they had bene
furnished
with axes.

The Scots
came in two
wings.

Two battels
toine.

Cornelius
was fore
wounded.

The Irish
ran away.

Dublin was
sieged.

They confis-
d upon a treatie
of peace to be
made.

sent mischief they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, nainelie of Commach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of upright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Commach B.
of Dublin
went vnto R.
Gregorie.

Duncane.

A little
saing.

King Grego-
rie his wife &
godly answer.

Dublin to fur-
render vnto
R. Gregorie.

Gregorie was
receiued with
proceſſion.

Commach bi-
shop of Dub-
lin becometh
a crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the
crosse.

He entred the
castell.

A peace con-
clused with
Ireland.

He took vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, he sought him most humbly to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceived anie pece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couſine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderſtood. He sought him also to remember, that it appertained more to the honor of a king, to preferue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countreies, than by violent hand to ſeeke their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onely to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his ſubiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselves were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had deseruie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime wortheilie by the iust iudgement of almighty God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the refering of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behoofe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

His answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with proceſſion of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Commach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe advanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling doونه vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certaine brawlie persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and covenants. First it was agreed that the yong king

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained ever since his fathers decease) till he came to yeeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the treasures into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrey, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chieftest of them for performance of the covenants, and here with taking with him threescore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the advancement of the common-wealth: and finally died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundoie within the countrey of Garioch, in the 18 yere after his entering into his estate, and after the birth of our Sautour 893. He was neuer married, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the adouement of his countrey and common-wealth, Aberdene (of a village) was advanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuiledges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbey of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and erequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous cleark John Scot, a Scottishman in deed borne, but brought vp in studie of god literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Græke tongue, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewes, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchie, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoz from the same Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbey of Palmesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholars, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and sharpe to reprove the corrupt maners of such his scholars, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them marthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

But to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the 5. in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second; who finding the state of the realme in good quiet and flourishing in wealth, he applied his whole studie to maiintaine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be done to anie poore person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

disposed in
his glorie
other his
be obseru-
uiedie bl
in cursing
ticked so
to his hell
lie follow
his tuing
worth the
in sufferi-
shed and
othes and
cursings
time, as
out great
puffed.

Spanisher of
Malpenners.

Godordinan-
ces are neg-
lected.

Godmond ar-
rived with a
newle in Ro-
thumberland.

King Donald
perth to re-
lat him.

Godmond is
beyond
number.

Donald sent
1000 men to
the aid of the
Englishmen.

Godmond is
withdrawne
by R. Bruce.

A peace con-
cluded.

The Danes
he be baptised,
and to remain
in England.
Godmond is
baptised with
name mo.

The of Scot-
land
Ireland.

The three-
land men
dine.

of Dona-
ledge ho-
pulant:
and had
out dwt
was vnc
a conque
warres
all bang
land; ho-
nie, but
alreadie
English
fourtie,
pling by:
least 40
ting lea
denlie t
thumbe-
backe.

was on-
ding to
5000
and all
maine
for a tin
to retu-
mond fr-
end the
Scots.
men ad-
not abli-
ned im-
with th-
for com-
e that
and pre-
were pl-
commi-
and w-
peace c-
Chi

a pece
rep lan
not a li-
thence
time, se-
ties fir-
made
but aff-
skirmi-
space,
of the
little o-

The Scots
and Danes
confederate
themselves to-
gether.
Malcolme is
made chiefe
generall of the
armie.
He is created
also heire ap-
parant.
The earle of
Cumberland
heire appa-
rant to the
king of Scots
The Scots
and Danes
ioint their
powers togi-
ther.
They begin a
cruell warre.

the English and Scottish nations. Hereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest prouision that might be, thinking verlicke to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to bitter destruction.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordeined, that he which should succeed to the crowne after the kings decesse, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme iointing his power with Aualasius and Godfric (who had assembled in like manner a mighty host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murdering the people without any pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kindfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now ioined in one armie together.

But the more villanie they shewed in their doings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succeed in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers decesse) with all speed fought to be reuenged of such iniurious doings. Whereupon getting together an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Bruningsfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, each of them struing who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into arraie againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so attached a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chieflie the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargain most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Wilfert king of the Gutes, Huanwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by god aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delay he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yielded themselves vnto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subjects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped, yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the overthrow and losse of his countreies aforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirneithie, where he perceived how soe his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of vertue, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he bitterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such pollicie for as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall desisting all such worldly pompe as might withholde him from diuine contemplation (whereunto he was partie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Andowes amongst the conent there.

This was in the yere of our Saviour 943, and in the fortieth yere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith); but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Bruningsfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needs be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers do report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilst Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbeie of saint Andowes a certaine time) in the foresaid yere 943, falling in the fortieth yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a towe set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the best standing forth moze in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with sixte like a goose, legs like a man, full of biskels, and a verie euill favoured thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two breasts crested or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie willes or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleape, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Whentimes would they chide and biall together, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickenesse wearing away and finalie decessing, the other was not able to abide the greuous smell of the dead carcasse, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a fontaine of bloud out of the side of a mountaine in Gallo-way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mired with bloud, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certaine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinales did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better beleued, for that within a while after, that great overthrow happened at Bruningsfield, as before is specified.

Malcolme
After
sonne of E
gent: who
force of th
no hope to
studie wa
ders of th
to procure
was abou
Athelstan
drible into
thunderl
with him
newes pu
he under
skilfull ca
counsell t
sembled y
it might l
concluse
broken by
was bou
had chanc
ing alien
right cru
remainir
pursue th
appeared i
Aualas
ther a ver
and with
there vpe
spair, an
fed from
time him
of his pei
nie into
no man
Which m
that ther
ons mal
thanks t
by this n
Shortl
stane un
be concl
ons, acc
motion i
set a cou
not whet
that (as
parts, t
foxiner l
and sece
should b
After
was nel
their pec
compriz
added t
now re
should r
land wi
conditio
the cro
ing heir
do hom
perpetu
establiss
of Coni
Cumbe
land.
After

Athelstane
base sonne bne
to king Edward.

Athelstane
came against
the Scots.
937.

The Scots
and Danes
out of order.

The Scots
and Danes
ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie
went to
wache.

Athelstane
toke North-
umberland.

Westmerland
and Cumber-
land recon-
red.

Malcolme
escaped his
hunts.

A counsell
called by Con-
stantine.

943.

March.

943.

A monster.

Another monster.

Two count-
ies swallowed
this monster.

One part
before the
other.

Westmorland
out of an host.

what was
meant by this
signification.

erra,
id the
be of
ne his
ie wi-
cares
dible
ntem-
anc o-
within
outent

and in
r Boe-
d, and
tell
so we
redes
ie Bo-
as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

Math. Wal-

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

as the
do re-
antime
of the
37, or
as re-
d, who
the ab-
se fore-
je first
church
e was
ere he
for the

After that Constantine (as is said) was entred
into religion, the before named Malcolme the
sonne of Donald was admitted king; or rather re-
gent: who although he perceived right well how the
force of the realme was so infirmed, that there was
no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe
stude was by all means possible to defend the boy-
ders of the Scotch dominion, and before all things
to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he
was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king
Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was cre-
dible informed, how Athelstane had giuen Ro-
thumberland vnto Aualassus, and made a league
with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which
newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that
he understood how his realme was vnprepared of
skillfull captains to make resistance. Yet he caused a
councell to be called, wherein when such as were as-
sembled proponed manie fond and childish reasons,
it might happen there was small hope of anie god
conclusion; but euen as they were at a point to haue
broken by without anie certeine resolution, word
was brought how through seditious discord, which
had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen be-
ing assembled together in campe, they had fought a
right cruell and bloodie battell, the victorie in the end
remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to
pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light
appeared in the skie.

Aualassus with such Danes as he might get togie-
ther after that ouerthrow, fled into Westmerland,
and within three daies after, in such ships as he found
there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Isle of
Man, and spoiling the same, with all the price he pas-
sed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane
time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number
of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iour-
nie into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland,
no man vnderstanding what he intended to do.
Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen,
that there was common supplications and processions
made through the whole realme, in rendering
thanks to almighty God for deliuering the people
by this means from so great and present a danger.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athel-
stane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to
be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nati-
ons, according to the articles of the old league, which
motion was isfullie heard of Malcolme, though he
set a countenance of the matter as though he passed
not whether he had warre or peace; but in the end, for
that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all
parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old
former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen
and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which
should be thought requisite.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league
was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and
their people, with the semblable articles as were
comprised in the old league, with this article onlie
added thereto; that Northumberland, being as
now replenished most with Danish inhabitants,
should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumber-
land with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this
condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto
the crowne of Scotland after the kings deceasse, be-
ing heire apparant, should hold those regions, and
do homage vnto the king of England as his vassall
perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus
established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne
of Constantine the third was proclaimed prince of
Cumberland, and inheritour to the crowne of Scot-
land.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life

in god quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a
man onelie studieng to mainteine the state of his
realme in god order, as well for the wealth of the
temporalie, as spiritualie, wherevnto he was e-
qualitie inclined. At length, as he rode about the pro-
uinces of his realme, to see the lawes duly mini-
stred, at Strine a village in Murray land, where he
caused iustice to be somewhat stricte executed by
pon offenders, he was murdered in the night sea-
son by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftieth
yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked
deed with their complices, by diligent examination
were tried out, and on the next day being apprehen-
ded, suffered due execution, according as they had
deserued, being come in peeces with wild haggles,
and those peeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they
were hanged vpon the gates and towers, untill they
rotted away.

They that were the deuffers of the murder also,
and procured the doers thereto, were thus quicke
through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged by
a loft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators
were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed
to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the
yeare after the death of our Souldour 959. ¶ Here
we haue thought god to put you in remembrance,
that either the Scots are deceiued in their account
of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of
England: for there they write that this Malcolme
king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms de-
ceasse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was
dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940,
and reigned but fiftene yeares.

Moreover, where the Scottish writers make men-
tion of the warres which king Edmund that succe-
ded Athelstane had against Anlaf and the Danes of
Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph
that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie
means (if they mistake not their account of yeares):
for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948.
But verelie this fault in the first account of yeares
is but too common in the Scottish historie, and there-
fore to him that should take vpon him to reforme
the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie
to alter in a manner the whole course of the same hi-
storie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to
giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, tou-
ching the reignes of the English kings, further than
they shall see them to agree with our writers, whome
in that behalfe we may more safely follow, and by
conferring the same with the Scottish writers in
some places, happily perceiue the true time, as well
of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall
out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their
account: whereof to admonish the reader, as well
here as in the English historie, we haue thought it
not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we
haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of yeares,
more than we do of that in our owne writers? We
will referre the same vnto their iudgements that
are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike,
as well in perusing the one as the other without affecti-
on. But as the errors are sooner found than amend-
ed, so haue we thought good to set downe in the
margin of this booke, the yeares as we find them
noted in the Scottish writers, speciallie in places
where we differ anie thing from them, because we
will not seeme by way of controlment to preiudice
the authors, further than by due consideration the
well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

But to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme
was once buried (according to the custome) a-
mongst

King Mal-
colme was
murdered.

The conspira-
tors were
put to execu-
tion.

The murder-
ers were
come with
haggles.

The procu-
rers of the
murder were
slained.

259.
The mista-
king of the
names and
times of the
English
kings in the
Scottish writ-
ters.

Indulph.

mongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Iudolph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiving the crowne and other the inuestures of the kingdome. In the administration whereof he continued for the space of five yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent unto him from Aualassus, to joine with him in league against the Englishmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Bironingfield, alledging that opportunity was now offered, sith after the decess of Athelstane, the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose decess the said league was ended.

Iudolph is provoked by Aualassus to warre against England.

His persuasions.

Iudolph his answer.

The Danes not pleased with such an answer provoke warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualassus. Rinald a valiant capitaine.

Elgarine yielded the forts unto the Danes.

10000 soldiers sent unto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

But Iudolph for answer hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of aduise, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their sollemne oths for the true obseruing thereof, so that he could not, vnlesse he should violate that oth, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almighty God against him and his people in that behalf. Whereupon the Danes accounting Iudolph but a stoutfull and negligent person for this kind of answer, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunity to be reuenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Bironingfield, determined not to be noted with the like spot of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to passe over into England, vnder the conduct of Aualassus, who joining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right ballant capitaine called Rinald, transported with all speed ouer into Northumberland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be defended of the Danish blood, yielded all the castles, townes & forts, promising to aid Aualassus against king Edmund to the uttermost of his power.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to haue from thence by covenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thousand Scottishmen with ready wills to serue him in these his wars against the Danes. Then joining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enemies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualassus, the which vpon the first incounter with the Englishmen, fell straight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the English part, to attaine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enemies, encouraged now with the flight of the Northumbrians, were quickly constrained to giue backe, and in the end to flee auaunt, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they overtooke died vpon the sword, though they submitted themselves neuer so humbly in requiring mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enemies hands was taken aliue: for so had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he should in anie case saue his life, that he might put him to death in most cruell wise, to the example of other.

After this, and for the space of thre daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields nere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Forke, where Elgarine for his treason was taken in peces with wild horses. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of foure yeares after this said ouerthrow of the Danes with their capitaine Aualassus, who is also otherwise called Aulase, as is to be seene in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whome likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partly touched. Iudolph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But euen as all things seemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpose to reuenge the slaughter of their countrymen lately made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coasts of Scotland, assailing to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the river of Taie; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to keepe them off, they were faine to with draw, and waisting alongst the coasts of Angus, the Sparnes, Spar, and Buthghane, at length sailing as though they would haue taken their course homeward, they launched forth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie joining vnto Buthghane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselves to impeach their landing and inuasion.

But Iudolph being aduertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, dyed towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enemies were certified that he was set forward. So some therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forraeing the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Iudolph without protracting of time came still forward, and vpon his approach to the enemies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a short oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtfull on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their utmost endeouours to achieve the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their capitaine Dunbar and Graime began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the fore ward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerly pursuing, beat downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certaine stiffe stubbornnes of mind, than with anie great force or forcast, being so ouermatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and barnes fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the moles, the marshy grounds, and other streits, where they were slaine euery one by such as followed in the chase.

Iudolph himselfe with certaine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discover the fields, as though all had bene quiet on each side, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where

Elgarine is taken in peces.

Edmund was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enemies are put off.

The place of Boen.

King Iudolph by his speedy marche vnder the presence of his enemies.

Edmund prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onset.

A suspect was vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few in his company.

fallen into the enemies larger through negligence.

Edmund had bene both a dart and died.

Edmund 10.

9 6 8

Duff.

The king sent vnto the countie of Angus.

Edmund purged the king.

Edmund's father and put to death.

Edmund's father and put to death.

The nobles were discontented with the king's doings.

The occasion of murmuring of the nobles.

The king fell sick.

the same lay fled from the battels, with shot through not before he whole numb place. His 1 volume of Colme ther his predecessor reigned about though infor nation 968, a

After the Colme of Malcolme due sollemnity lene the countie of Cumberland transported order there for robbers and actual ames asore hi would anodl of such malef ther common of such barrel onlie vpon ot

The thare king, toke r lie by public for them the for, the whi that they hai kind of peopl either else to l with to get t uer so great t with this cri gainst their l accounting ti ended of no their liuing t appertained t degre as we of the nobilit ment by orde sot to be mai and conditio

Furtherm themselves, to the commu respect to the to be an vber thie to haue vbles he kne This murmu in the fles, his realme, i euill of the g time the king greuous as could percei sane in him l lie, legume, o2 abound, the such decate a vnto anie l

And after ward signes nothing faile fresh and fair hat more w

the same lay in couert within a close ballie, being fled from the field thither upon the first joining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was revenged of those his enemies, the whole number of them being slain there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boone, and after translated unto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst other his predecessors the Scottish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

After the corps of Indulph was remoued unto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of R. Mcolme was crowned R. at Boone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Cullen the sonne of R. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported ouer into the wessterne Isles, to set an order there for certaine misdeuicanders used by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arrival amongst them he called the thanes of the Isles afore him, commanding straightlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countreies of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without veraction of such barretors and idle persons as sought to liue onlie upon other mens goods.

The thanes upon this charge giuen them by the king, took no small number of the offenders, partly by publike authoritie, & partly by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation therewith to get their living, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen before. Howbeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get their living with the labor of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degree as were borne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an utter enimie thereof, so that he was blamed for this to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did spread not onelie among them in the Isles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so grievous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was faene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flague, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decay and consumption (so as there remained vnity anie thing upon him saue skin and bone.)

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks, that more was not to be wished for; he had also a

temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be devised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restrained. The physicians perceiving all their medicines to want one effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into foreigne parts, who hapilie being tured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much therewith.

Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of recoverie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, dealing oft with his counsell about the same. But when it was vnderstood into what a perilous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Murrayland, who staing fundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was bered with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrayland, called Fores.

Whereupon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certaine littlie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iourne, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their coming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a young woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his par amour, who told him the whole manner used by his mother & other his companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemman, told the same to his fellows, who made report to Donwald, and he shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the young damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused him vpon strict examination to confesse the whole matter as she had seene and knowen. Whereupon learning by his confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought there mischievous nysperie, he sent forth souldiers about the middelt of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches resting vpon a wooden boord an image of wax at the feet, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell; an other of them sat reciting certaine words of enchantment, and still basted the image with a certaine liquor verie busilie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, took them together with the image, and led them in to the castell, where being straightlie examined for that purpose they went about such manner of enchantment, they answered, to the end to make awaie

The king being sicke, yet he regarded justice to be executed.

Rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept from the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fores.

Inquie was made.

The matter appeared to be true.

Witches daughter is examined.

The Witches are found out.

An image of waxe resting at the feet.

The Witches were examined.

Elgarine is drawn in prison.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

Indulph was slain.

The hobbs
matter is
confessed.

The nobles
of the countie
set the wit-
ches on worke.

The witches
were burnt.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
with an armie
pursued the
rebels.

The rebels
are executed.

Captain Don-
wald craved
pardon for
them but not
granted.

Donwald
conceivd ha-
red against
the king.

Donwalds
wife counsel-
led him to mur-
der the king.

The womans
cull counsell
is followed.

the king; for as the image did waffe afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake forth in sweate. And as for the words of the enchantment, they served to keepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by cull spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Spurrey land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, freightwates brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserved) to be burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Fozes, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweate breakeing forth upon him at all, the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to do anie maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoever it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Spurrey land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Rosse, and from Rosse into Cathnessle, where apprehending them, he brought them backe into Fozes, and there caused them to be hanged up, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certeine young gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being nere of kin unto Donwald captaine of the castell, and had bene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceivd such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomack, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulnessse, hee found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Fozes where he used to sojourne. For the king being in that countie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had sustained by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great grieffe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to traueill with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (with the king oftentimes used to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was whole at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewd him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Wherupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way he might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

ratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursuit and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accounted a most faithfull servant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuite chamber, enclie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banquetting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drincks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they fate vp so long, till they had charged their stomacks with such full goyes, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remooued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act grate in heart, yet through instigation of his wife he called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuite to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king lay) a little before cockes crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie bulking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an houlle there pouldred readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staid, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that letting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found: & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. & for such an opinion men haue, that the dead corpes of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantly if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they due them whose helpe they used herein, and freightwates thereupon fled into Whinle.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all be-raied with blond; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he forthwith due the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murderers hld in anie priuite place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keyes of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable

ble mur-
der
the
herein,
matter,
should
much
whole
rule
togeth
till time
hereupo
for the
nons in
same by
realme,
all clou
rose, w
were in
the son
panied
the real
croune
ming thi
cause the
made a
shewd
for that
vnlesse
for that
tion of
mishme
Culene
publike
clies to
parts of
wraztr
in sembl
was. W
it with
assembl
ged the
tants of
The
mo, fol
out furt
tants of
cause of
feare: l
ence, do
be info
making
ther of
him, he
Spey, t
same,
fozwa
conste
sture o
sight n
this Di
suspect
crime
full ser
not thu
now be
ting hi
ueridh
punish
son in
C
Spey
that hi
fire D

Some wiser
than other.
The masses
suspected.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

The king
went to bed.

ble murder.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuerer inquisition and triall of the offendours herein, that some of the lords began to milde the matter, and to smell forth threld tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie together, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue thereunto, and hereupon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anye part of the realme, but still was the skie covered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Inbulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Secone, there to receive the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedlie almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and suerlie vnlesse the offendours were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greuous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publicke processions, fastings, and other goodlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appealing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the pères & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Spurrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to armoz, followed their prince, taking his iourne without further delaie towards Spurrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being gilty in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be enforced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anye other of his familie, saue a few such as he took with him, he secretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Forwaite: for this is the peculiar propertie of a gilty conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to betraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his masters death (by reason of his faithfull seruaice shewed towards him aforetime) had he not thus sought to haue avoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abhominable fact, and wishing him to be overwhelmed in the raging flouds, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he owgth, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, flue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoener could light vpon them, should in anye wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir exanimation confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chieflie hir husband was moued to cause the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here would the multitude haue run vpon hir and torne hir in peeces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The King with the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning took order for due prouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessours.

But as they were busie hereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthie punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adioining took him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in diuerse lords of Rosse, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offendours being brought together vnto the place where the murder was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as folloiweth, to the great reioicing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being throlwen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefe cities of the realme, and there set vp aloft vpon the gates & highest towres, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This dreadfull end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anye sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreruenged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publicke duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meane states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had layne six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet alieue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so soone as it was brought about the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more brighte than it had bene sene aforetime, to anye of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yere.

Within a few yeres after this, there was a bridge made

The murder is whole confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp.

Donwald is taken prisoner.

Donwalds four seruants were taken also.

Donwald with his confederats are executed.

Reward given vnto the takers of those murderers.

The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried.

Marvellous things are sene.

Killog.

Howles ate
their owne
flesh.
A monstrous
childe.
A sparhawk
strangled by
an owle.

972.

King Culene
did not conti-
nue as his be-
ginning was.

He followed
his sensuall
lusts.

Cruel doers
were not pun-
ished.

God counsell
was not heard

The kings
answer unto
his grave
pæres.

He should not
displease.

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bo-
die had bene buried, and a village builded at the one
end of the brydge, which is called vnto this day; Kil-
log, that is to say, the church of slouers: taking that
name of the wonder there happened at the remo-
uing of the kings bodie, as the same authours would
seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a
rich abbey, standing with a verie faire church, conse-
crat in the hono: of the virgine Marie. Spontaneous
fighths also that were sene within the Scottish king-
dome that yere were these: howles in Louthian, be-
ing of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their
owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other
meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman
brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot.
There was a sparhawk also strangled by an owle.
Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as
before is said, was continuallie couered with
clouds for six moneths space. But all men under-
stood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe
was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the
death of the authours, in manner as before is said; Cu-
lene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same
Duffe at Scone, with all due hono: and solemnitie,
in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had
ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure
yeres.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with
righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope
of an other manner of pince, than by the admini-
stration which followed he declared himselfe to be:
for howlie after losing the reins of lasciuious wan-
tonnesse to the youth of his realme, though giuing
a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all
such as were inclined vnto licentious liuing, follow-
ed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, aban-
doning all feare of correction more than euer had
bene sene or heard of in anie other age. For such
was the negligence of the king, or rather mainte-
nance of misordered persons, that whatsoever anie
of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests,
or anie of the commons, though the same were ne-
uer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment
vsed against them: so that all men looked for some
commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to in-
sue, if there were not other order prouided thercoze
in time. The ancient pæres of the realme also being
griued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of
his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the
realme was likelie to fall through his negligent be-
hauour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well enough
how yong men were not at the first borne graue and
sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads:
wherefore their first youthfull yeres could not be so
stable as they might be hereafter by old age and con-
tinuance of time. But as for such rigorous extreni-
tie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their
subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being
taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph,
Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might in-
curre by such sharpe seneritie shewed in the govern-
ment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined
so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be be-
loved than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he
thought) to retaine his subiects in due and most faith-
full obedience. This answer was such, that although
it seemed nothing agreeable for the preferuation of
the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was
there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that
durst reprove the same, but diuerse there were that
praised him therein, as those that hated all such as lo-
ued the bysight administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the
former kings, Indulph & Duffe, misliking the state
of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme,
namelie all such as were descended of noble paren-
tage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their
willfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through
want of correction to be worse and worse) departed
from the court, and withdrew to their homes, with-
out medling anie further with the publike admini-
stration. In whose place there crept in others, that
with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such
sparks of god inclination as yet remained in the
king, if anie were at all; inso much that in the end he
measured supreme felicitie by the plentiful inioy-
eng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He
sanctified onelie such as could deuise prouocations ther-
vnto, and in filling the bellie with excess of costlie
meates and drinkes, those that could excell other
were chieslie cherished, and most highlie of him este-
med.

Wherevnto shall be was giuen vnto lecherie beyond
all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, wi-
dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor
daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of
such villanie and violent forcings as were practised
by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest
hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre
past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leache-
rous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he
might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he
tooke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in
his presence, that his decayed lust might be the more
stirred by with sight of such filthinesse. This abhorri-
nable trade of life he practised for the space of thre
yeres togither, giuing occasion of much spoile, ra-
uine, mandaughter, forcings, and rauishments of
women, with all such kind of wicked and bludie
transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by
authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such
flagitious offenses) being put in vze, through negli-
gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre sooth also increased the libertie of thieues,
robbers, and other offenders, maintained by such of
the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull do-
ings, and were partakers with them in the same,
that if anie man went about to withstand them, or
refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he
should be spoiled of all that he had, and hapilie haue
his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be mis-
used in such outrageous and violent sort, that it would
griue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare
of such enormities as were daile practised in that
countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king
Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings:
for falling into a filthie disease (through abuse of ex-
cessiue drinking and lecherie) called the wasting of
nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting
of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead
carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, inso much that
his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable perso-
nages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused
a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they
determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some
other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to
reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing where-
fore this counsell was called, as he was going thi-
therwards, at Speffen castell, being almost in the
mid waie of his iourne, was murdered by one
Cabhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he
had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This
end had Culene togither with all his filthie sensuali-
tie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in
memozie with his posteritie, and is not like to be for-
gotten

Ancient coun-
sellors leane
the court.

The youth
court follow-
eth their
sensuall
lusts.

He was
time of
voluptuous
pleasures.

Lecherous
king.

Forcing of
women
expressed.

Whorehouse
house.

He had
punish-
ment.

All honest
spies.

Robbers,
thieves, and
other offenders
maintained.

The gillie
man.

The king
dis-
pleased with
his doings.

Death made
an end of all.

Gentleman.

The king
died to visit
his kinman.

The king
punished
his
transgressions
into iudge-
ment.

King Culene
was murder-
ed.

Heard men
in Scone.

gotten himself
dispatched in
the birth of our
Sa of the realme
lower not of the

976.

Kenneth.

He was re-
turned.

King Hen-
ry was of a
youthfull
age.

He was
stranger.

He was
born.

He was
punish-
ment.

He was
kept
in
Lancaster.

The gillie
man.

The king
dis-
pleased with
his doings.

Death made
an end of all.

Gentleman.

The king
died to visit
his kinman.

The king
punished
his
transgressions
into iudge-
ment.

King Culene
was murder-
ed.

Heard men
in Scone.

After that
Aconueied
mongst his eld-
erly
seemled togithe
Kenneth the son
vnto Duffe, in
his reigne, he l-
from their wil-
which they were
ment of his pri-
civill denecatio-
is, that first the
people transfor-
pince: therfore
liuing the an-
littie, and mode-
vice, but restrai-
nished all such
ther him or ot-
sures. He mai-
as with his oir
all such as soue-
of meanes. He
to avoid sloth,
erces, iudg-
to aduance th-
flourishing st-
Thus when
ders of his st-
meanes he coi-
the lawes and
and to purge
and other such
peace. At Lan-
appointed to l-
certeine offer-
at their com-
fest paces in
crimes as thi-
able to excuse
noble men br-
cretie their v-
some into oth-
pedient for sa-
uing that th-
his purpose v-
nister iustici-
lawes, he dis-
ced euerie m-
onclie except
at saint Jsin
he had made
rence which l-
a denise, whi-
vnto iudgen-
pere follow-
bare them ge-
of, they won
purpose.

At length
all the lords
Scone, as it
bout some in
realme. The
ther into the
his faithfull
close in a fe-
to their capt-
his band till

gotten the best the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the first year of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 976, the nobles & great pères of the realme reioysing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conveyed unto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great pères assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Alcolme the first, and brother unto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from their wild and savage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecesso) unto their former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselves to the vsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberality, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He maintained amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of means. He took busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to apply themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decay to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subjects, he indued himselfe by all means he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of thieues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lankrike, a towne in Kile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certaine offenders were summoned to appeare. But at their coming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through persuasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the disloyall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onlie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Ninian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to do. Where he inuented (by conference which he had with some of his priue counsell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the pères following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by vttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yeere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the counsell-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a fort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wise he should stirre with his hand till the next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaye to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement.

On the morrow after the nobles comming together into the counsell-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. When the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to counsell at that time, and that he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onlie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, though want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue whereupon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as used to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallye of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke onlie to defend the commons from such iniuries as thieues and robbers dailye offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same thieues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yeare (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enemies and perturbours of the peace. At Lankrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemtuouslye disobeying our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauouring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withstanding themselves so from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well nere persuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fauours of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though haplye somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men they forth.

The king perceived the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enuities

At Lankrike, or Lankrike.

At Lankrike, or Lankrike.

At Lankrike, or Lankrike.

At Lankrike, or Lankrike.

At Lankrike, or Lankrike.

At Lankrike, or Lankrike.

were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continually attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle supplication, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiving what his meaning was, first partly excused themselves so well as they might of their cloaked dissimulation, and then falling downe upon their knees afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearely to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfullnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Tait, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was strictly kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereto. If anie idle person were spied abroad in the streets, straightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Rogers punished.

Inturious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes seek for reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Baires in Angus.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as used to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue judgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceived they must needs worke, if they minded the safeguard of their owne liues. Hereof it folloved also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as used to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offences to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idly by other mens labours.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licensed the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie foraine or inward trouble for the space of certaine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being fore greued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Whereupon gathering a huge multitude of men together, they were imbarcked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive; & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yeld themselves vnto them. This manie being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Baires, or red head, not far from the place where the abbey of Abirboth, or Abirbothoke was afterward founded.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their captains fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottismens hands being poze, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more overthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Again, the style of that countrie was but barren, and in manner overgrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few towne & small habitations, and those so poze, that no man knowing the same, would vouchsafe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and towne inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiours, onlie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottismen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & ready to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would surely be ready to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soon as it was known that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to do both with the Scottismen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should encounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, if chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safely into England. After a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deulce was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Whereupon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drez with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Esk, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Spountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare; so that with all speed for their safeguard they got them into Spountros: but the towne being quicklie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, cafell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tait, all the people of the countries by which they marched slaying afore them. King Kenneth at the same time late at Sterling, where hearing of these greivous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemble of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tait. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Tait, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delay, he raised with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, comming that night

unto Doncast a bner of Tait, and battell fought the hearing that the time, but forthw

keneth as for the Danes at bar to order. Then r their manhad, tributs and pain space of five year he offered the sun so much worth in that should bring led them therefor ber there was no must they trie it fled, in the end t mics hands, the found them for it ted for refuge, if Scots being no words, kept then were appointed be giuen. Balci led the right win tenant of Atholl werned the batt had taken their teine right afor both the armies holding either Scots desirous Danes would n aduanced forw the case require thowling of dar

The Danes were constrain sped to come se iointing their mi mens arrows they came to ha was giuen on was rruell on l Scots so much, the Danes, ei which maner l uing that there they rushed fo uersaries, tha ling of the S flie backe, the r ground: but the left naked on t haue remaine of the battell c to be thought: e

For as it d the same time: busie about his and stiffe in m with a valiant king with the great balianc the wings, ant great violenc in his hand, a to do the like, rather among than to remai rable thalbour bnnerefull ci of the battell, e

The Danes continue into England.

King Kenneth his man arap.

The king ex- scots vnto Albion.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

The king went to Bertha.

place, but
d; for at
et a fiered
to be got,
rthowen
be stile of
mer ones
of dates)
d thble lo
uld vouch
erein con-
dich lieth
ie and cat-
so manie
h men of
vere to be
matter be-
etter, than
are of rich
ther there
is attempt-
clie to re-
i had recei-
not to at-

a readie to
(as in the
red) would
e English
s knowen
ts: so that
to haue to
ishmen, if
set on land
but onelie
according
longest the
into those
hat abated
nies there,
ingland, at
to proceed
as fortune
ued of the
the water.
randement
outh of the
es washed
ed then Co-
Danes fa-
ntrie there-
ed for their
s: but the
anes, was
, castell and
reature be-
within the

nes passed
all the peo-
ed fleeing a-
time laie at
ous newes,
ple, & to go
the Scottish
where the ri-
taie. Here
numbers at
g wozd was
uing passed
of Bertha,
hout further
nd marched
ig that night
onto

into Lincart a village not far distant from the ri-
uer of Tais, famous ever after, by reason of the
battell fought then nere unto the same. The Danes
hearing that the Scots were come, detraied no
time, but forthwith prepared to giue battell.

Kenneth as soon as the sunne was up, beholding
the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie in-
to order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew
their manhood, he promisseth to release them of all
tributs and payments due to the kings cofers for the
space of five yeares next ensuing: and besides that
he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else landes
so much worth in value to euery one of his armie,
that should bring him the head of a Dane. He wil-
led them therefore to fight manfully, and to remem-
ber there was no place to attaine mercie: for either
must they die it out by dint of sword, or else if they
slew, in the end to looke for present death at the en-
emies hands, who would not cease till time they had
found them forsh, into what place so euer they resor-
ted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The
Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings
words, kept their order of battell according as they
were appointed, still looking when the onset should
be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland
led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieut-
enant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe go-
uerned the battell. The enemies on the other part
had taken their ground at the foot of a little moun-
taine right afore against the Scottish campe. Thus
both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, be-
holding either other a good space, till at length the
Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the
Danes would not come forth to aie even ground,
advanced forward with somewhat more hast than
the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and
throwing of darts right firelie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine,
were constrained to leaue the same, and with all
speed to come forward vpon their enemies, that by
joining they might auoid the danger of the Scottish
mens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore
they came to hand-strokes, in manner before the signe
was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight
was cruel on both sides: and nothing hindered the
Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of
the Danes, euer as they might ouercome them.
Which manner being noted of the Danes, and percei-
uing that there was no hope of life but in victorie,
they rushed forth with such violence vpon their ad-
uersaries, that first the right, and then after the left
wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and
sle backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet keeping their
ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now
left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needs
haue remained with the Danes, had not a reueluer
of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is
to be thought) of almightie God.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at
the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons
busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong
and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued
with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the
king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with
great ballancie in the middle ward, now destitute of
the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the
great violence of his enemies, caught a plow-beame
in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes
to do the like, hastened towards the battell, there to die
rather amongst other in defense of his countrie,
than to remaine aliae after the discomforture in mis-
erable thraldome and bondage of the cruel and most
vnnmercifull enemies. There was nere to the place
of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with dis-

ches and walles made of turf, through the which the
Scots which fled were beken downe by the enemies
on heapes.

Here Haie with his sonnes supposing they might
best staie the flight, placed themselves ouerthwart
the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing,
and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they
went all such as came within their reach, wherewith
diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellows
to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a
new power of Scottishmen come to their succours,
by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of
their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore
might they chafe whether they would be slaine of
their owne felowes conuining to their aid, or to re-
turne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes
being here staied in the lane by the great ballancie
of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had
bene some great succours of Scots come to the aid
of their king, and thereupon ceassing from further
pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of
their felowes fighting with the middle ward of the
Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being in-
couraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the
place of the battell right firelie. Whereupon Ken-
neth perceiving his people to be thus recomforted,
and his enemies partlie abashed, called vpon his
men to remember their duties, and now sith their ad-
uersaries hearts began (as they might perceive)
to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully,
which if they did, he assured them that the victorie un-
doubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots incouraged
with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie,
that in the end the Danes were constrained to for-
sake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the
chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled.
This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Sco-
tish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward,
bare still the bzunt of the battell, continuing man-
fullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such
wilde (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled,
causing them to returne againe to the field, deferred
immortall fame and commendation: for by his
meanes chiefie was the victorie achieved. And
therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the
field and of the enemies campe (which they had left
void) should be diuided, the chiefest part was bestowed
on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the mul-
titude; the residue being diuided amongst the souldi-
ers and men of warre, according to the ancient cus-
tome used amongst this nation.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enemies,
as he should enter into Bertha, caused coslie robes
to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that being
richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the
people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell,
was contented to go with the king in his old gar-
ments whether it pleased him to appoint. So entring
with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with
little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people
running forth to behold him, whome they heard to
haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when the field
was in manner lost without hope of all reuerie. At
his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder
the plow-beame, more honourable to him than aie
sword or battell are might haue bene to aie the
most valiant warrioz. Thus Haie being honored of
all estates, within certeine daies after, at a counsell
holden at Secone, it was ordeined, that both he and
his posteritie should be accepted amongst the num-
ber of the chiefest nobles and peeres of the realme,
being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts)

il lands and reuenues, such as he should choose
sufficient

Haie staied
the Scots
running away

The Scots
were giuen
to their battell
againe.

The Danes
fled towards
their felowes
in great dis-
order.

Keneth
called vpon his
men to remem-
ber their
duties.

The Danes
forsooke the
fields.

The spoile is
diuided.

Haie refused
coslie gar-
ments.

The king
came to
Bertha.

Haie is made
one of the
nobilitie.

He had reue-
nues assigne-
d to him.

sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

By his
request.

The falcon
incurred hate
his laas out.

Hate had
armes given
him.

Civil wars
in Scotland.

Another com-
motion in
Scotland by
Cruthlinc.

Cruthlinc
sought for his
grandfather.

Two of his
servants were
slaine.

They set by-
on Cruthlinc
also.

Cruthlinc
was infliga-
ted to revenge

He killed all
them that
were in the
castell.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the river of Tait runs by the towne of Arrore ouer against Jife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freely granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inshchire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking his flight from thence, neuer lighted till three came to a great stone nere a village called Kasse, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inshchire aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, both cause the thing better to be beleued, and well nere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three scutcheons gules in a field of silver, a plowbeame adde thereto, which he used in stead of a battell are, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath attained vnto great estimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the office of the constableness of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yere of king Kenneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great business by foreign enemies, yet by civil sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Berns of the westerne Isles invading Kasse, to the intent to haue fetched a bottie, were met withall by the waite and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this scurre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the common-wealth, raised by one Cruthlinc, one of the chiefest lords of the Bernes, who was sonne vnto a certaine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernour of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southesk, and the other Southesk. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlinc came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraye was begun amongst the seruicemen, in the which two of Cruthlincs seruants fortunely were slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlinc declared by waite of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the business, so that Cruthlincs seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their master, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Firthcarne, the chiefest fortreffe of all the Bernes. Where being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie received: so that assembling a number of his friends and kindred folks so secretlie as he might togither, with a band of the inhabitants of the Bernes, he entereth into Angus, and coming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting any treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenly oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left alieue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlinc amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he for-

raied the countrie all there abouts, returning home with a great botie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselves togither invaded the countrie of Bernes, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certaine time, with daile incursions and hostilings of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs hostile come to utter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischief and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subjects, he made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Bernes, whom he vnderstood to be culpable, should appeare within fiftene daies after at Scone, there to make answer aforesaid iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offenses with Cruthlinc their capteine, fled out of Bernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being fore moued herewith, perceiued how ready the Scottish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentle used: and againe how they obeyed the magistrats best when they were restrained from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeyed his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme hostile disquieted with civil warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursuit to be made after Cruthlinc, and the residue of the offenders, the which at length being taken in Lochquahar, were brought vnto a castell in Gowyie called Dounfarnham, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlinc first, and then other the chiefest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiors against their wiues, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For this equitie shewed in ministering iustice by the king, he was greatly praised, loued, and obeyed of all his subjects: so that great quietnes followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatly to the auancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his nearest kinsmen. This was Malcolm the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdom after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth greiuing not a little, for that thereby his fortunes should be kept from inuoluing the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integrity, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The cloked loue also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed

shed for him, caused to be manifested by the nothing which of the nobles made) to pass gather some because no thoughts to ambassadors the sonne of his stepmother ring that it was decess of the who doing according a might be a twist the ti ons of bread insue.

Kenneth Scone, the ambassadors, i that he was was to care betwixt his to the artic concluded his part in therefore i him for his aduise of realme as of Camb thereupon the mozt should na ambassadors cell chamler uerse of them com

When to persua realme th some ant sing of his the realr possessor sible for h duce thei establish to this en same im also what uenient in times at the fir and grea and crepe happene the dang as the k murder- ked pra the sum and so in that so taken e of the r lie the c contrai colom

The king re- quired that the crowne might come by inheritance, The king re- quired that the crowne might come by inheritance, The king re- quired that the crowne might come by inheritance,

He had come enough to Scone, to gather proofe reasons to persuade this matter, it being good of will.

The king re- quired that the crowne might come by inheritance,

g home The countrie
to foraine.

Ied not They of
inued supence re-
ough: quite their
almost injuries.

of those
another
astings
, that it
thorltie
ie were
rformed

is fallen The king
as, he made a pro-
e of An- motion by
ulphable, herald.

Scone, The culpable
s, to such should appeare
on paine at Scone.

Then the
that did

punished The fault
ine, fled men ran aw-

ing being The king
the Sco- loze offend
then they therewith.

ted from
thiment

therefore
els which

be puni-
he should

with civill
all spee-

r Cruelty
which at

e brought
in, where

, Cruelty
on either

s, for that
is against

to depart

justice by
and bread

followed
lie to the

ill the 22
time the

ed him to
one of his

the sonne
of Ken-

tion wher
the king

ame Ken-
is sonnes

e, found
physicians

appeared in
such was

102 and in-
eined that

ed toward
ement gi-

th, that his
church and

s which he
med

med

med for him, in all places where anie mention chan-
ced to be made of the losse which the realme had su-
fered by the death of so worthie a prince, made men
nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some
of the nobles perceiving the outward sorow (which he
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to
gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet
becaule no certaintie appeared, they kept their
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of
his stepmother Esculda, was made a martyr) requir-
ing that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland
was deceased, it might please the king with the
states of the realme to chuse some other in his place,
who doing his homage unto the king of England,
according as it was covenanted by the league,
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-
twixt the two nations for the avoiding of all occasi-
ons of breach thereof that otherwise happilie might
insue.

Kenneth at the same time held a counsell at
Scone, where having heard the request of these am-
bassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered
that he was glad to understand that king Edward
was so careful for maintenance of love and amitie
betwixt his subjects and the Scottishmen, according
to the articles of the ancient league in times past
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks unto
him for his gentle advertisement, he purposed by the
advise of his nobles, and the other estates of his
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince
of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and
thereupon required the ambassadors to be present on
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles
should name to be preferred unto that dignitie. The
ambassadors hereupon departing forth of the coun-
sell chamber, were conveyed to their lodging by di-
verse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe
them companie.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about
to persuade the peeres, and other the estates of the
realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the cu-
stome and ancient order used by their elders in cho-
sing of him that should succeed in the governance of
the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in
possession. He used so manie reasons as was pos-
sible for him to devise in that behalfe, thereby to in-
duce them to his purpose, which was to have an act
established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie
to this end, that one of his sonnes might intoy the
same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared
also what discommodities, seditions, and great incon-
veniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone
in times past by election: for though it was ordeined
at the first that it should so do, vpon a good intent
and great consideration, yet in proceesse of time proofe
and experience had shewed, that more hinderance
happened unto the common-wealth thereby (beside
the danger euer insuing incidentlie unto such issue
as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie
murthers, occasions of civill discord, and other wic-
ked practises were thoroughlie viewed and considered,
the summe whereof he recited from point to point,
and so in the end with great instance besought them,
that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and
taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state
of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes common-
lie the order was, that the sonne should without anie
contradiction succeed the father in the heritage of the
crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort he
could, but that diverse of the noble men which were
there amongst other, being made privie to the mat-
ter aforehand, motioned meanes to have Malcolme
the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland,
that he might so have an entrance to the crowne af-
ter the deceasse of his father. This motion by and
by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth
perceiving, he required of the most ancient peeres
whome they would name to be prince of Cumber-
land, that there might be a meane to ratifie and con-
firm the league betwixt the Scots and English-
men, Constantine the sonne of king Cullen, and
Grime the nephew of king Duffe by his brother Tho-
mase: helowbeit by the force of the former law they
might by god reason have looked to have had the pre-
ferment themselves.

But yet perceiving it was in vaine to denie
that which would be had by violence (although they
should neuer so much stand against it) being first de-
manded of the herald what they thought, they an-
swered (notwithstanding against their minds indee-
d) that the king might order all things as should
stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought
most meet to be prince of Cumberland, and to ad-
rogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in
devising new ordinances for the same, as should
seeme unto him and those of his counsell most requi-
site and necessarie. The multitude then following
their sentence, cried with loud & indiscreet voices,
to have Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth crea-
ted prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Mal-
colme (though as yet under age) was by the voices
of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in
place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe.
The date next following, the ambassadors comming
into the counsell chamber, heard what was decreed
touching their request, and then being highlie re-
warded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they re-
turned into England, and Malcolme with them, to
be acquainted with king Edward, and to do his ho-
mage for the principalltie of Cumberland, as the cu-
stome was.

At the same time also there was a new act devised
and made, the old being abrogated (by the appoint-
ment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish
kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather
consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it ei-
ther in hart or voices, though some currisauours a-
mong them set forward the matter to the best of
their powers. The articles of this ordinance were
these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king,
whether the same were sonne or nephew, of what age
soever he should be, yea though he should be in the
mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse,
should from thence forth succeed in the kingdome of
Scotland. The nephew by the sonne should be prefer-
red before the nephew by the daughter, in attaining
to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the bro-
thers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son.
The same law should be observed of all such of the
Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance
comming to them by descent. Where the king by this
meanes chanced to be under age, & not able to rule,
there should be one of the chiefest peeres of the realme
chosen and elected to have the governance of his per-
son and realme, till he came to 14 yeeres of age. The
which fourteenth yeere of his age being accompli-
shed, he should have the administration committed
to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons
of ech estate and degre should remaine under the
wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came
to the age of 21 yeeres, and not till then to meddle
with anie part of their lands and livings.

D.I.

These

The peeres of
the realme did
willinglie
grant to his
request.

The herald
required Ed-
ward to be
boice first.

Constantine
his saying.

The multi-
tude wel plea-
sed, cried Mal-
colme.

A new act for
the succession
of the crowne.

Articles con-
clained in that
parlement.

King Kenneth
administered
iustice trulie.

The good will
of the nobilitie
he bought
with gifts.

The king had
a guiltie conscie-
ence.

A voice heard
by the king.

The king
confessed his
sinnes.

The king tak-
eth great re-
pentance.

The king
went to For-
dune in pil-
grimage.
A parkie with
wild beastes at
the castell of
Fethircarne.

Fenella was
of kin vnto
Malcolme.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and thereupon indured himselfe to win the hearts of the people with byright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most unhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so communeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect:

10 "Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that dost conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to do that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almighty God, shall suffer worthie punishment to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou dost in deuour to assure vnto thine issue.

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Spouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtaine pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by worthie penance. Spouean hearing how the king bemoaned his offense committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almighty God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other the like comfortabill words of the bishop, studied vnfeignedly to do worthie penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witnesse of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced hereupon, that within a short time after he had bene at Fordune, a towe in Spernes, to visit the relikes of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beastes that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Spernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made a waie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Crine, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deule of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomach, long time before hauing conceived an immortal grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie aswell for the death of

his sonne Cruthlin, as hauing some tinking also of the impossibility of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

She vnderstood that the king delighted aboute measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compass his malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, joining vnto his owne lodging within the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was covered ouer with copper finelie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Hereto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and costlie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the midst of the house there was a goodlie brazen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, adorned with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remoue it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aswell of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, iacints, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkasses, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in god part, though it were not in value worthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And herewith she herselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell downe starke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed hoistes to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the inner chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore softlie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The clamor and erie hereupon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella curst and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngracious woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which she same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in gouernment of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lords to assist

assist him in attaining
ordinance and beginning,
and o
neth by his p
brogate the sam
the world berie

Constantine
by their mee
realme, he was
there crowned
ceasse, in the 25
had begun his r
the pere of our
pere (as is said
well in Albion;
the lands on the
multitude of fill
such a stithie sau
feted, great dea
red of a bloudie
that beheld it. I
failed, and catte
not bene more
med to be, the p
places. In Albie
But all these d
draw the Sco
therevnto in t
though there w
well bishops as
the people to r
nings: for othe
and tokens as
great mischief
suerlie their we
tuning in thei
one against ar
danger of utter

Malcolme
haue heard in
berland, heari
dinance latelie
some as his fat
with such fuche
his fathers frie
as they thought
best to worke
begun, by real
attempt. Thi
nie that toke
minds of all t
foze they went
least whilst of
selfe from dan
further into t
the common
thereof again
suddenlie to g
himselfe stron
were prouider
that feigned t
take him, so lo
mies at hant
their hands, e
gard of his lif

The fierce
the best to his
wit than to th
bled together
ten thousand
Constantine
into Louthia
his aduersari
huge power

She was
of kin to
Kenneth.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

The king
was
reuenge.

Fenella had
made a towe
within the
castell.

amit him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late, that Kenneth by his private authoritie had gone about to abrogate the same: ought to descend vnto him, as all the world verie well vnderstood.

Constantine procured friends so on each side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yeere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scottismen, and in the yeere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yeere (as is said) sundrie vnbeth lights were scene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left vpon the sands on the coasts of Buchquane; an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lying there dead, caused such a filthy sauer, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The moone appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, come failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull wonders might not with draw the Scottismen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in those daies they were wholly ginen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughty linings: for other wise vnboubtedlie such grislie sights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischief to fall vnto the whole nation. And suerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborn harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of utter destruction.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance latelie made) had usurped the crowne, as some as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to walke for: the appeasing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that companie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilst Malcolme should seek to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might happlie wind himselfe further into trouble, than without extream perill of the common wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenly to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him per he were provided for their comming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so soone as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be obliged to flee the realme for safeguard of his life.

The fierce yong man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whome making towards Constantine with speedie fornicies, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the hate which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason whereof he had bene put to such hindrance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene recovered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittells in both hostes, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterprize for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, wherevpon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischief happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischief so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilst the Scottismen were thus at division amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable natiue countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with invasion of Danes, was glad to buy peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daile to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the covenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certaine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be ready to fight in their defense, if anie foreigne enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilst Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the tyme to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which took part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subiection.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crauon, where the river falleth into the Forth, thre miles from Edinburgh, purposing there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine herevpon hastened thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enemies, straight waies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there rose such an outrageous tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driving the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

Malcolme thought himselfe too weak

Lacke of vittells caused Constantine to breake vp his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is ready to help king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine renewed warre with Malcolme.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

King Con-
stantine is
slain.

1002

Grime.

Crime bled
liberalitie and
gentlenesse
towards Com-
fortaines
friends.

Malcolme
prince of
Camberland
is moved as
against
Grunc.
A good coun-
sell.

Malcolme
sendeth greeting
to the lords
of Scotland.

Malcolm
his promise
unto the
Scots.

Malcolme his messengers are committed to prison.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an army, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his pursuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed tourne, he heard

Crime is of greater force than Mal-
colme.

Shalcolme should not hear his people to be-
tray the truth thereof.

This advice a- him : for thereby that which he desired to be concea-
nabled not. led and kept most secret, became the more manifest

gainst their enemies that then passed upon them
right eagerly. By means whereof the discomfiture
lighted upon Constantines side, though neither part
had any great cause to reioice: for in the hottest
of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to en-
counter together, and so fighting man to man, either
slew other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint
of the enemies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne;
& in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie
was buried in Colnekill amongst his predecessors.

Then Gracem nephew to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Berneth, gathered together the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the overthrow, supposing that by the death of Berneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was foreweakened, and thereupon he came vnto the abbey of Scoone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king; all lawfull successors vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to stablish himselfe the more firme in the state, he shewed great gentleness towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed vpon them manie bountifull gifts. Neither was his liberallitie shut vp from other that had favored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highly both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whom he saw by no means could be wonne, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enemies to the crowne.

The Alcolmeine prince of Cumberland fore moved in his mind that Crime had thus taken upon him the crowne, called his friends together, requiring to haue their aduise, which way he were best to walke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enemies, but rather to assaile by all means to draw those nobles vnto his purpose, which were assaunt vnto Crime. Whereupon Alcolmeine following the counsell of his friends, sent forth secret messengers vnto those lordes that take part with Crime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would do in renouncing their obseuance vnto the vsurper Crime, he promised to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mielike with his doings. Manye of the nobles by means of this message reuolued from the said Crime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doe the like. But other a greater number toke those that

brought the message, & sent them as prisoners into
 Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.
 Malcolme sore offended therewith, by counsell of
 his friends, assembled an armie to go against them,
 that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he se-
 med to take the matter) had imprisoned his pur-
 servants and messengers: but as he was mar-
 ching forward on his purposed iourne, he heard
 by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had
 gathered a farre greater polmer than he had with
 him, not onlie of all such of the Scottish nation in-
 habiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but
 of them also of the wessterne Isles. Malcolme dou-
 bting leass if the certeinie hereof were once bruted as
 amongst his people, the same would increase the
 terror more than needed; he gaue commandment
 therfore that no manner of waight should be suffered to
 coume into his armie, vnlesse he were first brought
 to his presence. But this denise nothing concealed
 him: for thereby that which he desired to be concea-
 led and kept most secret, became the more manifest

of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinaunces of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principallitie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart south of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladly come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to do, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the uttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to staie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihood of substantiall reasons, how importunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the uttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, brought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraue into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for three moneths space, in which meane time they might by certaine commissioners appointed and authorized thereto, talke and common for concluding of a small peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certaine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Ffofart, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scrone, where within few daies after (chieffe through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his decesse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & established by R. Kenneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Louthian & Northumberland, and betwixt Elde and Westmerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he should continue in friendship with the said Grime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie waie or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be deprived of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by solemn othes to perfoyme euerie point and points in these articles comprised, they laid armor aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misde-meanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention mooued betwixt them and their partakers. Whobeyt, commandement was giuen by either of these princes, that their subjects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, what countenance former they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Grime at length of a chaff & liberal prince, through long flouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in manners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attendo, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subjects being thus brought into extreame miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to seke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernement of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and anaricions crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerced his mind, & moued him to do things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and pares of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through peruersion of euill counsellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subjects, to their vtter impoverishment and vndoeing, the rebuke whereof did rebound vnto his dishonour; if it would please him to remoue out of his presence and seruaice all such disloyall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win therby the loue of all his liege subjects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliuie, if reformation were not the soner had against such enormities as his seruants and officers did daile practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, sith the sword was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous persons, nor to oppress innocent and true dealing people, but contrariwise to punish and correct guiltie and vniust dealers.

When king Grime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtesie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their hostes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forthward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceasing from raising new palments and exactions still of his

applied their
studies to re-
form misde-
meanours.

King Grime
his alteration
from noble
qualities vnto
detestable
vices.

The common
peoples prayer

The lords re-
quire Grime
to reforme the
misgouernment
of his officers.

The office of
the sword.

King Grime
purposed to
haue slaine the
messenger.

The lords of Scotland were warring against Crine their king.

What mischief ensued.

Malcolm is required to relieve the Scottish estate.

Malcolm comes forth to make warres against Crine.

Crine assembles an armie to encounter Malcolm. The camps were the one to the other. Crine's policy.

Malcolm's request.

The battell betwixt Crine and Malcolm. Crine's part discomfited.

The end of king Crine.

his subjects, till at length he was advertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more mischief and trouble than ever had bene scene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this ciuill dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, towines burned by, corne destroyed, fields waisted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolm prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the utter euerfion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subjects, if anie attempt should happlie be made against them in that troublesome season. Wherebeit, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and toorne countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remove away from the people such imminent destruction as daily fasted towards them, which to do they thought it was partie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most pentionouslie appeared in him, not onlie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannic as was practised by the misgouernement of Crine and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolm moued with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which daily resorted vnto him, resolved with promise of their support to leuie warre against Crine in this so necessarie a quarrell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterpryse, offering by soleme othes to become his liegemen and subjects. Crine likewise being advertised of those newes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Crine supposing that he might take his enemies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolm being advertised thereof, sent vnto Crine, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Crine would in no wise assent thereto, but nades would come on without stop or staie; whereupon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Crine's side was put to the worse, and in the end cleerlie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Crine was taken alive standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eyes put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme-

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolm, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vnto manie gentle words toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained vnto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Crine and his counsellors. When he had thus uttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Secone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolm king, he vnterlie refused to receive the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approued, whereupon the lords bound themselves by soleme othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioicing of all the people present.

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and peeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assistant vnto his aduersarie Crine: and there vied the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to avoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill discorde had sprung up amongst them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discret persons, skilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministered on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and rightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilist the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happy wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolm; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie naue, in purpose to reuenge the injuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie otherthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end driven and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish beliefe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arrived (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Wuse, nere to the banks whereof, not farre from Forke, he pitched downe

downe he

Then

pleasures

hands, sen

dung them

Egeldred:

cruell bat

glans, an

die bent t

tised that

into his c

for a spie

tels readi

by dint of

rie desiroi

people in

that there

ther they

neither st

at the first

finning e

ter, till at

leauing t

rie. The

great, bu

men, Eg

and passe

hands, b

ken or le

Thus

despairin

into For

ued of R

terwards

Formar

ter vnto

Alured a

more at

nercome

the whole

desfretel

the king

out anie

such as

But the

determi

& falling

in their

mi

most pu

satisfied

der what

his plea

session o

onlie t

subiecti

victors i

Se

he quali

on of th

the bte

had pur

nation

wife, as

anie an

husban

gouern

refigne

holds:

Sueno

shoul

weapoi

warres

as coin

downe his tents.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefites and pleasures received but latelie at the Scottishmens hands, sent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egeldreds companie; either else to loke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Forzwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who being desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arraigned to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they flue most fiercelie, & in such eger toise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leaving the Danes a verie deere and bloudie victorie. The murder also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Dule, so escaping out of the enimies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie vanquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Forzmandie, where he was verie friendlie received of Richard as then duke of Forzmandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Forzmans, that he married the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it dooth appeere. Sueno hauing thus overcome his enimies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succeed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humbly before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder that bondage and scrutide it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castles, townes, or other souereignties, but onely to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vsed the victorie farre more gentle, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no means they should presume to beare anie armoz or weapon, but to apply themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castles, forts, and strong holds; and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their souereigne lord and king; they should bying in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armoz, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, as well in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to

do, proclamation was made that he should immediately lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie begged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to avoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was vsed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie removed from the same, and some of them cast in prison and daile put in hazard of their liues. Finalite, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euery houtholder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continually glue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agre not in all points with our English histories, yet sith the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos invading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Eldred, was driven to flee into Forzmandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie such iourne into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprisse anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall here he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the more suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Forzmans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But for so much as he could not compasse his intention here, in, he furnished all the castles and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Forzmandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the pouison he could deuise to make mortall wars vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enimies, he sent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Forzwaie, and to Dnetus his deputie in Denmark, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Whereupon shortly after those foresaid capteins arrived with an huge armie in the mouth of Spete, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Spurrey land fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B. The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The name of lordaine how it came by.

Sueno landed here this last time of his coming forth of Denmark into England in June, in the yeere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of February, in the yeere 1014.

Sueno prepared to invade the Scots.

Olauus, and Dnetus.

The Danes land in Scotland.

1004. J. M. 1010. H. B. The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

and came in good order and most warlike arraie into Sporthlake, a towne of Spar, where the first residence of the bishops see of Aberdeen was founded. Here the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenly both amazed. For the Scots having had to much experience of the crueltie thewbed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and upon an unknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enemies. Yet neverthelesse in the end, by the encouragement of the capitaine on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruell malicious battell on each hand.

In the first bunt three valiant capitaine, that is to say, Kenneth of Ala, Crine of Strathern, and Walter of Dunbar, rushing oner fiercelie in their enemies, were slaine, and gave occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie south, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fenced on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauerses were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of purpose to impeach the passage, devised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preece, till he came to the modest of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint Poloke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast by his hands towards heauen, making his prayer on this wise. Great God of vertue, rewarder of plects, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our native countrie granted to vs of thy benediction, are now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the inuiolent invasion of Danes, do flie vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beseeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint Poloke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I here make a vow to build a cathedrall church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath bene defended.

Scarcely had Malcolme made an end of this prayer, when diuers of the nobles with a loud voice, as though they had bene assured that his prayer was heard, cried to their companies, Stand god fellows, for suerlie it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enemies. Whereupon rose a wonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, each one encouraging other to withstand the enemies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defense of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon their enemies, making great slaughter on each side, without regard to their liues or bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare received. Here with Malcolme with an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon Onetus, who was prancing vp and downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had bene already without recouerie clearely discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe beside his horse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capitaine, staied from further pursuit on the Scots. Whereof insued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Malcolme beholding the discomfite of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Sporthland with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering that a number of his most valiant captiues he had left in this battell, vnder the spoile of the fild amongst his men, and coasting from further pursuit of the Danes at that time, went into Angus, where he remained the residue of the yeere with the castell of Forfar, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publicke affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of Sporthland out of the enemies hands. King Sueno hearing in the meane time both in Scotland, that his people had fled thence in Scotland, at the battell of Sporthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to invade the Scots with two mightie armie, the one to be rigged in England, and to come forth of the riuer of Humber, and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knofolodge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

The yeare next ensuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arrived and met together within the mouth of the Forth, nere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. Camus then plucking by the sailes, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came onte about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbrakes, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanquished their enemies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

After this, he took his iourne through Angus, sparing no manner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all manner of other buildings publicke and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechin, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie wone, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finally aduertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland. When suddenly he took the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbirnie, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subjects, and preferre the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enemies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them an open battell.

But before he arrayed his battels, he called his nobles and capitaine together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with velle auarice, liuing on the spoile and pilage

The Danes put to flight.

Malcolme fled into Sporthland.

Sueno prepared a new armie to invade Scotland.

Camus appointed capitaine general of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes head.

The Scots kept off the Danes from landing.

Camus with his armie landed at the Redbrakes.

Camus marched through Angus.

The towne and church of Brechin destroyed.

King Malcolme hastened forward to fight with the Danes.

Malcolme's oration.

lage got by thēuerie, and not by ante iust warres: enimies not onlie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniustlie to invade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onlie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no manner of proprietie. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiance of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it becometh them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to encounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies herevpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing together, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certaine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtye ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blood spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their death wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, enforcing their uttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground together fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their harts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honoz of the field remained with Malcolme.

Camus perceiuing the discomfiture to fight on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them per he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camelfone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall seat of Camus was one Beith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Lothian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honoz amongst Scottishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high reuolue and fame thereof, amongst the chieffest peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes fleeing from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirleimon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certaine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certaine Scottishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellows that misapp had forsworne. King Malcolme after he obtained this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the lawes of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blown from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailes to haue passed into Spurrey land vnto Maunus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies together, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and though want of conuenable harbrough were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the fifth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their bittels began to saile them, they set free hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to seth in some bottie or preie of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got together a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were encountred by the way by Sparnachus the thane of Buchquhan accompanied with the power of that countie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scottishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them some what to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Sparnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despite of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which won the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Semmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be seene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellows (because they returned not againe to the ships) so lone as the wind came about for their purpose, holled vp sailes, and took their course forthright towards Spurrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie ouercome with anie aduerser fortune, made preparation in all speede wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhan, and destroyed

destroyed a g
swydd, in re
ment the Dan
lie before.

Malcolme
though thou
was greatlie
with all spect
same toward
with often si
no wise to ie
generall bat
throw, he sh
for defense o
enimies. Af
together, the
beholding so
friends, wit
of the towne
each side be
colme, and
licence to fig
lie, that if h
glue battell

Malcolme
people to in
that he migt
their petiti
member the
the onset w
on either pa
fight a long
other out of
both sides w
than the vic
who were so
ter, that in t
to pursue th
with life flee
night, which
they lodged
venture as!

On the r
both parties
minds were
new battell
to maintein
take vpon t
cluded with
should depa
all other the
should clear
fishmen, d
Malcolme,
two nation
thers enim
was fought
within the
same batte
built there,
nance of pr
order of pr
the people: for
also receiue
the solemn
colme, Can
fession of su
rep land, B
of the Scoti
departed wi
king Mal
vnto so full
some the

Heart consels
who want
power to
mainteine
battell.
The articles
the peace
between the
Danes and
Scottishmen.

He holds in
Scotland de
ered by by
Danes in
the Scottish
one hands,
Canute retur
into
Denmarke.

Canute bap
ther vnto
Sueno ap

Camus ex
horteth his
Danes.

The nature of
valiant hearts
and noble sto
machs.

A bloudie bat
tell.

Malcolme
downe in the
field.
Camus is
slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of
Beithes ad
uanced to ho
noz.

Danes slaine
at Abirleim
on.

The drawing
of the spoils.

Bones of
Danes.

The Scottish
men request
vnto their
king for li
cence to fight.

The onset is
given.

The Scots
from the name
of Buchquhan,
rather than vic
quhan is selfe.

Sparnachus
thane of
Buchquhan.

Danes fled
vnto Semmer.

Sueno prepa
reth the ship
time to invade
Scotland.
Canute bap
tized vnto
Sueno ap

by our
at elca-
Scottish
fled to
mishap
ned this
he can-
gest his
and then
uried in
d the bo-
ad were
all, and
ie chur-
ie bones
were bu-
into this
blowen
to their
Purrey
seas the
o by con-
st wind
han, and
re in pre-
ngth, af-
bere, to
ding no
for that
lue hun-
n land, so
ewith to
at were
with at-
had got
the which
countred
Buchqu-
countrie,
not well
ace, they
with tum-
as they
om forme
est exhor-
inflamed
the hill
s of them
wan the
de such a
not one

emmer a
memorie
res to be
appeare
e were of
re at this
hip boz,
fellowes
(ships) so
lose, hol-
right to-
ing Sou-
is people
is hands,
it lightlie
ide prepar-
pointing
ministra-
ith a new
salo, that
d him by
hane, and
d: droid

Danes slay
nere unto
Gemmie.

Shemo pre-
reth the third
time to invade
Scotland.
Canute bja-
ther unto
Shemo, ap-

desiroed a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countrie-
men the Danes, which had bene there made late-
lie before.

Malcolme fore kindled in wrath by these injuries,
though through continuance of the wars his power
was greatly decayed, yet did he assemble an armie
with all speed he could devise, and marched with the
same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them
with often skirmishes and light encounters, but in
no wise to leaue with them in anie pitched field or
general battell, for feare least if he had the over-
throw, he should not be able to furnish a new power
for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the
enimies. For the space therfore of fifteene daies
together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the
parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots
beholding so huge murder of their countreymen and
friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction
of the towines and villages, burning and blasing on
each side before their faces, they come to king Mal-
colme, and desired him that he would grant them
licence to fight with their enemies, protesting plaine-
ly, that if he would not consent thereto, they would
give battell at their owne choise.

Malcolme perceiving the earnest minds of his
people to encounter their enemies in plaine field, and
that he might no longer protract the time, he granted
their petition, and therewith beseeching them to re-
member their honours and duties: incontinentlie
the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice
on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in
fight a long time, they enforced themselves to rid each
other out of life: so that all the nobles well nere on
both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather
than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots,
who were so fexble and faint with long fight & slaugh-
ter, that in the end of the battell they were not able
to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping
with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that
night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell,
they lodged here and there in severall places, at ad-
uenture as well as they might.

On the morrow after, when it was understood on
both parties, what losse they had sustained, their
minds were converted rather to peace than to re-
new battell, because they were not of power longer
to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as
toke upon them to treat a peace, the same was con-
cluded with these articles. First, that the Danes
should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and
all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres
should clearelie cease betwixt the Danes and Sco-
tishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and
Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those
two nations should aid or in anie wise support the
others enemies. That the field where the last battell
was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall,
within the which the Danes that were slaine in the
same battell should be buried, and a church to be
built there, and lands appointed for the main-
tenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the
order of the christian religion, then used by both the
people: for the Danes latelie before that season had
also received the faith. This peace being ratified by
the solemn othes of both the kings, Sueno and Mal-
colme, Canute with his Danes resigning by the pos-
session of such holds and places as they held in Mur-
rey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part
of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fleet, and
departed with the same home into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie
unto so full peace, thought nothing so good as to per-
forme the articles of the agreement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a
church to be builded in the place appointed, dedica-
ting the same in honoz of saint Olaves patrone of
Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie unto such as
came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie
buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands
that were giuen to the same church, are called euen
yet unto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as
much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes.
The church which was first builded there, chancing
as often happeneth in those parties, to be overcast
with sands, another was erected in place not farre
off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the
bones of them that were buried in this place, being
left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away
besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Sco-
tish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1521, which seemed
more like unto giants bones, than to men of com-
mon stature (as he auseth) whereby it should ap-
peare, that men in old time were of much greater
statue and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to
be found in these our daies.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enemies
the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be
made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to
almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his
people from the troubles of warre. He toke order
also, that churches should be repaired, which by the
enimies in time of the warres had bene destroyed.
And further, he caused the administration of the
lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be
used and put in practise, according to the due forme of
the same, which manie yeres before could haue no
place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assen-
blye of all the estates of his realme to be called at
Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from
the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In
which conuention were manie things enacted, both
for the setting forth of Gods honoz, and the weale of
the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise a-
mongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his
name.

After this, supposing it most honorable to ad-
uance the blood of such as had serued well in the last
warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine
in the same, he called a parlement at Scorne, in the
which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by
diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst
the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one
his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the main-
tenance of the crowne, common entries onelie ex-
cepted, with the mountaine wherein the marble chaire
stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed
to giue unto churches and chapels. The nobles on
the other part, to the end the king might haue suffi-
cient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, gran-
ted unto him and his successors for euer the custodie
and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die
leaving them vnder the age of 21 yeres: and in the
meane time till the same heires came to the said age,
they agreed that the king and his successors should
enjoy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they
were men or women, and when they came to the age
of 21 yeres, that then they should enter into the
possession of their lands, yielding unto him or his
successors one yeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if
they chanced not to be married before their fathers
deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings
appointment, or else compound with him for the
same.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with
great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king
had shewed such liberall bounty towards his
barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had
declared

A church
builded.

Crowdan.
what it sig-
nifieth.

Bones of
Danes.

Publike
praiers.

The repara-
ring of chur-
ches.
The restoring
of lawes and
iustice.

A parlement
at Bertha.

A parlement
at Scorne.
Diuidion of
the realme in-
to baronies.

The ward-
ship of heires
granted to
the king.

Marriage of
barons.

declared such benevolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is exprest. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Murthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and endowed it with the lands & possessions of these thre places, Murthlake, Cleomeith, and Dunmuth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdiction and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Murthlake, till the daies of king David the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, governed the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancelor, secreta-rie, constable, marshall, chamberlaine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheless his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vici-
rice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntreue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefe nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inspo their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such cruelty vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretly appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glamis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfar, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards draue forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse towne of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Crine, and after the incarnation of our Saviour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was seene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adjoining to the riuier of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had bene seene at anie other time. On Whitsunmer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

After Malcolme succeeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whom he had issue one Hakbeth a ballant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeable betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthie king, and Hakbeth an excellent capitaine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceived how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons took occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Banquo the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time insited the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much ado to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after he was somewhat recovered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanour against the kings regall authoritie, they should be invaded with all the power the king could make, Hakdovald one of great estimation amongst them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, took vpon him to be chiefe capitaine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing fables this Hakdovald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such ballant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He

bes also such ments, that in mightie power there came besieging them quarell, and o no small numbering gladlie please him to

about him, i ple as were discomfiting Malcolme a his head. He did put him small skill in nobles to a use for the bels. Here were found to euerie much againe nefe in put time to affding, if t vnto Ban beths thoul and that n to make re

And en with a net ber, the such seare, lie awaie uer thel beth, with being ou (within t length wh hold anie surrende first slue least if be executed Hakbeth then set eng dea dies, whi cruell m head to sent it a Bertha hang v

He that the terpise whome to beari Herbp toward blou die the kin full too against fles, t berall some o sented king t law re the dil upon

Justice & law reioyced. Sheno king of Striwar loked in Rife actiu

The see of Murthlake, of acrowle & beeden.

The booke called Regia maiestas.

Malcolme was cruelly and age ailing together.

Malcolme was cruel to purchase riches.

The conspiracy of the Scottish nobles against Malcolme.

Malcolme slue at Glamis.

The murderers drowned.

21. H.B. 1040. H.B.

Strange sights.

Duncane.

Duncane.

Hakbeth.

Duncane.

Banquo.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

Hakbeth.

ag toline,
treame of
it was ad-
ner the sea
than euer
in Spidun-
Wapstiff,
come and
killed, so
in all the

e Duncane
for: Pal-
th was his
one Abba-
nd thane of
are of that
e called Do-
e of Glain-
h a ballant
bene some-
ene thought
line. On the
entle of na-
ons and ma-
s tempered
t them, that
, and the o-
it the two
ifferent par-
haue proued
ent capteine.
s berie quiet
uble; but af-
was in pu-
ions toke a
quiet state of
notions which

; of whom the
je which by o-
ic infested the
r dales, as he
, and further
ere notorions
f rebels inha-
he monie and
t atuate with
ions woundes
nds, after he
and was able
making his
wife, he pur-
e sent for by a
answer unto
re charge; but
t with a more
the messenger
y finaltie flue

contemptuous
thoritie, they
the king could
nation among
with his nerest
to be chiefe cap-
nd against the
uous offenses
ite slanderous
akdowald bite-
a faint-hearted
t of idle monks
of such ballant
ots were. The

bled also such subtil persuations and forged allu-
ments, that in a small time he had gotten together a
mightie power of men: for out of the weslerne Isles
there came vnto him a great multitude of people, of-
fering themselves to assist him in that rebellious
quarrell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came
no small number of kernes and Galloglasses, offer-
ring gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should
please him to lead them.

Spakdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance
about him, encountered with such of the kings peo-
ple as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and
discomfiting them, by mere force take their capteine
galcoline, and after the end of the battell smote off
his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king,
did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his
small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his
nobles to a counsell, he asked of them their best ad-
uise for the subduing of Spakdowald & other the re-
bels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it hapeneth)
were sundrie opinions, which they uttered according
to euerie man his skill. At length Spakbeth speaking
in punishing offendours, whereby they had such
time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding,
if the charge were committed vnto him and
vnto Wanguho, so to order the matter, that the re-
bels should be shortly banquished & quite put downe,
and that not so much as one of them should be found
to make resistance within the countrie.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth
with a new power, at his entring into Lochquha-
ber, the fame of his coming put the enemies in
such feare, that a great number of them stole secre-
lie abwaie from their capteine Spakdowald, who ne-
uertheless enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Spak-
beth, with the residue which remained with him: but
being overcome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell
(within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at
length when he saw how he could neither defend the
hold anye longer against his enemies, nor yet vpon
surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, he
first flue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe,
least if he had yelued simple, he should haue bene
executed in most cruell wise for an example to other.
Spakbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as
then set open, found the carcasse of Spakdowald li-
eng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bo-
dies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his
cruell nature with that pittifull sight, he caused the
head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so
sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at
Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bee
hong vpon vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the weslerne Isles suing for pardon, in
that they had aided Spakdowald in his traitorous en-
terpryse, he fined at great summs of monie: and those
whome he took in Lochquhaber, being come thither
to beare armor against the king, he put to execution.
Verupon the Islanders conceived a deadly grudge
towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a
blowes tyrant, & a cruell murderer of them whome
the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reproch-
full words Spakbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire
against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the
Isles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their li-
berall talke, had he not bene otherwise perswaded by
some of his friends, and partly pacified by gifts pre-
sented vnto him on the behalfe of the Islanders, se-
king to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and
law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by
the diligent means of Spakbeth. Immediatlie where-
vpon word came that Sueno king of Norwage was
arrived in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better per-
ceiued, that this Sueno was, I will somewhat touch
from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye
haue heard) conquered the realme of England, be-
ing also king of Denmarke and Norwage, had thre
sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he
made king of England, the second king of Norwage,
and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioined not
the same dominion of England past thre yeres af-
ter his fathers deceasse, but was slaine by Ethel-
dred or Egeldred, whom his father Sueno had chased
into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not
long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of
Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in
England with a mightie host, and sleaing Etheldred,
recovered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes:
but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Ethel-
dred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre a-
gainst Canute for a season, till at length by both their
consents they agreed to fight a combat singularlie
man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who
should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long
space, and shewed right notable proofes of their man-
hood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased al-
mightie God, that thou shouldst thus trie the force
of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bee
likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldst inioy part
of the realme: go to therfore, I receiue thee as parte-
ner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be con-
tented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with-
out anie more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted
this condition of agreement, supposing it better to
haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubt-
full triall of loosing the whole: for he had receiued a
wound at Canutes hands, though Canute under-
stood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion
hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with-
out all trouble come to inioy the whole. Herevpon
either of them leapt beside their tieried horses in that
fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became
good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the
aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of
England that lieth ouer against France was assign-
ed vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north
parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma
the wife of Etheldred with hir two sonnes (which the
had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled
ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord
betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie
to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the
Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expressed) ye
shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his coming
was to reuenge the slaughter of his vnkle Canus,
and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre,
Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sue-
no was such, that he neither spared man, woman,
nor child, of what age, condition or degree: sooner they
were. Whereof when it was Duncane was certified, he
set all stouthfull and lingering delays apart, and be-
gan to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a
berie ballant capteine: for oftentimes it hapeneth,
that a dull colward and stouthfull person, constrained
by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and adtue.
Therefore when his whole power was come together,
he diuided the same into thre battels. The first was
led by Spakbeth, the second by Wanguho, & the king
himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle
ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait
vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the
Scottish nobilitie.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered,
D. J. came

This agreith
nor with our
English
writers.

Harold that
reigned king
of England,
was not the
son of Sueno
but of Canute
and was not
slaine, but died
of natural
disease. See more
hercof in
England.
Canute king
of Denmarke.
Edmund
Ironside.

Canutes
two sons to
Edmund
Ironside.

The diuision
of the realme
of England
betwixt Ca-
nute and
Edmund
Ironside.

Alured & Ed-
ward the sons
of king E-
theldred.

The crueltie
of Sueno
king of Nor-
wage.

Duncane be-
stirreth him-
selfe in assem-
bling an ar-
mie.

The Scottish
armie diuided
into thre bat-
tels.

Sueno ban-
quith the
Scots.

Suenos com-
mandement
to spare fire
and sword.

Duncane fled
to the castell of
Bertha.

Sueno belie-
gging
Malcolm.

Fained trea-
tie.

Spiced cups
prepared for
the Danes.

The Danes
overcome
with drinke,
fall asleepe.

Malbeth at-
tacketh the
campe of the
Danes, being
overcome
with drinke
and sleepe.

The slaugh-
ter of Danes,
Sueno with
ten other esca-
ped.

came into Culros, where incounterling with the en-
mies, after a fore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno
remained victorious, and Malcolm with his Scots
discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by
this battell, that they were not able to make long
chase on their enemies, but kept themselves all night
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-
bling together againe, might haue set vpon them at
some advantage. On the morrow, when the fields
were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no
enemies were to be found abroad, they gathered the
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according
to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by com-
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt
either man, woman, or child, except such as were
found with weapon in hand ready to make resi-
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Malbeth
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round a-
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of
Banquo to Malbeth, commanding him to abide
at Bertha, till he heard from him some other
news. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained
communication with Sueno, as though he would
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, under cer-
taine conditions, and this did he to drine time, and to
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprize
ment against them, till all things were brought to
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,
when they were fallen at a point for redoying by the
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-
to the campe great prouision of vittells to refresh the
armie, which offer was gladly accepted of the
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of
sustenance manie daies before.

The Scots hereupon took the iuice of mchil-
wort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great
abundance vnto their enemies. They reioicing that
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satiffie
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such
greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might de-
uoure and swallow by most, till the operation of the
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible
to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto
Malbeth, commanding him with all diligence to
come and set vpon the enemies, being in easie point
to be overcome. Malbeth making no delate, came
with his people to the place, where his enemies were
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards enter-
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull
matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and ne-
uer stirred: other that were awakened either by the
noise or other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie
headed vpon their wakening, that they were not a-
ble to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-
ber there escaped no more but onelie Sueno him-
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to
his ships lying at rode in the mouth of Tait.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard
what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent
vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-
lowes: by means whereof when Sueno perceiued
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conuie auaie his natiue, he furnished one ship
thoughtlie with such as were left, and in the same
sailed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he
set forward on this unfortunate iourne. The other
ships which he left behind him, within three daies af-
ter his departure from thence, were tossed so toge-
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and
rushing one against another, they sunke there, and
lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the
great danger of other such ships as come on that
coast: for being couered with the flood when the tide
commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some
part of them appeere aboue water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,
is yet called Drownelow lands. This overthrow re-
ceined in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie
displeasing to him and his people, as should appeere,
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were
first sware to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The
Scots hauing wonne so notable a victorie, after they
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused
solemne processions to be made in all places of the
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God,
that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enemies.
But whilst the people were thus at their processi-
ons, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes
was arrived at Kingcome, sent thither by Canute
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sueno
overthrowen. To resist these enemies, which were
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie,
Malbeth and Banquo were sent with the kings au-
thoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power,
incountred the enemies, slue part of them, and chased
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got
once to their ships, obtained of Malbeth for a great
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old se-
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the manner
of burying noble men still is, and heretofore hath
bene vsed.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to
make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner
of means. And these were the warres that Dun-
cane had with foren enemies, in the seventh yere
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and
vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cause of
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall
after heare. It fortuned as Malbeth and Banquo
iournied towardes Forwaie, where the king then late,
they went sporting by the waie together without o-
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenly in the
middest of a laund, there met them three women in
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of
elder world, whome when they attentiuely beheld,
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake
and said: All haile Malbeth, thane of Glamis: for
he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by
the death of his father Sinell. The second of them
said: Haile Malbeth thane of Catwode. But the third
said: All haile Malbeth that hereafter shall be king
of Scotland.

Then Banquo: What manner of women (saith
he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me,
whereas to my selfe here, besides high offices, ye
assigne also the kingdome, appointing forth nothing
for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we pro-
phesie

“mife great
“shall reigi
“ther shall
“his place,
“shall gou
“of contin
“banished

“ching to
“number at.

“Banquo the
“father of ma-
“kinge.

“Duncane
“saith.

“The other
“kinge is
“in Forwaie
“to reuenge
“death of their
“enemies.

“Solenne pro-
“cessions for
“cellions for
“victorye gi-
“uen.

“A power of
“Danes arri-
“ue at Kingcome
“out of Eng-
“land.

“The Danes
“banquith
“Malbeth.

“The daugh-
“ter of Shuar-
“dane of For-
“warderland,
“sent to king
“Duncane.

“Danes bur-
“ied in S. Col-
“mes Inch.

“A peace con-
“cluded be-
“twixt Sueno
“and Danes.

“Malbeth
“saith
“which way he
“may take the
“kingdome by
“force.

“Prophecies
“maue men to
“discreet at-
“tempts.

“Women desi-
“rous of high
“estate.

“Malbeth
“saith king
“Duncane.

“The prophesie
“of these wo-
“men suppo-
“sing to be the
“Sword sisters
“or fairies.

“Duncanes
“barrell.

“1066. H. B.

“Malbeth be-
“lieued the
“women.

“The acc-
“first co-
“lie wil-
“ueied
“amon
“of our
“of kin

one ship
the same
the other
dies as
so togi
ating and
here, and
s, to the
on that
the tide
ne, some

thus left,
thow re
was verie
d appare
r, that no
bey were
eir coun
nd. The
ifter they
d, caused
es of the
tie God,
eritaries,
procelle
f Dances
Carute
ier Suer
hly were
countrie;
kings au
it power,
nd chased
and got
a great
as were
d in faint
ie old se
be fene
ie maner
foze hath

time be
(as some
neeforth
lland to
ie maner
at Dun
nth yere
ange and
cause of
ye shall
Banquo
hen laie,
ithout o
lling tho
lie in the
omen in
tures of
beheld,
in spake
unis (foz
office by
of them
the thir
be king

ien (saith
unto me,
aces, ye
nothing
we pze
mife

me greater benefits vnto the, than vnto him, for he
shall reigne in ded, but with an vnluckie end: nei
ther shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succed in
his place, where contrarie thou in ded shalt not
reigne at all, but of the those shall be bozne which
shall governe the Scottissh kingdome by long order
of continuall descent. Here with the foresaid women
banished immediatlie out of their sight. This was
reputed at the first but some vaine fantastick illu
sion by Mackbeth and Banquo, in somuch that Ban
quo would call Mackbeth in test, king of Scotland;
and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport like
wise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the
common opinion was, that these women were el
ther the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the
goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feeries,
indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necro
manticall science, because euerie thing came to passe
as they had spoken. For shortly after, the thane of
Cawder being condemned at Forres of treason a
gainst the king committed; his lands, livings, and
offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mack
beth.

The same night after, at supper, Banquo tested
with him and said; How Mackbeth thou hast obte
ined those things which the two former sisters prophe
sied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that
which the thir said should come to passe. Where vpon
Mackbeth resoluing the thing in his mind, began
enen then to deuise how he might attein to the
kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he
must tarie a time, which should aduance him there
to (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe
in his former preferment. But shortly after it chan
ced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his
wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of
Northumberland, he made the elder of them called
Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were there
by to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, im
mediatlie after his deceasse. Mackbeth soze trou
bled herewith, for that he saw by this means his
hope soze hindered (where, by the old lawes of the
realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should
succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon
himselfe, he that was next of blood vnto him should
be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might
vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell
so to do (as he toke the matter) for that Duncane
did what in him lay to defraud him of all manner of
title and claime, which he might in time to come,
pretend vnto the crowne.

The words of the thre weird sisters also (of whom
before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him here
vnto, but speciallie his wife lay soze vpon him to at
tempt the thing, as the that was verie ambitious,
burning in vnquencheable desire to beare the name
of a quene. At length therefore, communicating
his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst
whome Banquo was the chiefest, vpon confidence
of their promised aid, he due the king at Ennerna,
or (as some say) at Botgoluan, in the first yere of
his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of
such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he cau
sed himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith
went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he
receiued the inuestiture of the kingdome according to
the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was
first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in king
lie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and con
ueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture
amongst his predecessors, in the yere after the birth
of our Saviour, 1046.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons
of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they

might well know that Mackbeth would seeke to
bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the
estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme re
mained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of
Ethelred recovered the dominion of England from
the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Mal
colme by way of most friendlie entertainment: but
Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was ten
derlie cherished by the king of that land. Mackbeth,
after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, bled
great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,
thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that
no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole
intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all en
comities and abuses, which had chanced through the
feble and slothfull administration of Duncane.
And to bring his purpose the better to passe without
anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil
wile to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto iu
stice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high
rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most op
pressed the commons, to come at a day and place ap
pointed, to fight singular combats within barriers,
in triall of their accusations. When these theues,
barretors, and other oppressors of the innocent peo
ple were come to darren battell in this wise (as
is said) they were streight waies apprehended by
armed men, and trussed vp in halters on gibbets,
according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue
of misdoers that were left, were punished and fa
med in such sort, that manie yeres after all thess
and reissings were little heard of, the people inioieng
the blissefull benefit of god peace and tranquillitie.
Mackbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent
punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a
nie disorders persons within his realme, was ac
counted the sure defense and buckler of innocent
people; and hereto he also applied his whole indoeur,
to cause yong men to exercise themselves in vertu
ous maners, and men of the church to attend their
diuine seruice according to their vocations.

He caused to be saue sundrie thances, as of Cath
nes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, because
through them and their scditionous attempts, much
trouble daily rose in the realme. He appealed the
troublesome state of Galloway, and due one Pak
gill a tyrant, who had manie yeres before passed no
thing of the regall authoritie or power. To be brie
fe, such were the worthy doings and princelie acts of
this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme,
that if he had attained thereto by rightfull means,
and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began,
till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene
numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie
there had reigned. He made manie hole some lawes
and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set
foorth according to Hector
Boetius.

That is within orders of the
church, shall not be compelled
to answere before a tempozall
iudge, but be remitted to his o
dinarie.

The tenth part of all fruits that in
crease on the ground, shall be giuen to the
church, that God may be worshipped with
oblations and ppaters.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the
curse of the church by the space of one
yeare, shall be whole

Malcolme
Cammore and
Donald Bane
fled into Cum
berland, where
Malcolme re
mained by Ed
ward king of
England.
Mackbeths
liberalitie.

Mackbeth
studied to ad
uance iustice.

Mackbeths
politic.

Streit iu
stice.

A kinglie en
deuour.

Iustice mini
stered without
respect of per
sons.

Liberties of
them that
haue taken o
ders.

Others to be
paid to the
church.

Persons ac
cursed.

whole yeare, continuing to be reconciled, shall be reputed enemy to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurated mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of
knighthood.

He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oath to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the commonaltie. And he that is made king, shall be swozne in semblable manner.

The eldest daughter.

The eldest daughter shall inherit her fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose her heritage.

The kings
gift.

No man shall inioyn anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to
go by inheri-
tance.

No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Judges.

No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conventions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Retainers.

He that is retained or becommeth a swozne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it; and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Masters of the
kings people,
or unlawfull
assemblies.

He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they do that assemble together by his procurement.

Waiters upon
other men.

He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assembly, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of
horses.

A horse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vie than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfeit
foles, with
mistris and
such like.

Counterfeit foles, mistris, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing, if they refuse so to do, they shall be drawn like horses in the plough and harrows.

Possession of
lands.

Though the some chance to be put in possession of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards convicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of
wives.

All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though she haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

Marriage of
lords and
barons.

All manner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and rownes lie nere together.

All armour and weapon bozne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy with in those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie manner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their rownes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or copertners to occupie the same office.

These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice.

But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortly after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pique of conscience (as it chanced) euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by unrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessour.

The words also of the three weired sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdom, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo. He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, pre-

sent death at the hands of certaine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquo and his sonne within the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God refering him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chance medlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a prepeined deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales.

But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if according to the order which I find obserued in the Scottish historie I shall in few words rehearse the original line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquo, that they which haue inioined the kingdom by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortly after by his courteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnderneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtlesse in the

Floures
de
lence
the
prince
of
Wales
his
daughter.
Fleance
is
slaine.
vnto
the
prince
of
Wales.

Captaine.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

Waiting
of
lands.

end
suffi-
once
vnto
hatefull
lie
due
of
seruil
wife
del
delicere
few
yea
ballance
found,
(by
his
sort
of
p
his
infa
scoutne
pikes.
At
th
pantom
betwixt
was
a
with
be
hpon
hi
glad
to
land
to
the
con
thither
so
sober
he
was
after
bi
repudi
into
the
of
the
r
and
in
misga
his
cor
cie
and
to
the
c
with
a
duties
The
ne
Sti
legne
die
for
red
Ci
with
o
thither
der
St
saint
I
lianc
breac
Alerai
the
on
defend
other
bowte
from
Dern
der
St
soure
How
those
I
rectel
Tame
great
inheri
saie,
the
for
he
n
bert
I
second
to
will
lent
b
knigh
three
ward

o other
realme
d to the
le goods

is, or ag
y with
ges fir,
ofe both
e which

s or go-
ughters
wcllerth
s, they
all it be
coperte

ves spak-
rning the
ill infir-
tie shew-
inclination
e. Shortlie
stead of e-
of confel-
such as at-
is) caused
rued of the
redecessor.
would not
d him the
at the same
he willed
me named
d prepared
ruled, pre-
rers, whom
ig them to
onne with-
lodgings,
ot haue his
ic he might
his charge

urke night,
me yet by
in to better
wards ha-
on of some
is life was
s flaine not
the matter
) but even
auoid fur-
re I thinke
ose, if (as
in the Sco-
ehearse the
descended
ich haue in-
ance of des-
into these
ice they had

1) fled into
teons and a-
10; and effi-
ic, that he
r; at length
ntance with
ntelle in the
end

Seauing of
armie.

Captains.

Batling of
lands.

Shakbethe
counterfeit
zeale and e-
quitie.

Shakbethe
guiltie confes-
sion.

Shakbethe
cause to flie
Banquo and
his sonne.

Fleance
Banquo's
sonne fleeth
into walke.

The time of
the Scottish
kings.

Shakbethe
counterfeit
zeale and e-
quitie.

Batling of
lands.

Shakbethe
counterfeit
zeale and e-
quitie.

Shakbethe
guiltie confes-
sion.

Shakbethe
cause to flie
Banquo and
his sonne.

Fleance
Banquo's
sonne fleeth
into walke.

The time of
the Scottish
kings.

can suffered him to get hir with child; which being
once vnder stood, hir father the prince conceiued such
hateful displeasure towards fleance, that he final-
lie doted on, & held his daughter in most vile este-
em of feruitude, for that she had consented to be on this
wise defouled by a stranger. At the last yet, she was
deliuered of a sonne named Walter, who within
few yeares proued a man of greater courage and
valiantie, than anie other had commonlie bene
fount, although he had no better byzing by than
(by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser
sort of people. Howbeit he shewed euer euen from
his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine
founte of stomach, ready to attempt high enter-
prizes.

It chanced that falling out with one of his com-
panions, after manie saluoking words which passed
betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he
was a bastard, and begotten in vnlawfull bed; where-
with being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran
vpon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he
glad to flee out of Wales, and comming into Scot-
land to seek some friendship there, he happened into
the companye of such Englishmen, as were come
thither with queene Margaret, and behaued himselfe
so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while
he was highly esteemed amongst them. Not long
after by such means attaining to the degree of high
reputation, he was sent with a great poluer of men
into the westerne Isles, into Galloway, & other parts
of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie
and inuasions oppression there exercised by diuers
misgouerners persons; which enterprise according to
his commission he achieved, with such prudent poli-
cie and manhood, that immediatlie vpon his returne
to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland,
with assignement to receive the kings rents and
duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Stewart had a sonne named Al-
ane Stewart, who went after with Godfreie of Bul-
legne duc of Lozaine, & Robert duke of Norman-
die came to king William the bastard that conque-
red Englad, into the holie land, at what time they
with other westerne princes made the great iourne
thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had issue Alexan-
der Stewart, that founded the abbey of Passie of
saint Benedicts order. Walter Stewart, whose va-
liantie was well notified at the battell of Largs, as
hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said
Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons,
the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in
defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the
other named Robert Stewart got the lands of Ter-
bowtowne, and married the heire of Cruikshonne,
from whom descended the earles of Luncorn and
Dernlie. Moreover, the aboue mentioned Alexan-
der Stewart that founded Passie, had diuerse mo-
sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other.
Howbeit they took new surnames by the name of
those lands, vnto the which they succeeded. The afore-
recited John Stewart, after the death of his brother
James, married the heire of Bonkill a virgine of
great beautie, and had by hir Walter Stewart that
inherited the lands of Bonkill, Kanketow, Kothel-
sie, Wate, and Stewartowne, after that his father
the forenamed John was slaine at Falkirk.

He married Margerie Bruce daughter to king Ro-
bert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the
second of that name. This Robert the second toke
to wife one Isabell Bruce, a damsell of right excel-
lent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adam Bruce
knight, and brought forth issue, three sonnes and
three daughters. The eldest sonne knight John Ste-
ward otherwise named Robert, who succeeded im-

mediatlie after his fathers deceasse in gouernance
of the crowne. The second called Robert was
made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was cre-
ated duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scot-
land vnder the name of gouernour, for the space of
fiftene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander
was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Bandernot.
The eldest daughter was married to James that
was the sonne and heire of William earle of Dolu-
glas. The second daughter was married to John
Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of
March, and was made to the aduancement of his
further fame earle of Murray. He begot on hir one
onellie daughter, that was married to the Dologlas,
and so Dologlas came to the earldome of Murray.
The third daughter was married vnto John Loun,
that was after made lord of Glamis.

Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first
of the Stewards which bore the crowne in Scot-
land, married Eufame daughter to the earle of
Ross, and got on hir two sonnes, Walter earle of
Atholl, and David earle of Strathorne. This Wal-
ter solicited Robert duke of Albanie, to sea David
Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that James
the first was returned home south of England, he
did what he could to moue him to sea all the thrage
of the said duke still being in hope after the dispatch
of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which
hope moued him to procure his nephew Robert
Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son,
to sea king James the first also, for the which crime
the same Walter was after conuicted and destroyed
with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of
Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of
both these brethren returned againe to the crowne,
without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert
Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdo, who
married the earle of Lennor daughter, and got on hir
three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdo himselfe with his two first sonnes
were slaine at Strueling by king James the first, &
the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt
Dunbartane, and was after chased into Ireland,
where he deceased without issue. Robert the third of
that name married Annabill Dommmond, daughter
to sir John Dommmond of Strobhall knight, and
got on hir David and James. The first died in Falk-
land, and the other attained the crowne, and was
called James the first, and married the ladie Jane
daughter to John Beauford erle of Summerfet in
England. He had by hir two sonnes borne at one
birth, Alexander and James. The first died young,
the second attained the crowne, named James the
second. James the first had also six daughters, of the
which the eldest was giuen in mariage to the Dol-
phine of France, the second to the duke of Britaine,
the third to the lord of Fife, the fourth to the lord of
Dalkith, the fifth to the earle of Huntley, and the
sixt had no succession. James the second married
Margaret daughter to the duke of Celberland, and
begot on hir three sonnes, and two daughters.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was
called James the third: the second named Alexan-
der was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle
of Denkies daughter, and got on hir Alexander,
that was afterward bishop of Murray, and then par-
ting with hir went into France, where he married
the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir John
Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of
Scotland manie yeeres in the minority of James
the first. The third sonne, John Stewart was earle
of Mar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Canno-
gat in a bathat. The first daughter of James the
second, was married to the lord Boyd, who begot on
hir

Duke of Al-
banie.
Alexander
Steward,
sonne to king
Robert the
second.

John Dun-
bar.

Eufame.

Walter and
David sonnes
to king Ro-
bert.
Robert duke
of Albanie.
James the
first.

Graime or
Graham.

Duke Murdo

King Robert
the third.

David and
James, sons
to king Ro-
bert the third

John Beau-
ford earle of
Summerfet.

James the
first and his
issue.

The duke of
Celberland
daughter.

James and
Alexander.

Duke of Al-
banie the go-
uernor of
Scotland.
The lord
Boyd.

The lord
Hamilton.

Lord Creich-
ton.
James the
third and
his issue.

James the
fourth.

Spakbeths
breach.

His crueltie
caused thogh
fear.

The castell of
Dunhamane
builded.

Spakduffe
thane of Fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Spungumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Calsels. After the death of the lord Woid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was effectones married to the lord Hammliton, and by that means was the house of the Hammlitons honozed with the kings blood. The other sister was married to the lord Creichton, of whom came small succession worthe to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which marriage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Stewart earle of Spar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fifth, who marrying first the ladie Pagdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortly after the said James the fifth married the ladie Marie de Lorein, duchesse of Louvle, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie queene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Stewart lord Dornlie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Spakbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the contrived slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Spakbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaite by one surmized cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such swatnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as he thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a garrd of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruelle oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunfinane, situate in Colzie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well nere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stremond, and Crinedale, as it were lieng underneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building, could not be brought up without much toile and businesse. But Spakbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Spakduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bee giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partly understood) no great good will, would late violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Spakbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and because he found not Spakduffe there, he was

soze offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well enough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to loke vpon the said Spakduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose wordes he put great confidence (for that the prophetic had happened so right, which the thre faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of Spakduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destrouie him.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Spakduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome he had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Wernane came to the castell of Dunfinane. By this prophetic Spakbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophetic he beleued it was impossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other impossible to flea him. His vaine hope caused him to do manie outrageous things, to the greivous oppression of his subiects. At length Spakduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammoze to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Spakduffe, but that Spakbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Asidas. For Spakbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one sly fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which sight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Spakduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Spakduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Spakbeth most cruelle caused the wife and children of Spakduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Spakduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Spakduffe was already escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammoze, to trie what purchase he might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruelle executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Spakbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they suffered at such a castifes hands.

Malcolme hearing Spakduffes wordes, which he uttered in verie lamentable sort, for more compassion and verie ruth that perced his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Spakduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprize the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Spakbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bying to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some or-

caution minid
those notable
the outragic
nance. Tho
the oppression
ner as Spaki
he were con
spake, or ell
he thought t
on dissembl
followeth.

I am tti
my countri
so great affe
of certeine
nothing ma
and voluptu
teine of all
king of Sec
and matron
cie should b
bloudie ty
Spakduffe:
fault, for n
both lines a
there are w
follow my
conueie the
kissed at th
shall be aw
Then sa
ous creatu
should seck
that I woi
Scotland
might into
therefore t
pon throug
hearse but
foze place
that conti
that came
ther she w
swered no
by reason
chased aw
gred, sho
residue of
than these
noie me. I
maine wh
of your i
pious sud
which not
of the un
through n

Spakduffe
and Spaki
enar.

Table of a
top.

Spakbeth
crueltye
against Sp
by this
Spakbeth
capeth into
England be
to Spakbeth
Commot.
Spakbeth
worke
Spakduffe.

Courtou
with the roo
all mischiefe

Spakdu
worke fa
all mischi
kings ha
end. He
take vpon
enough i
When sa
clined to
ther kind
nothing
anie trul
there is
constanc
laudable
which ar
that lic
how bn:

Spakduffe
and Spaki
light.

will ne: *Malcolme*
riden *Malcolme*
ough fo: *Malcolme*
loke by
ught his
had lea:
s he put *Malcolme*
id happe: *Malcolme*
sters had *Malcolme*
se head of
ie to de:

aduffe to
re had in
be laine
isthed till
f Dunf:
feare out
he would,
me, for by
ssible for
r unpossi:
sim to do
oppression
id perill of
England,
laine the
o secretlie
ad know:
said) haue
like unto
le mans
m, to re:
same, by
the nobles

hereabout
eat power
sell where
boud him
nt ante re:
n to enter,
e *Malcolme*
n of *Malcolme*
t cafell, to
Malcolme
out of all
is alreadie
ngland by
urchase hee
euenge the
se, his chil:
unto *Malcolme*
serte the e:
detttable
th, hauing
murders,
or the which
ege people,
red of that
th:aldome,
is, which he
e compass:
all hart, be:
rie, he fet:
ing, began
i, to enter:
e out of the
e *Malcolme*
to himselfe
to bring to
he had, but
he some oc:
cation

calion ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of
those notable iniuries, which they daillie susteined by
the outrageous crueltie of *Malcolme* misgou:
nance. Though *Malcolme* was verie fowfull for
the oppression of his countrymen the Scots, in ma:
ner as *Malcolme* had declared; yet doubting whether
he were come as one that ment vnfaineable as he
spake, or else as sent from *Malcolme* to betraie him,
he thought to haue some further triall, and therevpon
dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as
followeth.

I am trulle verie sozie for the miserie chanced to
my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer
so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason
of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am
nothing met thereto. First, such immoderate lust
and voluptuous sensualitie (the abominable foun:
teine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made
king of Scots, I should seeke to despoile your maids
and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperan:
cie should be moze importable vnto you, than the
bloudie tyrannie of *Malcolme* now is. *Malcolme*
Malcolme answered: This suertie is a verie euill
fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost
both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuertheless
there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore
follow my counsell. Spake thy selfe king, and I shall
conueie the matter so wisely, that thou shalt be so fa:
tified at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man
shall be aware thereof.

Then said *Malcolme*, I am also the most auariti:
ous creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I
should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods,
that I would flea the most part of all the nobles of
Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end I
might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and
therefore to shew you what mischief may insue on
you through mine vninsatiable couetousnes, I will re:
hearse vnto you a fable. There was a for haing a
foze place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies,
that continuallie sucked out his blood: and when one
that came by and saw this manner, demanded the:
ther she would haue the flies bryuen beside him, she an:
swered no: for if these flies that are already full, and
by reason thereof lucke not verie egerlie, should be
chased awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hun:
gred, should light in their places, and sucke out the
residue of my blood farre moze to my greuaunce
than these, which now being satisfied do not much an:
noie me. Therefore saith *Malcolme*, suffer me to re:
maine where I am, least if I attaine to the regiment
of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may
proue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures
which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect
of the vnmeasurable outrage, which might insue
through my conning amongst you.

Malcolme to this made answer, how it was a far
woyse fault than the other: for auarice is the rot of
all mischief, and for that crime the most part of our
kings haue bene laine and brought to their finall
end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and
take vpon the crowne. There is gold and riches
enough in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire.
Then said *Malcolme* againe, I am furthermore in:
clined to dissimulation, telling of leasings, and all o:
ther kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioice in
nothing so much, as to betraie & deceiue such as put
anie trust or confidence in my words. Then sith
there is nothing that moze becommeth a prince than
constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other
laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues
which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse, and
that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you see
how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or regie:

on: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke
and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praise you
find shift to cloke this vice amongst the residue.

Then said *Malcolme*: This yet is the worst of all,
and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie; Why be
happy and miserable Scottishmen, which are thus
scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, ech
one aboue other? We haue one cursed and wicked ty:
rant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right
or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie.
This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so re:
plet with the inconstant behauiour and manifest vi:
ces of Englishmen, that he is nothing worthy to
inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie
auaritious, and giuen to vninsatiable lust, but so false a
traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie
word he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I ac:
count my selfe a banished man for euer, without
comfort or consolation: and with those words the
blackish teares trickled drowne his cheekes verie a:
bundantlie.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, *Mal:
colme* toke him by the sleue, and said: We of god
comfort *Malcolme*, for I haue none of these vices
before remembred, but haue iessed with thee in this
manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerse times
heretofore hath *Malcolme* sought by this manner of
meanes to bring me into his hands, but the moze
now I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy
motion and request, the moze diligence shall I vse in
accomplishing the same. Incontinentlie herupon
they embraced ech other, and promising to be faith:
full the one to the other, they fell in consultation how
they might best prouide for all their businesse, to
bring the same to good effect. Some after, *Malcolme*
repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his
letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the
realme, declaring how *Malcolme* was confederat
with him, to come hither into Scotland to claime
the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he
was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their
powers to recover the same out of the hands of the
wryongfull usurper.

In the meane time, *Malcolme* purchased such fa:
uor at king Edwards hands, that old Edward earle
of Northumberland was appointed with ten thou:
sand men to go with him into Scotland, to support
him in this enterpryse, for recouerie of his right. Af:
ter these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the
nobles drow into two feuerall factions, the one tak:
ing part with *Malcolme*, and the other with *Mal:
colme*. Whereupon ensued oftentimes sundrie bick:
erings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were
of *Malcolmes* side, would not leopord to ioine with
their enemies in a pight field, till his coming out
of England to their support. But after that *Malcolme*
perceiued his enemies power to increase, by such aid
as came to them forth of England with his aduer:
sarie *Malcolme*, he recoiled backe into Fife, there pur:
posing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of
Dunfaine, and to fight with his enemies, if they
ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends ad:
vised him, that it should be best for him, either to
make some agreement with *Malcolme*, or else to flee
with all speed into the Isles, and to take his treasure
with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great
princes of the realme to take his part, & reuenge stran:
gers, in whome he might better trust than in his
owne subiects, which shall daillie from him: but he
had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleued
he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood
were brought to Dunfaine; nor yet to be laine
with anie man, that should be or was bozne of anie
woman.

Malcolme

Branches of
trees.

Malcolme set-
teth his men
in order of bat-
tall.
Malcolme fle-
eth, & is pur-
sued of Mal-
colme.

Malcolme is
slaine.

1057. 10. M.
1061. H. B.
8. H. B.
Malcolme

Parlement
at Fozfair.

Chances
changed into
earles.

Surnames.

Malcolme following harkie after Malcolme, came the night before the battell unto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close, lie and without sight in this manner within view of his enemies. On the morrow when Malcolme beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembered himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunfries name castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Where- thelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to do valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Malcolme perceiving their numbers, betooke him streit to flight, whom Malcolme pursued with great hatred even till he came unto Ansfarnaine, where Malcolme perceiving that Malcolme was hard at his backe, leapt before his horse, saying, Thou traitor, what meanest it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on there- fore, and receive thy reward which thou hast deserved for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted up his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

But Malcolme quicklie avoiding from his horse, per he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Malcolme, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he slept unto him, and slue him in the place. When cutting his head from his shoul- ders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it unto Malcolme. This was the end of Malcolme, after he had reigned 17 yeres ouer the Scottishmen. In the be- ginning of his reigne he accomplished manie wo- rthy acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the de- uill, he defamed the same with most terrible cruel- tie. He was slaine in the yere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

Malcolme Cammore thus recovering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronati- on he called a parlement at Fozfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had as- sisted him against Malcolme, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speci- allie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Of anie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Jife, Wenteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Marrey, Cathnes, Kofle, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue bene heard of amongst the Scottishmen (as their histories do make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken by at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Sel- ton, Lauder, Malwane, Meldun, Schaw, Leir- mouth, Libertoun, Strachughen, Targill, Kattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Pirtonn, Penzeis, Aber- crummie, Kille, with manie other that had posses- sions given them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Burward, and Warnerman. Also the po- wer names of manie valiant captains were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

Haie, with diuerse other too long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames haue woone the old out of ble.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Fozfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie hole some ordinances established, both appertaining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Malcolmes seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the attai- ning of the crowne, he honozed him and his posteri- tie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Jife, for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should give battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the haught of his host. The third, that the lineage of Malcolme should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and comes, as to appoint of- ficers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (keason onelie excep- ted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appoin- ted, as before is expessed.

Johannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted unto this Malcolme and his posteritie, was this, that for eue- rie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancemelle, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeeme his pu- nishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaugh- ter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinboe, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Malcolmes priuilege. But this third priuilege, to- gither with the other two former grants, the said Maior soe expouneeth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murder, which by this meanes nour- shing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they listed.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that bar- rons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserved death should suffer execution: and also draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes used in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Malcolme had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilest Malcolme was busied in setting orders a- mongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the sole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Malcolme, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Malcolme vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appease this businesse, was Malcolme earle of Jife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incountreing with Lugtake at a village called Glen in Bogdale, slue him, and dis- comfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certeine yeres, till it chanced a great number of theues and robbers assembling themselves together at Coc- bourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoi- ling the people in the countries of Pers and Lou- thian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie,

robbers of the
countrey.

Patrike
Dunbar earle
of March.

The head of a
theife of Cellon
giuen in armes

confractie.

The manlie
garage of his
Malcolme.

the mope here
in England

Gibbets and
draw-wels.

Malcolme
lawes abroga-
ted.

Lugtake.

Lugtake
crowned at
Scone.

Lugtake is
slaine.

A hand of
thanes.

Patrike
Dunbar
quitheth the
theanes and

companion,

com-
he ca-
the c-
own
the c-
here
at
land
heir
com
and
rie
arm
S-
certi-
e the
this
chief
balli
wood
ning
roul
ough
fold
with
man-
ning
trie
mod
esse.
also
the
twel
thus
her
sell
mar-
of
furn
Cool
am
the
and
the
the
Eld-
fran-
his
mur-
whiti
Ed-
Eng
had
nam-
not
Sco-
con-
nam
in
war-
he w-
bnte
bte
with
died
his
the c-
quer
of th
most
his
win
calle
sing

company, and took fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countie of those peblers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood hereint shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne Bettes given to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge Pers and Louthian of all theues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellons head sprinkled with bloud.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue bene executed, he called the chiefe author of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproving him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preseruatiue he ought chieflie to haue wished, considering the manifold benefites he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthy of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator, hearing these wordes, as a man altogether astonied, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings feet; beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, bad him arise, and said; I am content here vpon to forgieue thee, so that thou be not of counsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chancs came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine took on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length invaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of York. Here ye haue to understand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephue Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither after his fathers deceasse he and his brother Godwine had bene sent atwaie, as in the historie of England it appereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottish writers doe so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephue the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthy of admiration) betterie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vnckles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his vnckle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recover it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to thore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arrivall of this ship, and understood that they were that were aboard in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towarde them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whose asore time he had found so much gentlenesse and friendship.

Finaltie, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent brutie, wisdome, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, wherevnto Agatha gladly condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemblee of all the nobles of Scotland, this mariage was made and solemnized after the octaues of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. As William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, with the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To prevent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leaving to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whom were these, Lindseie, Maus, Ramsie, Lowell, Lowrie, Bessome, Sandlands, Bissart, Sowles, Wardlaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with queene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet requaine euen vnto this day, as Treichtoune, Fotheringham, Ciffart, Melwill, Northwicke, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraiser, Sinclaire, Boswell, Powtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Berton, or Betuin, Laillefer, and Boswell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. But to the order of the historie, it is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbeiz of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commodity.

But Malcolme, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at As Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maisters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland took part with As Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon As William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to invade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastily into that countie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne souldiers.

Malcolme
Cammere
march
Agatha
sister to
Edgar
Malcolme

1067.H.B.

Englishmen
slew into Scot
land.

Surnames of
Englishmen
in Scotland.

Surnames of
Hungarians.

Surnames of
Frenchmen

The blacke
crosse.

William con-
queror threat-
ning king
Malcolme.

Malcolms
answer.

Open warre
proclaimed by
William con-
queror.
Northumber-
land taketh
part with As
Malcolme.
Roger a Nor-
man capteine
or rather earle
Roger (as I
take it).
He in Eng-
land.

But

The earle of
Glocester.

Gospatrike
saith Simon
Dunel.

Odo bishop of
Baucur and
earle of Kent.

Malcolme
enterpris a-
gainst his en-
emies.

Robert the
sonne of will-
iam conque-
rour.
Newcastell
upon Tyne
fortified.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt William
Conquerour,
and Mal-
colme Cam-
moye.

The roicrosse.
waltheof.

Siward earle
of Northum-
berland.

Rebellion in
Galloway.

Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.

Malglane.

Walter crea-
ted high lie-
ward of
Scotland.

A new rebel-
lion in Mur-
repland.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Glocester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, against whome were sent the earles of March and Hereford, who defended the countrie right manlie from the invasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take any advantage of them. King William advertised hereof, feared wonderfull wrath, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, under the leading of his brother Odo, who was both bishop of Baucur, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was sore spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giving an onset upon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recovered all the bottie which Odo men had got in the countrie, and so right full of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at any time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the river of Tyne, attempted no notable enterprise, saving that he repaired and noblie fortified the towne of Newcastle, which standeth upon the same river of Tyne; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings under these conditions, that king Malcolme should enjoy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tyne, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the King of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmore there shall be a crosse set up, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scots on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Whereafter, it was concluded that Waltheof or Woldofus (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Siward earle of Northumberland should marrie king Williams neece, bozne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by any manner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Island men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were any thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a convenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gave the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe captaine Malglane. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified even at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this piece of service shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie ever since have bozne that surname, even unto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murrepland men, procuring them of Rolfe and Cathnes, with divers other to loine with them in confederacie, did not onelie sea the kings servants, and those that were appointed under him to see in

vice ministered, but through support of one Malcolme, whome they chose to be their captaine, they also waisted and destroyed the kings possessions, with more crueltie than ever had bene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Malcolme was sent with an armie into March. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puissance, thought nothing more available than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Donimusk, where he was advertised, that in manner all the north parts of Scotland with the Isles, were confederat with the Murrepland men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, vowed to give the baronnie of Donimusk (which he understood to be lands pertaining to the crowne) unto the church of saint Andrew in life, if it might please God to send him victorie over his enemies.

At length coming unto the water of Speie, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for arms, than he thought had bene possible to have found in all Scotland: he perceived also that his standard-bearer began to shrink, and not to shew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to have done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gave it to sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for ever: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skringmour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides ready to have joined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken up, and peace made on these conditions; That the commons that took part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their lives and lands saved. Howbeit many of them were kept in perpetual prison during their lives, and all their goods confiscated to the kings use.

All civil trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wife queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale unto the religion of that time) gave himselfe in manner altogether unto much devotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by providing for the poore, and such like goodlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieve, herein there seemed to be in manner a certaine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous queene his wife, which of them should be most fervent in the love of God, so that many people by the imitation of them were brought unto a better life. Agatha and her daughter Chyline also, by the example of these two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a privat and solitarie life, wherein they gave themselves wholie to divine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the setting on of the queene his wife, ceased not to let his indow wholie to the advancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predecessors. Wherefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sees in Scotland, as saint Andrew, Glasgou, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrew and Murthlake remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decayed) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murree and Cathnes, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

It is to
of entered
among the
and man
such a m
countrie
land to in
nerse of t

The lamenta-
tion of the
Scottish nobi-
lity for the in-
temperate
drinking be-
gun to grow
in use in their
countrie.

The ancient
garments of
her amongst
the Scots.

The kings
vow.

Standard
bearer.

Sir Alex-
ander Carron.

A peace was
concluded.

The submi-
sion of gentle-
men.

King Ag-
atha and
Chyline re-
nounced the
pompe of the
court.

A goodlie

Agatha and
Chyline re-
nounced the
pompe of the
court.

Agatha and

Agatha and

Bishops re-
stored and
newly crea-
ted by king
Malcolme.

and deca-
intemper-
uallie t
sized so f-
ting and
diet used
to provide
these we
duced uni-
not to eat
superfluo
and land,
sawres, b
their gree

Thron
of their b-
grew mo
sipping e
more in
men of o-
tie armies
into fier
without d
all humai
Malcolme
infatigabl

of his re-
pente and
where the
no; unde
after they
thereof, t
streine th
ted abuse
to the re-
planted t
not to be
our time.

man was
suffices,
were gon
yet did n-
thes at a
insatiabl
or what
quench th
dizing; so
sought to
thie of m
most: wh-
pie wolou
words t-
folie: for
parts of t
ting, no; t
destitute t

In the
Scotland
21 yeare
1087. Al
old church
ded up a
which fea-
tish wite
the abbeie
made bish

1087. Al
old church
ded up a
which fea-
tish wite
the abbeie
made bish

It is said, that such outrageous riot entered at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottishmen, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their country, were daily received as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommodities and decay to the whole realme would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realme, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobriety of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedie in time, before hope of redress were past, that the people might be againe reduced unto their former frugalitie, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and their desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiously dressed or served forth with sauces, but onely feeding to satiate nature, and not their greedy appetites.

Though this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies here with in continuall travell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like unto giants than unto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and limbs, pressing upon their enemies like unto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Here upon king Malcolme took great paines to haue redressed this infective poison, and utterly to have expelled it forth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is so prone and readie to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restrain their licentious desires. And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excess with things used in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so overcome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adates; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparseness of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedy taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoever may be gotten, is unready able to quench their gluttonous appetit: a ravenous gozmanizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left unsought to satiate the same, as though they were worthy of most high commendation that may deour most: wherein they may be justlie compared to greedy wolues and cozurants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deede, is but a folke: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whilst things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21. yeere of his reigne, and after the intercession of 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Dunfermling to be blucked doone and builded up a new, beginninge then at the first stone. In which season, one Egilwin or William (as the Scottish writers say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbeye was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the lives

of quene Margaret and Malcolme his husband in the Scottish tongue. Afterward he deceased in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought unto Dunfermling, and there buried, because he was first prior thereof. King Malcolme by perswasion of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordaining from thenceforth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like manner as it had bene afore time in the Ile of Jona at the abbey of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were devised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife quene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their lives, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Edwin the third, appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is used to be paid yet unto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewings law, the lord had the use of their bodies all the first night after their marriage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should enjoy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before any denouncing of warre by him made, invaded Northumberland, and took the castell of Amwick, putting all furth to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enemy, leuied a great host of his subjects, and comming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Amwick. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to haue made surrender, a certeine English knight conceiting in his mind an hardie and dangerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, saving a speare in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keyes of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour unto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavilion to understand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receive the keyes which he had brought. And whilst all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keyes, the Englishman ran the king through the left side, and suddenly dashing his spurs to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hee perished by the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this adventurous knight, & called him Perceus, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the side, and in recompense of his service gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whom those Percees are descended, which in our daies haue intioied the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake by their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbey of Tinnmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterwards to be taken up, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The church of Dunfermling

The sepulture of the Scottish kings.

King Ewings law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The castell of Amwick taken by the Englishmen.

The castell of Amwick besieged by the Scots.

An hardie enterprise.

Malcolme is slain.

The name of the Percees had no such beginning, for they came forth of Northumberland at the conquest. Eres of Northumberland. Malcolme buried at Tinnmouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

in alth, is, but to eathen font in les, instres, high (one) ight, he after ne deot, r be, efull re A, e ob him is as of the et in When mies redia, latter ions; bels, emen, their were and all

quiete admo: Spar: son of r unto doing to such e. To r a cer: quene t in the itation ha and if these court, herein empla: g on of indevor: ligion, negh: before n Scot: ay, and p, faint in god ored the ermoez athnes, te of life

King Malcolme through exhortation of his wife, gave himself to devotion. A godlie life. The name of the Percees had no such beginning, for they came forth of Northumberland at the conquest. Eres of Northumberland. Malcolme buried at Tinnmouth. Edward prince of Scotland died.

Quene Margaret died.

1097. H. B.

The firs of
October H.B.
Strange
wonders.
An huge tide.

Godwins
sands.

Thunder.

Trees and
cogne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of
R. Malcolm
Cannmore.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane
fled into the
Fles.
Donald Bane
returneth into
Scotland.
His covenant
for the gift of
the Fles to
the king of
Norwaie.

The report
that the people
had to receive
Donald Bane
for their king.

R. Malcolms
sons sent for
into England
by Edgar
their uncle.

hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from
Antwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first
of the blond roiall that had his bones laid in that
place. Quene Margaret being aduertised of the
death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in
Edenburgh castell, hir disease increas'd through
griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thre daies
after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more
iofull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the
yere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of No-
uember, and in the 36 yere of his reigne.

In the same yere, manie uncouth things came to
passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring-
tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie
townes, castels, and woods were drowned, as well in
Scotland as in England. After the ceasing of which
tempest, the lands that sometime were earle God-
wins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre
from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and
drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer si-
thens haue bene called Godwins sands. The people
haue thought that this vengeance came to that
peece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for
the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he traitorously
contriued. For neuer fundrie castels and townes in
Spurrey land, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides.
Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same
time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields,
and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations.
In Lothian, Fife, and Angus, trees and cogne were
burned by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor
from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammore, liued
that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottish
man borne, but professed a monke in the monastirie
of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanishe
priest, but dwelling in Scotland, storied about the
same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, to whome
Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by
his wife quene Margaret (otherwise called for hir
holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward
(as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his
tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and
Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an
holie life in England: the other thre were named
Edgar, Alexander, and David. Where be that write
how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his
uncle Donald Bane, when he invaded the king-
dome, and vsurped the crowne, after the deceasse of
his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar
next inheritor to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned)
fled into the Fles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of
Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king
Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by
support of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he coue-
nanted to giue the dominion of all the Fles, if by his
means & furtherance he might obtaine the crowne
of Scotland. Hereupon landing with an armie in
the realme, he found small resistance, and so with
little adoe receiued the crowne. For manie of the
people abhorring the riotous manners and superflu-
ous gormandizing brought in among them by the
Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this
Donald for their king, trusting (because he had bene
brought vp in the Fles with the old customes and
manners of their ancient nation, without tast of the
English likorous delicats) they should by his seuer-
er in gouernement recouer againe the former
temperance of their old progenitors.

As soon as Edgar Etheling brother to Quene
Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had
thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secret-
lie for his three nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Da-

uid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto
him into England, where he had not kept them ante
long while, but that a knight whose name was Dy-
gan or Dygar, accused him of treason, alledging
how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters
within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors
to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise
remained not unpunished, for one of Edgars
friends, taking in hand to barraine battell with Dy-
gan, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him
within liks. After that Donald had receiued the
crowne at the abbey of Scone, he perceiued that
some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shew-
ing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto
king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and
therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars,
that yet it were long the nobles should repent them
of their doing, if they applied not them selues the
more to his opinion.

Which words being marked, and deeply im-
printed in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his
great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncane
the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England
into Scotland, supported with an armie of men ap-
pointed by king William the Red, to place him in
the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the same
by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance.
Now when Donald approached with his puillance,
in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his
people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncane's
side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that
should haue aided him, was constrained for his re-
fuge to flee againe into the westerne Fles: and so
Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the
crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene tra-
ned the most part of his life in the warres both in
England and France, he had small skill in ciuill go-
uernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with
iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By
reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with
new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things,
that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited Mak-
pender erle of Mernes to take his part, and by some
meanes to flea R. Duncane, which enterprize Mak-
pender taking in hand, at length (in pnteth) ac-
complished the same in the night season, when he had
espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that
not so much as one man was found to pursue him.
But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of
the peoples fauor, that more reioiced than were sorie
for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vncle
Donald was restored againe to the kingdome,
chiefly by support of the forenamed Makpender,
after his nephue the foresaid Duncane had reigned
one yere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had
reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephue)
the space of six moneths, and now after he had reco-
uered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment
thereof thre yeres, not without great trouble and
intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords
maligning his aduancement, sought occasions da-
lie to depose him.

In the meane time the Zlandmen made some
stirre, neither did the warres with England cease,
(though without anie great exploit or enterprize
worthy of remembrance) sauing a few light skir-
mishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At
length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a
great fleet, and sailing about the westerne Fles, gar-
nished all the strengths within them in most defen-
sible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, vsurping
the dominion as soueraigne lord of the same Fles:
and at the same time ordeined those lawes and con-
stitutions,

Dygar
accused
Edgar
of treason.

Dygan is
slaine within
liks.

Donald
threateneth
his familiars.

Duncane
comes into
Scotland.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
fleeeth into
the westerne
Fles.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

Duncane
receiues the
crowne.

fitu
tant
un-
ent
ted
was
spal
to
crol
quel
sing
him
ston
ship
so fa
half
to b
gar
chat
kul
min
in y
sain
roth
hear
he d
bozi
Do
long
tak
the
mei
gait
ing
ued
beir
(as
uer
inte
rie
and
pul
A
ued
the
in t
ther
dea
the
pin
fol
wa
Ed
this
lant
lant
an
of
kin
hear
of
a
ther
lant
saw
min
rie
don
frut
(as
rie

situations which are used there amongst the inhabitants even unto these daies. The Scottishmen having great indignation, that the Isles being anciently parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators vnto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolm) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to recover his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vsurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate aduise touching this request, first sent ambassadours vnto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore vnto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladly reward him with great lordships and revenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to do him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye sue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his vnckle Edgar Cutheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forward towards Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he took with him the banner of saint Cutbert, he should haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbey church, where first hearing diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Neuertheles king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar. Some say that when the battels were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cutbert sped against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to haue saved himselfe in some one of the western Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) vnto Edgar, by whome he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortly after died. The victorie thus atchieued, Edgar went vnto Edinburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchres of his mother and brethren.

Afterwards comming to the abbete of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he received the crowne, and shortly after was annointed by the archbishop of saint Andrews named Godlike, in the yere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before hir death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be annointed. This priuiledge was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second of that name. The first king that was annointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yeres before this Edgar recovered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land vnder Godfrie of Bullongne, and other christian princes.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Fozmandie went, and should haue bene created king of Ierusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glancing of an arrow shot at a dore in the new forest; and then hoping to succeed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he saw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his coming home, he found that his yongest brother Henrie surnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdom of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthilie (as most men thought) for that he refused to receive a dignitie, wherein he might haue secured the com-

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Vnto Henrie Beauclerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Maule. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which marriage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married vnto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by queene Maule, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Maule.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to the some token of thanks towards saint Cutbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vnckle Donald, he gaue vnto the monks of Durham the lands of Colbingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canulph; he gaue the towne of Berwick. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had any warres anye waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than feared amongst his subjects for his singular equitie and upright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the deceasse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Rosse, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his prayers, and diuine seruice, after the manner of his parents, supposed he would proue no great quickie iusticier in punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously they began to rob and reave on ech side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yong infants smiling vpon the murderers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beaklie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordingly shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authours and capteins, strooke off their heads. As he returned backe through Bernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maister of Bernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had seene the author of that heinous trespass hanged vpon a gibbet. After his comming into Colozie, he took in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Cotwize had given him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilest he was thus buile about the furtherance of that worke, diuerse of those theues that were accustomed to liue by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises

Maule kind
Edgars sister.

Eustace earle
of Bullongne.

The lands of
Colbingham.
Canulph bi-
shop of Dur-
ham.

Edgar rather
reuerenced
than feared.
1107. 10. Ma.
1109. H.B.

Alexan-
der.

Theues of
Murray land
and Rosse.

The crueltie
of theues.

Execution.

The earle of
Bernes son.

A righteous
iusticier.

The castell of
Baledgar.

Treason of
conspirators
to haue slaine
the king.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuelish practises, they entered one night through a priuite into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which hong nere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue bene raised, and so haue halfed to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuertheless, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & upon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were incouraged to worke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Whereupon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to pursue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spair, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The king seeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a cholen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase suffered death, according as they had well deserved. The realme after this execution done on these offenders, continued manie yeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was sene in the kings fight that day to fight most manfullie, in slaing diuerse of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were vied in those daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to say, An hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be sene in the armes of his posteritie vnto this day. & Other there be that say he got the surname of Skrimgeour, because he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constablership of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hoke.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repare the abbey of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and saint Michaele. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constrained to abide three daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and because he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbey of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that house. He also gaue to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great boze was slaine vpon the said ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this boze doe hang in chaines vpon the skales of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

ness. Moreover, the abbey of Dunfermling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with kindie lands and possessions.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and repairing of religious houses, his brother David liued in England with his sister queene Maule, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maule, daughter vnto Mordolins, or rather Mordolus earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Judith that was nece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Mordolins or Mordolus had no other issue to inherit his lands, David in right of his wife Maule inherited the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appere. Maule the daughter of king Henrie Beaucherk, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eufeme, the relictue of the issue which the same Henrie Beaucherk had by his wife (surnamed for his singular bounty, ouerliffe, the good queene Maule) in comming forth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of ech estate and degree. Their mother the said Maule was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceased also, and was buried in Dunfermling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great prouesse and baliance, obtaining of the king in respect thereof, certeine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in processe of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puissance, by reason of the great possessions & ample revenues which they afterwards attained. At length (as often hath bene) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cause of the decaye and finall ruine thereof, as in the sequele of this historie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Rodobert. About the same time liued that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottishman bozne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbey of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

But now to proceed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother David came vnto Scone, and there received the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This David, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministering of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie foraine enemies, so long as king Henrie Beaucherk liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and fled to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poze mens causes and matters: but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he understood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the party wronged, according to the value of his losse and hinder-

The abbey of Dunfermling

David was there to king Alexander

Maule, daughter vnto Mordolins

Mordolins or Mordolus earle of Huntington and Northumberland

Maule the daughter of king Henrie Beaucherk

John Cumming

Richard de sancto Victore

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

hinderat
nounced
Thus i
things ti
and bani
mongst l
men, pe
ning & d
that was
he built
of them
warres t
men, an
The nam
rod hous
Holmeci
Is in loie
also two
at north
castell, t
ther of t
rises wi
and Dub
lands, ar
Moreone
lake bnt
ons, ang
thought e
He wa
slepe, tha
der to ltu
men into
hard to l
was adn
croffe. (1
that veri
time) as h
the chafe
Maule p
forable li
towards
uenues o
noble pti
ends; fo
want of t
procture t
their land
eractions
uerthme
berne con
desperat
Wherthi
nonghtie
man-wea
the time t
the crown
Therefi
king Daw
that he w
that he le
poze. fo
witheth in
tith of pe
those abbe
to nourish
churches
roialtie: i
(as they a
will ppeal
life, but ar
realms. If
the historie
was had by
thunderl

The kings
manhood,

The water of
Spair.

Sir Alexander
Carron.
The rebels
are vanqui
shed.

Skrimgeour.

The abbey of
Scone.

Saint Col
mes Inch.

The abbey of
saint Colmes
Inch builded.

Lands na
med the Bo
arrinke.
Boze tusks.

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

David

was si-
undie

pied in
his bzo-
quene
of band
ge one

Mal-
nd, be-
e unto
he said
o inhe-
uld in

ington
se a son
ngton,
red ur-
ppere,
clerke,

urth of
he resi-
clerke
ounte,
y forth

in the
g their
ite and
ze that

after,
ried in
in the
carna-

hinterd
John
lancie,
small
these
rom a

ny rea-
which
n hap-
as the
of, as
ceiue.

der of
d like
jereof
d that
hman
me at
withy
ring a

he dei-
f that
, and
to his
This
le pa-
ng of
nd the
arres
entire
tie of
of his
t him-
s and
d ba-

s. If
d by
e par-
e and
inde-

The abbey
Dunfermling

Dauid bzo-
ther to king
Alexander

wolofing
earle of
thumberland
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

The lands
Dunfermling
and Dunfer-
mling

hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pro-
nounced the iudgement.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie
things to the advancement of the common-wealth,
and banished such banketting cheare as was used a-
mongst his people after the example of the English-
men, perceiving the same to breed a great weakne-
ning & decaye of the ancient stoutnesse of stomack,
that was wont to remaine in the Scottish nation.
He builded to the number of sixtene abbeies, part
of them in the beginning of his reigne before the
warres were begun which he had with the English-
men, and part after the same warres were ended.
The names of those abbeies are as followeth: Holie
rood house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Petwobottell,
Holmeultrane, Dundranane, Cambuskenneth,
Kilnis, Dunfermling, Holme in Cumberland;
also two nurries, the one at Carleill, and the other
at north Berwiske: with two abbeies beside Petw-
castell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the o-
ther of white monkes. He erected also foure bishop-
rikes within his realme, Kille, Brechin, Dunkeld,
and Dablane, indowing them with rich rents, faire
lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions.
Moreover he translated the bishops see of Murth-
lake unto Aberdeen, for sundrie aduised considerati-
ons, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he
thought expedient.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his
sleepe, that he shuld build an abbey for a religious or-
der to liue in together. Whereupon he sent for woyme-
men into France and Flanders, and set them in
hand to build this abbey of canons regular, as he
was admonished, dedicating it in the honoz of a
crosse (whereunto he bare spectall deuotion) for
that berie frangelie it slipped into his hands (on a
time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in
the chase. But inough of these monkish deuises.
Manie prudent men blame greatly the vnnea-
surable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vsed
towards the church, in diminishing so hugelie the re-
uenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie
noble princes his successors haue come to their finall
ends, for that they haue bene constrained through
want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to
procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse
their lands and liuings; also to raise payments and
exactions of the common people, to the vtter impo-
uerishment of the realme. And sometime they haue
bene constrained to invade England by warres, as
decherat men, not caring what came of their liues.
Whereby they haue bene enforced to stampe
naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the com-
mon-wealth. All which mischiefs haue followed since
the time that the church hath bene thus enriched, and
the crowne impouertished.

Wherefore king James the first, when he came to
king Dauid his sepulture at Dunfermling, he said,
that he was a foze saint for the crowne, meaning
that he left the church over-rich, and the crowne too
poore. For he took from the crowne (as Iohn Maior
writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scot-
tish of petrelie reuenues, wherewith he indowed
those abbeies. But if k. Dauid had considered how
to nourish true religion, he had rather indowed
churches with such riches, nor built them with such
roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church
(as they are now vsed) are not onelie occasion to e-
uill pelats to liue in most insolent pompe & corrupt
life, but an assured net to draw gold and siluer out of
realms. But now to returne where I left, touching
the bischope, ye shall note that (as I said before) Da-
uid had by his wife Maude inheritor of part of For-
thumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

sonne named Henrie, who married the earle of Mar-
rens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as deli-
cend of most noble blond both French and Eng-
lish. In whome he begat thre sonnes, Malcolme,
William, and Dauid; also thre daughters, Adha-
ma, Margaret, and Maude. But now in the meane
time, whilst the estate of the common-wealth in
Scotland stood in high felicitie, vnder the prospe-
rous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened
to him an heauie losse. For the quene his wife the
foresaid Maude deceased in hir flourishing age, a
woman of passing beautie and chastitie, which two
points (as is thought) commend a woman about all
the rest. King Dauid therefore took such griefe for
hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind
to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his
life without companie of all women. She was bu-
ried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Whilst these things came thus to passe in Scot-
land, Henrie Beaucherke king of England, caused
all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that
after his deceasse they shoulde receiue his daughter
Maude the emperesse for their soueraigne ladie and
quene. She was as then returned into England;
for hir husband the emperour was latelie before de-
ceased. King Dauid also took his oth, and there-
fore when king Stephan (who usurped the crowne of
England after king Henries deceasse against the
said emperesse) sent vnto king Dauid to come and
do his homage for the earledomes of Northumber-
land, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as
by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimati-
on that if he refused, king Stephan would invade
him with open warre; king Dauid answered, that
he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands
vnto the emperesse Maude, which he minded not to
breake for the threatening words of anie new inua-
sions. King Stephan moued with this answer, sent a
power of men to the borders of Northumberland,
(which as then was vnder the dominion of the
Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that
countrie. They that had the charge of this enter-
prise, entering into the lands of their enemies, put
all to fire and sword that came in their way. The
Scots kindled with that displeasure, rodded into
England, and did the like displeasures and hurts
there. For the yeare after, the earles of March,
Hertford, and Angus entred into England with a
great armie, against whome came the earle of Glo-
cester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton,
lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselfe, with
diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan
therefore, constrained to redeme the captiues, gaue
not onelie a great summe of monie for them; but
also made resignation of all such title, claime, or in-
terest, as either he or anie of his successors might
make or pretend to the countie of Northumber-
land and Cumberland. Notobest his nobles were no
sooner returned home, but that repenting him of
that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe,
and entering into Northumberland, fought with the
Scots that came forth to resist him, and obtaining
the victorie, took a great part of the countrie into
his possession.

King Dauid, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a
mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell
the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his domi-
nions, or else to die in the field. But shortly after,
Thurstan archbishop of Yorke came vnto Kor-
burgh, called in those daies Marken, to treat for
peace, where a truce was concluded for thre mo-
neths, with condition, that the Englishmen shoulde
deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto
the lord Henrie king Dauid his sonnes. But for so
much

Earle of war-
ren.

The issue of
Henrie.

Quene
Maude de-
ceased.

1132.

Maude the
emperesse.

k. Stephan.

Homage is
required.

The English
men invade
Northumber-
land.

The Scots
make robes
into England

The earle of
Glocester
Robert was
against king
Stephan, but
there might be
some other
happie: but
whome king
Stephan had
giuen that ti-
tle.

A resignation.

k. Stephan
repenteth.

Korburgh in
old time
Marken.
A truce.

King David
inuaeth
Northumber-
land.
King Ste-
phan passeth
vnto Rox-
burgh.

much as this covenant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David invaded that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moved herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant araine vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without atching of anie worthy enterprise.

The yeare next ensuing, a peace was talked by on, the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glascolw, Aberdeen, and saint Andrews on the part of king David. But Paul quene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Wallongne, and neece to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefeest dower in this matter, to bring them to agreement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, late at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Newcastle, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntingdon should remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lands and seignories the forenamed prince Henrie & his successors, princes of Scotland, should do homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Covenants of
agreement.

Homage.

King Stephan
returneth.
Carleill was
repaired by
William the
first king of
England, a-
bout the yeare
of our Lord,
1092.

The death of
Henrie prince
of Scotland.
1152.

Prince Hen-
rie his issue.

The lawes
of nature.

Inozation.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subiects, King Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yeare came Paul the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainlie may appeare.) But whilest England was sore troubled with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarrels of these two persons, no small sorow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbete church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned of all of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprovided of heires.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the law of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Therefore that king David weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiving them to be right heartie and sorrowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

How great your fidelitie and care is, which you

beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now do I plainlie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you esteeme to be sore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for

10 this time due yielding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoever thing I haue in the world, the same is ready to do you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous travels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender yowth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernour of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore wildest day and night I haue and do resolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoever hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equal and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best,

30 farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with time I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to reuelie the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first sene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitable than greatlie desired of all the people; and yet neither the lone of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue known my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like manner. My brethren that were following, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I esteemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So be

50 relie standeth the case, that no man might yet at a nie time avoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioice, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such

60 a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither do I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried by to rest among that fellowship of beauenlie spirits, where I shall

the
and
the
for
the
fall
do
del
in
fra
sou
der
ex
our
the
thi
bul
all
ing
tha
at l
to
poi

the
ma
ted
at
the
me
pri
pai
oth
rec
an
pi
by
att
uit
rie
of
bef
wi
the
pro
say
tri
tin

Earle of North-
umberland.

Henrie the
emperesse his
sonne recei-
ued the order
of knighthood.

dis
eni
to
the
Lo
rer
ber
to l
for
aft
hor
of
we

The exhorta-
tion of king
David to his
nobles.

King David
departeth out
of this life.
1152.

ble
tho
go:
in i
ani
casi
ma

shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I liued them. Therefore that I may repeat it once againe, I reioice (I say) to haue obtained in my former by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is already in that place to the which all we do earnestlie wish that we may attaine; and do endeavour by all means, that when the time cometh in which our soules are to be loosed forth of these fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found worthy of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so enuious, that therefore we do lament, because as yet we sticke fast overwhelmed and drowned in such filthy miers, and cumbered in such thorne thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come to the place where we do reckon that by diuine power he is already arrived.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdom. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receive the othes of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king David himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order of knightthod there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agreement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countreies of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king David taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceived himselfe to wax faint and feeble, he required to be borne in to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and blood, with most solemn reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending to them his young nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after another, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almighty God, to seeke the preservation of common quiet, to the advancement of the publike weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermling, after the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king David excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regado, which he had toward the residue of the poore, putted all other his notable vertues, he putted his count also in such wise as all vicious rule and misordered customs, that his whole familie was giuen vnto the exercise of vertue. No riotous banquet, nor surfeiting there was: hee amongst them, no lasciuious words heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wastfull expences shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing moued to strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly love seemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their master king David vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephew to him by his first Henrie succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeares of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and pertuous conditions were such, that all men conceived a good hope that he would proue a right noble and worthy prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, even from his infancie, that delighting in chaste conuersation and cleannesse of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without marriage: therefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entering into the possession of the crowne, there was a great dearth through all the bounds of Scotland. And some after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceived that the disease wherof they died was anie thing contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleith the thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprize than stood with the baseness of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe nere hand furnished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was vnder yeares of ripe discretion, to blurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling together an huge compaignie of such as in hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, he came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, sleaung and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprize was shortly repressed: for Gilcriff earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleiths attempts, incountered with him in battell, & slue 2000 of his men. Somerleith hauing receiued this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saued his life.

Henrie the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enemies, feared least he being unbolstered therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, in manner and forme as his grandfather king David had before done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeyed this commandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder condition (as the Scottish writers affirme) that it should in no manner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scottish kingdome. At the same time king Henrie had warres against Lewis the first, king of France.

This singular pitie toward the poore.

King Davids court.

King Davids seruants.

King Davids example, a rule of godlie life.

Malcolme

The education of king Malcolme.

A dearth.

A death not contagious.

Somerleith thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king.

Somerleiths crueltie.

Gilcriff sent with an armie against Somerleith.

K. Malcolme summoned to do homage.

K. Malcolme goeth with king Henrie into France.

the
cei
ine
my
one
our
pou
ath
for
me
to
else
ing
pou
mi
pou
it to
bett
rud
ship
pau
no
ame
high
day
cru
nes
ie of
d to
and
rest
to o
use
e to
ore
e de
atlie
p fa
re;
l the
of of
rom
my
ular
hen
died
ill o
and
o be
at a
om:
is a
o be
anti
we
dice,
ind,
jere
that
such
woy
us,
rom
he to
us,
was
e oc
pos
me
shall
for
ment
oreff
ere
shall

Malcolme the sonne of Henrie the first prince of Scotland.

Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the first king receiued the order of knightthod.

The scholes of king David to his sonnes.

King David departed out of this life.

1153.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, com-
stained king Malcolme to go with him in that for-
ne against his will, notwithstanding that he had a
safe conduct frelie to come and go. In this volage
king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and
at length besieged the cite of Tholouse.

Tholouse be-
sieged.
King Henries
meaning.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present
with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre
such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that
therby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might
finallie be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie ha-
ving lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, re-
turned into England, and then licenced king Mal-
colme to returne home into Scotland; who at his
comming home, sent the bishop of Durey, and one
of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassa-
dors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius
the third of that name, to recognise the obedience
which he ought to the Romane see. Shortly after al-
so, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where
king Malcolme was soze rebuked by his lords, in
that he had borne through his owne follie, armes a-
gainst the Frenchmen their old confederate friends
and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the
matter with humble wordes, saying he came un-
warlike into king Henries hands, and therefore
might not chose but accomplish his will and plea-
sure at that time; so that he supposed herelike the
French king would take no great displeasure with
his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the
matter.

Ambassadors
sent to Rome.

Parlement
at Scone.
King Malcolme
reprimed by
his nobles.
King Malcolme
excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of
this grudge betwixt the Scottish lordes and their king,
thought to renew the same with moze displeasure,
and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto
Dorke, to a parlement which he held there, where
at his comming he was burdened with a right grie-
uous complaint surmized against him by king Hen-
rie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen
all the secrets of the English armie, when he was
with him in France, at the aboue remembred iour-
nie, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for
the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he
held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland,
Northumberland, and Huntingdon. And though
king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons de-
clared those allegations to be untrue and vniustlie
forged, yet by king Henries earnest enforcing of the
matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the ge-
nerall consent of all the estates there in that parle-
ment assembled. And mozeouer, to bring king Mal-
colme in further displeasure with the nobles, king
Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Mal-
colme returned backe into his countrie, how he had
of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right,
title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands,
supposing by this means to make king Malcolme
farre moze odious to all his lieges and subiects, than
euer he was before.

King Malcolme
goeth to Dorke

Good dealing
and not like
to be true.

Sentence gi-
uen against King
Malcolme
at Dorke.

King Malcolme
is besieged.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his
countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that sub-
till contriued policie and slanderous report, was
besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of
Ernedale, and diuerse others. But after it was
knowne vnto king Malcolme had bene besieged,
and most vniustlie slandered, they desired pardon of
their offence, as induced thereto by untrue reports,
which once being granted, they brake by their siege,
and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like
true and most obedient subiects. But king Mal-
colme soze moued for that he was thus iniuriously
handed by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to
be made of all such things as had bene wrongfullie
taken from him, and so detained by the Englishmen,

Open warres
proclaimed
against the
Englishmen.

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, af-
ter sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as
the other, they came to a communication in a cer-
taine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where
(to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that King Mal-
colme should receiue againe Cumberland and Hun-
tington: but for Northumberland, he should make a
plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his
successors for euer.

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the
hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find
means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least
if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they
might become an easie prey vnto the Englishmen,
they remained quiet for a time. Hotobert shortly af-
ter, there arose another pece of trouble, though lesse
in outward apperance, by reason of the small power
remaining in the author, yet dangerous enough,
considering it was within the realme it selfe. One
Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving
he might not by secret practise atchieue his purposed
intent (what soeuer the same was) determined by o-
pen force to assaile what luckie success fortune would
send him; hoping that those which through feare late
as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so
long as they saw anie commotion raised by him to
occasion them thereto. Whereupon he assembled to-
gether a great companie: but before he could worke
anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilchrist
earle of Angus (whose faithfull valiance was before
manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somers-
lets rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sun-
drie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whit-
terne, where is a place of sanduarie privileged for
the safegard of all offenders that flee thereto for suc-
cor in the honor of saint Martin.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the
franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre
round about it, to watch that he should by no means
escape a waile; so that at length wearied as it had
bene with long siege, he yielded himselfe to the king,
who taking his sonne to pledge for his good abearing
in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should
please him: but the most part of his lands and li-
uings were confiscated to the kings vse. Whereupon
when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as
he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rood
house, and there ended his life (as it is reported). It
was not long after the pacifying of this trouble, but
that a new rebellion was raised: for the Murray
land men, by the prouocation of their capitaine called
Gilda, waisted with fire and sword the countie of
Kosse, Wobogewall, or Wogdale, Par, Carroch,
Buchanane, and the Spemes, in moze cruel sort
than anie forerime & most barbarous nation would
haue done; insomuch that when the king sent diuers
of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of
their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers,
contrarie to the law of nations.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the aboue na-
med Gilchrist was sent with an armie into Murray
land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the
knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the
field, and put him to flight. Whereupon the king him-
selfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to in-
courage his people after this overthrow, came with
a farre greater power than he had sent forth before,
with displayed banner, ouer the riuers of Speite, nere
to the mouth thereof he fought with the enemies, and
in the end (after soze and long fight continued with
great slaughter and bloodshed) he gaue them the o-
uerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shewed
in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to
all other his subiects that should go about to attempt

A conclusion
of agreement

King Malcolme
hates his
people.

Feare of war-
ward enimie
causeth quiet-
nesse at home.

Angus the
thane of Gal-
loway raised
a commotion
vpon which
certain lawiers
make no men-
tion.

Angus be-
comfited by
Gilchrist.

Whiterne a
place of sand-
uarie.

Angus be-
sieged in Whit-
terne.

Angus yield-
eth himselfe
to the king.

Angus be-
came a ca-
non.

A rebellion
moued by the
Murrayes.

Gilda captaine
of the rebels.

The crueltie
of the rebels.

Gilchrist be-
comfited by
the Murrayes.

Angus not
come to them
thence.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

King Malcolme
ought not to be
provoked to
take a waile.

The Scots
rebellers are
overthrowen.

the like
any la-
person
that gi-
thus
ding t
the re-
come
habite

King Mur-
rayes distressed
in Scotland.

Overwhelmed
at Bertha.
Overwhelmed in
Scotland.

Parlement
at Scone.

The opinion
of Arnold bi-
shop of saint
Andrewes.

Whiterne
place of sand-
uarie.

The pleasure
of marriage.

The commo-
dities by a
waile.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

Angus be-
lieues God
will win.

In
gile, &
land,
colme
and co
and ni
allate
return
Scoti
more
shed it
all his
after
king;
colme
ing in
goner
two f
sparg
pong
earle
All
of all
sembl
archbi
pithie
chang
peret
him b
lie ne
take a
ced hi
he mi
derin
trimo
oz tha
ordin
pleast
lectab
bedfel
ces:
ing a
an be
ange
rits b
dious
thei
migh
tie of
rome
to the
men
also f
their
ough
led in
and ti
suble
and n
nothi
most
stant
ancel
woul

the like, he commanded that none of those of Spurrey land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation should passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Spurrey land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their comes, that the countrie should not lie waile without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleith the thane of Ar-gile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ire-land, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the most part of all his nobles and commons, through this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Spurrey land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon returned with certeine kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more unluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Kenfroto, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had inlike merited. Malcolme hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing two sisters marriable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the younger called Adhama he married with Florens earle of Holland.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were assembled together in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a verie pithie oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vow, which (as appeared) he had made to live chaste. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not chuse a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceived. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more deleitable to him, than to haue a womanly ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of grieve and gladnesse, the being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woo, an helpe both in sicknesse & health, redie to assuage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through tedious trauell and care of mind.

When thewed he that an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their comes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enemies. Wherefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to persuade with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subjects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitabie, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moue his constant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeeres affianced his virginie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so prouide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subjects. Thus brake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set workemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Andrewes abbey, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie peece of worke, and verie coslie, as may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous chere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbey liued in those daies in most feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbey of Couper of the Cisterciens order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finallie, being vexed with long infirmite, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yeere of his reigne. A certeine comet or blasing starre appeared 14 daies together before his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yeeres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbishop of York, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by unlawfull meanes.

After Malcolme succeeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadores vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earledome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by god and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could wish or demand. Herevpon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he required the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would do therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iourne. For as William would not disobey his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers doe affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceived no comfort to recover his lands, he got licence with much adoe to returne home: and so coming backe into England, passed through the realme with

A peace concluded with England. The abbey of saint Andrewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbies, prouocations to inordinate lusts.

The abbey of Couper founded. The death of king Malcolme. A comet.

1185. Roger archbishop of York the popes legat.

William surnamed the Lion. Ambassadores sent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

As William request for the restitution of Northumberland. The answer of king Henrie.

King Henrie saileth into Normandie. King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

*King William
scale of justice.*

*Scotland
more indurated
by domestic
than by for-
eign enemies.*

*Ambassadors
sent to King
Henrie.*

*See more
thereof in
England.*

*A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
piece of North-
umberland
with his right
faued to the re-
sidue.
King Henrie
repenting him
selfe of that
which he had
deliuered to
the Scots
seeketh new
occasions of
warre.
warres with
England.*

*King William
inuaith
Cumberland.*

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subjects, and spectallie he took order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grow by open warre against anie foren nation, it may well appere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spolling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this pynne was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to reuelle the licentious outrage of such arrand theues and priuite murderers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of foren enemies.

When he had once clemented the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent effones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requirring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would assaie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiuing that he must either satisfie king William's request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather King Malcolm had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he receiued not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yeres after, king Henrie feeling what hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scottish kings, repented him of that bargain: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subjects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands pertaining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Complaint of these injuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken auaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but forasmuch as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterpryse in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Haruest was also at hand, and thereupon they ceased on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, worthie to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gilschrist, whose approued valiantie often shewed in the time of king Malcolm, had advanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the household. The middle ward of battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto

king William, offering vnto him, not onlie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redress of all manner of injuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer hereunto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of blood, but that he would gladlie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to worke such feates as they had imagined, aduised forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season nere vnto the place where the same Scottishmen late in campe, & diuiding themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other compaignie was laid closelie in a ballie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came even with in sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon encouraging one another, they bolliely issued forth vpon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weakie resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cause the Scottishmen to breake their arraie of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small compaignie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constrained them to die in good earnest, which they themselves had but onlie counterfeited to do before.

King William perceiuing his people thus discomfited, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his indour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enemies made onlie at him, he yielded himselfe. There was not much blood spilled on either side at this beheading, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush late, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the hunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiuing they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Poymannie, where he was as then remaining. The peere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Saviour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agreable with that which we haue here aboue remembred, who declare how King William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

*The offers of
the English-
men.*

*The answer
of King Wil-
liam.*

*The English-
men sent by
policy to
with the
Scots.*

*The English-
men retired
purpose.*

*The king
but slenderlie
garded.*

*The Scots
conferre
the king.*

*King William
yielded him-
selfe prisoner.*

*King William
conueied into
Poymannie.*

1174

*Discomfited
Englishmen.*

*For
with
but
gith
no
they
lon
to a
for
par
ret
hin
Or
Sc
Or
on
nie
led
hel
B;
to
hol
see
the
for
en
the
B*

*Captains of
the English-
men.*

W. Parvus.

th

fo

ac

pr

m

h

fe

bi

st

st

h

ci

h

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

ti

the large
backe with
the English
men.
The officers
of the English
men.
The answer
of king Wil-
liam.
The officers
of the English
men.
The answer
of king Wil-
liam.

answer, to
nding still
ccasion to
addressed
am, with
s. In the
me aduan-
the night
re Scottish
s into two
the fields,
themselves
tell: the o-
e not farre
it time. In
those that
approched
even with
the strang-
card before
at the first
aging one
ic enemies,
eake res-
e intent to
ate of bat-
erlie, that
ed with a
mbushment
, according
eane time,
and manlie
it to their
, and con-
they them-
efore.

The English
men were
taken by
policy to
quill the
Scots.
The English
men were
taken by
policy to
quill the
Scots.

The English
men were
taken by
policy to
quill the
Scots.
The English
men were
taken by
policy to
quill the
Scots.

The Scots
continued
the same.
The Scots
continued
the same.

King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.
King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.

King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.
King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.

Northumberland, not ceasing till he came to An-
twike, where he staid for a time to haue had battell:
but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close to-
gether without noise or appearance, in such wise that
no Scottishman could haue understanding where
they were. At length king William wearied with
long tarrying thus at Antwike, and seeing no enemies
to appeere, determined to make some exploit yet be-
fore his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most
part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to for-
reie the same, keeping no great companie about
him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth.
Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of
Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited
Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for
Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them
on each side, and so finally taken and led awaie per-
anie Scottishman with thereof, saue a few which were
left (as is said) with him for the time. In deed Wil-
helmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbey of
Widlington in Northeshire, in that his booke which he
wrote of the Norman kings of England, affirmes
how there were not manie more than about three
score horsemen with king William, while he was
thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past
four hundred horsemen, which took vpon them that
enterprise; whose capitaine (as he reciteth) were
these: Robert de Stuteuill, Kanulfe de Glanvill,
Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

Wilhelmus
Paruus.

Captaine of
the English-
men.

W. Paruus.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of
the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots:
for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge
against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was
present amongst them, they durst not utter their
malicious intentions; but now that he was thus ta-
ken from them, so manie of the English Scots as
fell into the hands of the Irish, paid dearlie for the
bargaine, being cruellie murdered and slaine: so
that the residue were constrained to get them out of
the waie into castles and towers, where they might
be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that be-
cause there was no great slaughter made at the ta-
king of king William, the warres notwithstanding
continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the
two before specified chieftains Gilcriff and Kioland
scoutle withstood the Englishmen, and beat them
backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumber-
land. At length a peace was taken, during the time
that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder
these conditions, that Northumberland should conti-
nue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and
Cumberland (with the earldome of Huntington) to
remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the
Scottishmen.

Gilcriff and
Kioland re-
sist the Eng-
lishmen.

Northumber-
land vnder the
Englishmen.

Dauid earle of
Huntington.

The king of
Scots worthy
to be the king
of England
and Scotland.
The king of
Scots worthy
to be the king
of England
and Scotland.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William
thus at Antwike, his brother Dauid earle of Hun-
tington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into
Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme,
till the king his brother might be redeemed. So soon
therefore as he had once established the realme in
good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of
saint Andrews, with diuerse other noble men, ouer
into Northmandie, to take order there with H. Hen-
rie for the ranfome of the king his brother, which was
agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that
king William should become and acknowledge
himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, a-
gainst all men for the realme of Scotland and his o-
ther lands; and for the same should doe fealtie to the
said king of England, as to his liege soueraine lord,
in like sort as other his liege people were accus-
omed to doe. And further, he should also doe fealtie vnto
the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sa-
uing alwaies the faith which he owgth the king his

father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and
agreed, that all the prelates of Scotland, and their suc-
cessors, should recognisse their wonted subiection to
the church of England, and doe fealtie to the king of
England, so manie of them as he should appoint.
And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and
their heires for their part, should doe their homage
and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to
the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as thereto
should be required.

10

Moreover, the king of Scots should paie for his
redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling,
the one halfe to be paid in hand; and for sure pay-
ment of the other halfe, the earldomes of Cumber-
land, Huntington, and Northumberland should be
deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage,
till the time that the same summe was paid. And
for the more suertie of these couenants, and that the
Scots should moue no warre against the English-
men, foure of the strongest castles within Scotland,
that is to saie, Berwik, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, &
Striueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens
hands. These things being thus ordered the eight
day of December 1175, the king restored home,
there followed a new strife in Scotland, for Gilbert
of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous
person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force,
made great slaughter of all them that withstood his
desire. And because his brother reproued his do-
ings, he put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. A-
gainst this Gilbert was Gilcriff sent with an ar-
mie by the king. There was fought a sore battell
betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed
Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellows,
such commonlie as for murder and other heinous
crimes by them committed were in danger of the
lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired
a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriff with multitude
wan the field of them, and slue more in the chase
than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got
ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into
Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter
somewhat ojdertwise, as thus: In the armie of king
William (saith he) when he was taken nere vnto
Antwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Dared,
that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with
them a great retinue of their countrymen. These
were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that
prouince; after whose decesse the king of Scots that
is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie be-
twixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest bro-
ther found himselfe much grieved to haue anie part
of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from
him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands,
he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother,
till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deli-
uered of the feare which had staied his mischievous
purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cru-
ellie murdered him, after no common maner; but
rather martyred him in headlie wise, so to satisfie
the instins of his diuellish nature. And immediatlie
after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth
great slaughter of men on each hand. But his bro-
ther had a sonne called Kioland, which prouing
a valiant yong gentleman, boldlie resisted his vnles
rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers
friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trou-
ble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recozeth) till by the fore-
said Gilcriff the murderer was expelled, as before
is expelld. In the yeare following came Hugo car-
dinal of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into
England, with authoritie to reforme the English
churches, in such cases as were thought requisite;
and after he had made an end there, to doe the like in
Scotland.

King William
ransomed.

Four castles
deliuered to
the English-
men in pledge.

1175.
Gilbert of
Galloway re-
belled.

Gilbert of
Galloway
banquished by
Gilcriff.

Wilhelmus
Paruus.

Hugh card-
nall of saint
Angelo the
popes legat.

Thori-
h Will-
id de-
Will-
ad by
the
the
of
ter to
ine to
ine to
By
etwile
n such
els to
refore
turne
two of
time
at pla-
y rea-
before
ng of
rham
Will-

adine
holie
bat to
ied to
in so
to go
neces-
ne in
inspira-
aused
pe the
ithers
t with
Spak-
h bled
as and
tries;
yainst
hips,
time,
se bel-
id had
were
n pte
ieele,
where.

came
like of
iding
poys
ation,
epar-
rtha,
del-
And
nuled
lance
h fol-
y Will-
illing
there
them
reme
it for
ad to
prett
itie &
sons,
pena-
ne by
the m

Will-
del-
and
Will-

The
Emengard,
1186.

The
confinde
with Eng-
land.

The
miser-
ble state
of Will-

The
castell
of Den-
burgh
redoyed.

Deladine
the
Souldane.

The
king
Will-
del-
and
Will-

Will-
del-
and
Will-

Death
on the
where.

Whir-
broth-
is build-
ed.

Will-
del-
and
Will-

Will-
del-
and
Will-

Will-
del-
and
Will-

them committed.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eyes, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilcriff (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore disherited of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a while; till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we have lived by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our living with travaill of hand thus in digging and delving of clods. Therefore if anie ruth or pittie have place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, have mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maiest not onelie purchase great honor and fame by example of pittie, being highly renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giver of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moved by these words, and remembering the good service which Gilcriff had imploied so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme; and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottom of extreme miserie, he took him wholly to his favour, and not onelie forgave him his former offenses, but also restored unto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes appertained unto them, except so much as the king had alreadye given unto the abbey of Abirbrothoke. Gilcriff ever persevered in due obedience to his prince. And for so much as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, that his younger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was unfit for marriage, he gave the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse unto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His younger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gave the residue of his lands thereunto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Batharine within the church of this abbey, as the superscription of their tombes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the advancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of thieves and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Rome, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Breighe, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Cathness) was declared exempt from all other forrein iurisdiccions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolike see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first parte of the said pope Clements government. Shortlye after, to wit in the year 1198, died Henrie king of England; after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by benevolence than by feare, he reposed into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also delivered the earledomes of Huntington and Cumberland; but under condition, that all the castles and holdes within them, should be in the keeping of his capteins and souldiers, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he received in hand at that present towards the charges of his tourne. When king William had thus received his lands and castles by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage unto king Richard, according to the old ordinance devised by king Edwalcolme the first, went with him also in that voyage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie late at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliver a Scottishman borne, was within the towne retained in service among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his native cuntry he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tongue verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliver had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good adventure to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinently he called to the same Durward, desiring under assurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliver had not as yet bitterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to give entrie at certeine houre unto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, upon condition that earle Dauid should see him restored againe unto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before rehersed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinently with great noise and clamour broke into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiving the citie thus wonne, entred the same, and shortly after won a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfully defended. Thus was the citie of Acres wonne from the Saracens, chieflie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this voyage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were achieved therein, I passe over to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall understand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was dispersed in his coming homewards (as in the

The death
of Henrie
king of
England.

R. Richard;

The castles
of Roxburgh,
Berwick, and
Sterling re-
turned to king
William.

Earle of Hun-
tington,
Scots with
king Richard
in the holie
land.

The siege of
Acres.
Oliver a Scot-
tishman.

John Dur-
ward.

Earle Dauid
entered the
citie Acon.

Earle David
taken prisoner
he is re-
damed.

He went to
Scotland.

Arrived at
Dundee.

The name of
Dundee.

Procession
was holden.

A church
built.

Privileges
granted to the
towne of
Dundee.

The abbey of
Lundoris.

Widdes with
out hurt.

R. Richards
returne into
England.

The gift of
king William
to king Ri-
chard.

A harte raised
that the king
was dead.

the historie of Eng'and is moze at large exprest) the ship also that earle David was in, chanced to be thowne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, he hired a vessel at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Pojwaie and Scotland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honoz of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Taie water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chapell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Aleatum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had bene dead, he came speedilie vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, inasmuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle David, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honoz of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbey in what place it should please him within Scotland, and to endow it with lands and rents as he should thinke good. There were also manie privileges granted the same time vnto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle David not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundoris, for monks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singulartie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet doth no man catch hurt by anie of them, inasmuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperor of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle David with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had unfeinedlie conceiued for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his boiage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead: and causing it to be burred abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdeemeanors by inua-

ding the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie alive, but also recovered of his infirmittie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Dykene, vnto the vttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that merrie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort gillisse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offences.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was moze death felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scottish called a boll, was sold for five crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauioz 1199, was moze plentiful abundance than euer had bene scene afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About these yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to R. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in manner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturday should be kept as holidaie from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturday at none, untill mondaie in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Poxtunberland. Immediatlie thereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great botie of gods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lozds had not compelled R. John to make restitution of all the gods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the Twelfth tide till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John having made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

Herald then
at Cathnes
conduct of
rebels.

The thane of
Cathnes
taken.
Surrender
himself.

Great death

1199

Alexander
prince of
Scotland.

A legat
from the pope

A hat.

Defender
of the church.

Saturday
from none
kept holie.

King William
did homage
to king John
England.

John healed
R. William.

Archies in-
duced by king
William.

Retraction
of the
lawe.

The house of
poore
by William.

Earthquake

King in
France.

acasse
upon
the
sent
him
to
nie
oc-
cured
be
the
king
the
sa-
offen-
down-
ders,
to
rece-
howbe
matte
ther
si
repair
these
e
ters
then
n
pled
ir
of
kin
if
the
c
For
th
am
th
which
raced,
ced,
an
sure
pi
two
k
were
king
king
of
kin
son,
ar
signe
I
ander.
to
the
know
holder
the
san
Pothe
gular
great
with
d
was
c
corrup
was
d
he
had
could
troub
incura
crosse
By
re
done
b
God,
t
notifi-
At
indow
rod
hoi
saire
pi
by
him
one
ne
ficient
tation
of
Ber
but
the
and
im
that
th
were
b
down
them-
selfe
wise,
a

acastell in Northumberland ouer against Berwikke, upon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadores vnto king John, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to seke any occasion of new trouble: but so much as he received no towardlie answer againe from him, John, he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew the same, and rased it to the earth. King John so offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William ready to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken by betwixt them: so that on either side the armies were dissolved, & both the kings repairing to Forke, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres then next ensuing were once expired, should be coupled in marriage with Henrie and Richard the sons of king John, vpon this pacton and covenant, that if the one died, the other should succeed to the crowne. For the which it was covenanted, that king William should giue a right large dowre. Also the castell which king John had builded, and king William rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king John. In that assemblee there at Forke, king William also surrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to do homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case provided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of England, as superior lords of the same. During the abode of these two kings at Forke, there was brought vnto them a child of singular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of great possessions in those parties, being fore bereft with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eyes was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried vp; the one of his feet was so taken, that he had no vse thereof; and his tongue likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Whereupon king William making a crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health. By reason whereof, manie beleued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of so goodlie a prince might be notified to the world.

After his returne from Forke into Scotland, he indolued the churches of Newbottell, Melros, Holie rood house, Dunfermling, and Aberdeen, with manie faire possessions, as the letters patents made thereof by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected one new bishops see called Argyle, giuing thereto sufficient lands towards the maintenance and sustentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising and inundation of the two riuers, Tane & Almond, that through violence of the streame the towne walls were borne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, yer they could make anye shift to saue themselves, insonmuch that though the king with his wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leopordie, his yongest sonne yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other women perished, and twentie other of his seruants beside. There was heard such clamor, noise, & lamentable cries, with bitter rolings and dreadfull thirtings, as is vsed in time when anye towne is suddenly taken and surprisid by the enemies: for as the comon proverbe witnesseth; fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of these two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenly breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus destroyed and ouerflowed with water; began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Berth, by a man of that name that bought the ground where the same towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted sundrie benefitts, priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the sooner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saviour 1210 yeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called saint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day. About the same time there rose euilones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gorthed the sonne of Hakulzen (of whose rebellion ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions and rodes the countrie of Rosse, and other bounds thereabouts. His companie increased daile more and more, by repaire of such number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochgubaber, & the westerne fles. King William, to represse these attempts, sent forth the carles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing fir thousand in their companie; the which encountering with the enemies in set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gorthed their chiefe captaine prisoner, brought him vnto the king, who caused both him and diuerse other which were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads: Gorthed himselfe was soe wounded, before he was taken; so that if his takers had not made the more speed in the conueting of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid the said John with such summes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortly after, William king of Scotland, wome with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the 74 yere of his age, and in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yere next following, there was a colt in Northumberland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in deed, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were seene also two monies in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturalie horned, as ye see the moone in his increasing or wanting. King William in his life time founded the abbete of Balmernoch, but his wife quene Ermengard indolued it with lands and possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberdeen, to conuert the same into an abbete for them

John & kings son drowned.

The towne of Berth builded

Freedom granted to the towne of Berth

Saint Johns towne. Gorthed made a rebellion in Cathnes.

His companie increaseth.

The carles of Fife and Atholl sent against him. The rebels overthrowne. Gorthed taken and beheaded.

The dissention betweene the pope and king John. The cause.

The death of king William.

1214.

Two blasing starres.

A monstrous calfe.

Two monies.

The abbete of Balmernoch founded.

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. A time of mourning.

A parliament at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Forfar giuen to the old quene. A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approved writers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king John. Lewes and king Alexander accursed. A counsell at Rome.

After the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went vnto Abirzothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the fune-
rall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yeere; to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yeere. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had bozne offices vnder him, should still inioy the same. Iuanellie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alane of Calloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw blood of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parlement was ended, because the old quene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman quene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castles & townes of Forfar, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and god to lone of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres ensued, as in the English historie dooth appere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof wher king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came doونه to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the covenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enemies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king John, returning homewards with his

armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoyance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenly inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some advantage, in strating abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication about remembered, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, inasmuch that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came king Henrie with an armie into Scotland, soe indamaging the countrie: but so soone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectly appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requist, and the king of Scots but onelie five hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleuing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saved in an other world.

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat doونه manie castles and strengths, which the Englishmen held. When marching through the countrie vnto Carleill, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laying siege vnto Forham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchieued enterprises in that iourne. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got effrons his people together, and comming to Berwik, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Haddington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, priests, and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue wone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the meane time, the auaricious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder proceesse of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scottishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the vtter destruction and ruine of both their realms. Neuertheless at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Forke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treat an agreement, a final peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carleill into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwik vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Excoedication quo S. Alexander, Henrie Mat. Part. 3 take it.

The warres of Cardinall Gualo.

King Alexander in Northumberland.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a summe of monie.

The Scottish bishops absolved.

Dundee earle of Huntingdon deceased.

1219.

An interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Springes concluded.

Scotland returned.

A legat sent from pope Innocent for a collection.

Bishops of Forke and Salisburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

Another legat.

come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene wasted & robbed by their continual exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it upon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke whatsoener cometh into their hands, is but cast away and clearelie lost.

Legats cannot be receiued.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gillespie Rolfe a rebel.

Enuernes burned by Gillespie Rolfe. John Cummin earle of Buchquhane. Gillespie Rolfe beheaded.

New trouble.

Adam bishop of Cathnes slaine by the people of that countrie.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes loseth his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The privileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Dunfermline.

These words of this bishop (whatsoener he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this counsell, the mariage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margarete sister to king Alexander, by reason of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed by for a more full and certeine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gillespie Rolfe, who hauing liued most licentious in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaing diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewd misdemeanors, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Enuernes, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cummin earle of Buchquhane coming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gillespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their thre heads, sent the same to the king as a witness how he had sped.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this manner: The men of Cathnes sore offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he hasted forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceassing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stonies. The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deposed of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highly commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

After this king Alexander coming vnto Aberdeen, gave manie large gifts and priuileges thereunto, although the same before this time inioied sundry notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert de Burgh, who succeeded next after the most famous Adam in the see of Cathnes. In the third yere after, as king Alexander with his mother Crispine were sitting at their banquet on the twelke day of Christmas, otherwile called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunity thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offenses. King

Alexander taking ruth & pittie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Neuertheless the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iust iudgement (as some thought) of almighty God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his owne meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the same went. The house also where in he was thus slaine, was likewile set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first autho. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectly than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althys commonlie from a good beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious living the space of thre hundred yeres, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. On the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Some of them also after his decess fell to dissolute living, keeping no such strict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people inioied peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his thre daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with five thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Stewart of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in mariage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes decess, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disherited and extinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Balliol; the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into thre, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, Al. Alexander was advertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe forwards an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Jone, and J. Balliol his sister. Although his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were remoued, and the parties thought accorde. Which being done, he married

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

Al. Alexander goeth into England.

Balliol the elder of king Alexander married to the earle of Arrol.

John Cummin earle of Buchquhane departed this life.

Patricke earle of Arrol murdered.

John Balliol suspected.

A commotion of the clergie at saint Johns towne.

Homelesd thine of Argyle rebellie.

Homelesd humble submission.

J. Balliol begun to be builded by king Henrie against Berwick. March Paris disagreeeth fro the Scottish bishops touching the occasion of this warre, as in the English chronicles ye may read.

Amalmodors lord of France.

Scottishmen that went with J. Balliol king of France into Egypt.

ed him
agreed
as and
is par-
be iust
od: for
s obn
rated,
ic was
t ouer
laugh-
come

came
rtaine
unlike
st sent
re per-
happe-
ing fall
semen
lent as
vicious
length
a frier
in the
verden,
Scotish
ualtie.
ie, were
r parts
franc
ceasse
rules,

istozie.
re after
ill time
if Scot
had dis-
its three
mie of
tion of
after he
his vio-
land of
ch, and
as sent
gher of
was gi-
f Min-
le, was
ntinued
bert the
Quin-
nished,
e kings
the con-
e second
ed into
marle.
ed into
at coun-
onto the
ignified
trouble
Alexan-
betwixt
nd there-
t them,
ane, and
ligence,
and the
one, he
married

Edmunde
the earle
of Ar-
gyle,
murdered
his seruants
1239.
king Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.
John Cum-
min's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the earle
of Ar-
gyle,
murdered.

John Bissart
the day of
Cruce.

the first
comming of
franc's ynn
the first
comming of
franc's ynn

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

the death
of king
Alexan-
der's daughter
the day of
Cruce.

married Isabell his sister vnto the earle of Norfolk, and in the meane time his wife quene Jane deceas-
sed, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which
chance caused the king hir husband to returne with
great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In
the yere next following, which was after the incar-
nation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no
succession begot of his bodie) married at Rochburgh
the daughter of Ingelram lord of Coucie, a virginie
of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got
a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his
deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.

About the same time, John Cumin earle of An-
gus being sent in ambassage to Lewis the French
king, died by the way. Also at Haddington was holden
a roiall toynament, where knights and esquires
advanced themselves by valiant prowesse to win ho-
nor: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and
pastime ended in sorrow. For Patrike Cumin earle
of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night,
and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the
intent no suspition should rise, but that it happened
by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But
yet was John Bissart, with Walter Bissart his
uncle the while suspected for the matter, inasmuch
that though no euident profe could be had against
him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all
their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After
these things were thus passed, a conuocation was
called of the cleargie at saint Johns towne. In the
which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and sta-
tutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of
the realme, which were obserued in the church of
Scotland vnto these late dates. About the same time
also, one Somerleith thane of Argile, the sonne of
that Somerleith of whome ye haue heard before,
following his fathers steps, rebelled against the
king, soze in damaging by rodes & forages the parts
bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Ar-
gile, till at length the earle of March brought him to
the brinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was
faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke
in token of submission; and being so brought before
the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, Henrie king of England,
prouoked by the setting on of such seditious per-
sons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to
advance their priuat gaine (during which time law
and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust
against Berwikke, in the same place where the
other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as
before is shewed) was rased and throwen downe by
king William, by the articles of agreement with
covenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe.
This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred
sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of Eng-
land (considering that the building vp of this castell
was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had
not staied the worke, and so thereupon that begin-
ning of new trouble betwixt the English and Sco-
tish nations for that present ceased.

In the yere following came ambassadors forth
of France into Scotland, declaring that Is. Lewis
was readie to passe forward on that iourne, which he
had taken in hand to make into Fletzie, and there-
fore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in
those warres against Gods enemies. With these
ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certeine
chosen bands of men of warre under the leading of
Patrike earle of March, David Lindseie of Glen-
neske, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, three
captains of great wisdom, and perfect experience
in feats of chualtrie. The most part of all those
Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iourne,

perished in Aegypt either on the sword or by sick-
nesse, so that few or none of them returned home a-
gaine. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not
long: but falling into a fore and grienous sicknesse
within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far distant
from the coast of Argile, deceassed in the same Ile
shortlie after, in the 51 yere of his age, the 35 of his
reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (ac-
cording as he had commanded in his life time) was
buried in Melrose.

After that Alexander the second was thus dead
and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of
that name, not passing nine yeres of age, was pro-
claimed king. There was no small adoe on the daie
of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by
reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged
to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the dia-
deme. And againe some held opinion, how he ought
to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so
that thus they were at strife together, in such ear-
nest maner, that it was doubted, least this conten-
tion would haue bred some great inconuenience,
had not the earle of Fife preuented the same, in cau-
sing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the
kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, accor-
ding to the custome, without regard to the striculous
allegations of them that spake to the contrarie.
When the solemnitie was ended, there came before
him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit
the mountaine countries of Scotland) who in a
kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him
as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak
Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak David, and
so forth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pede-
græ, all the kings in order of whome he was describ-
ed, till he came vp to Cathelus the first beginner
of the Scottish name & nation.) The words in Eng-
lish are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexan-
der the sonne of David, the sonne of Alex, the sonne
of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Da-
uid, and so forth as before. This Hilland Scot was
highly rewarded by the king for his labour, accor-
ding as was thought requisite.

In the second yere of his reigne, king Alexan-
der (or rather such as had the gouernement of the
realme vnder him) assembled together all the pre-
lates and barons of the realme at Dunfermling,
and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grand-
mother quene Margarete, which being done, he cau-
sed them to be put into a thrine of siluer, the 21 day
of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it re-
steth at this present, as it was borne forth toward
that place, when the bearers came against the se-
pulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were
not able to remoue the reliques ante further, till by
the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was
then & there present, they took vp the bones of the
same Malcolme also, and bare them forth with hirs
to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great
veneration of the people. Such as were appointed
gouernors (during the minority of king Alexan-
der) doubting least the tender yeres of their soue-
reigne might embolden the enemies of the realme to
attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Hen-
rie king of England, requiring that the peace might
be ratified anew with him and his people, and fur-
ther to make a motion of marriage to be had betwixt
king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings
met at Forke with a great number of lordes, as well
spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where
king Alexander (according to the promise before that
time made) married the ladie Margarete daughter
of the forer named king Henrie, on saint Stephens day
K. lii.

The death of
king Alexan-
der the second.
38. lo. Ma. but
that can not
be.

Alexan-
der.
Alexander the
third crowned
An infortu-
nate day.

The earle of
Fife preuen-
teth the occa-
sion of further
troubles.

The saluta-
tion of an Hil-
land man.

The transla-
tion of quene
Margarets
bones.

They were af-
fianced in the
daies of king
Alexander the
faire, as in the
English chro-
nicle it may
appear.

An interuiew
of the kings of
England and
Scotland.

1250.

in Chistmasse, with all solemnitie and ioyfull mirth that might be deuised. The charges wherof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of B. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortiones done by some of the pères of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, upon their contempt so to do, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the horne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The king taken by the Cumins.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, took the king at Kinross, and brought him into Strueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme ensued, by reason of mistruled persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts prouided, sith the king who should haue seene iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the thirde. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and mainrent. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre upon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracy, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offences passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

The great power of the Cumins.
Thirtie and two knights of one surname.
The height of great families the cause of their fall.

The earle of Menteith is poisoned.

The king set at libertie.

John Russell an Englishman.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted.
The first coming of the Carmelite friers.

A part of the holie crosse found.

This woman did thus make a waie for her husband the earle of Menteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namelie, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scottish nobilitie, he took the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vnmeet, and thereupon constrained to flee with him into England, he died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urbane the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the thursday after Trinitie sundaie. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chapel of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrose was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Peplis in Low

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then believed.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbey in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbey afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Marke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realmes continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was seene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be seene at this day, right sumptuously builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet harvest preceding, so that the coyne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

Acho king of Norwaye, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Whereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterprize, he landed with the same in the westerne Isles, on Lammas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Isles continued under subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time into the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came over into Aran and Butte, which are two Isles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were under the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie over into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Airc a certeine time, he took the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being soze afformed with these newes, for that he was young, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldened upon such frequent victories as they had attained, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enemies force, by long sojournning in campe without trial of anie battell. Whereupon were ambassadors sent unto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first coming before him spake in this manner.

Where it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe first to seeke redresse of all iniuries received; before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent unto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordinance

An abbey built.

An interuene March, Paris.

Supposed that in the yere 1256, John M. Alexander's wife came into England to visit king Henrie, where they found at Woodstocke, as in the English chronicles further appeareth.

1263.

A great dearth.

Rebelling of Norwaye.

The western Isles under subiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

Acho landed in Albion.

The castell of Airc besieged and taken.

King Alexander's purpose to infect his enemies by peace.

Ambassadors sent to Acho.

The oration of one of the ambassadors.

The cause of Achos coming.

of S.
like
ought
bones
ere it
rened,
ie mi-
king
beie in
re that
after,
order

In obbe
built.

nd and
empa-
gentle-
of cer-
derers,
and re-
ealms
uillitie
n ante
n was
as it
reulie
uillie
the fi-
wing,
autour
oth the
n of the
graine
uld be

I 262.

A great de

oto the
d other
e same
ne and
olie to
rie and
ffe, he
I Am-
thofe
wregi-
ito the
with a
egians
o fies,
e were
hauling
ope of
ole ar-
me on
the ca-
re, and
herea-

Acho king
in Alton.

The call
fire belies
and towns.

h these
it was
loined
chued,
f some
nities
fall of
it unto
d ther-
it com-

Ambassadors
sent to the

realme
the be-
nities
with the
it into
in ordi-
nance

The opation
of one of the
ambassadors

nance of battell comming towards you to giue the
onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get to
much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though
they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that
we account it much better to haue peace, if we may
haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some man-
ner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may
be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may
be purchased with faire and quiet wordes? Neuerthe-
lesse, when our iust desires and reasonable motions
are refused of the enimies, when we find them not
willing to haue peace (so) the obtaining thereof all
warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that
their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting
the quarrell: we are ready to rise whole together in
revenge of such contempts with all possible speed and
violence against our aduersaries. We are sent there-
fore from our king and soueraine, to inquire what
occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and sub-
iects, in violating that peace and league, which hath
bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nati-
on, the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to
take from him his two fies of Bute and Aran, but
also to invade the maine land of his dominions,
with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or
person seemeth to be had; but that women, children,
and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as
well as those that haue stood at resistance with wea-
pon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue
the Scottismen at anie time committed either a-
gainst you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may
seeme to be) that they should deserve to haue such cru-
eltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath
moued you to burne the churches of God and his
saints, with the murder of his people that flee into
the same for safegard of their liues? But if you de-
ad not God that governeth all things (by his diuine pro-
uidence) which here in this world we see; if ye de-
ad not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the
punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to
deed the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied
together in bond of amitie and marriage, which shall
come against you with such puissance, that ye shall
not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may
depart with honoz, we on the behalfe of him from
whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it
is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already
done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduen-
ture to be brought unto such desperate ends, that
when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the
same in no wise will be granted unto you. These
wordes were spoken by the ambassadors, upon pur-
pose to put some terroz into the hart of this hardie
king Acho.

Neuertheles he was abashed so little therewith, that
he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is
(I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your
sierce and awfull wordes, supposing vs so weake har-
ted, that we should leaue off our enterprife through
your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued
in this if your imagination be such. And where ye ex-
aggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from
you certaine fies, we perceiue you are not met nor
indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that
cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we
ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye
desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why
we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and as-
 firme, that not onelie those two fies pertaine to vs
and our people by god title and ancient right of inhe-
ritance, but also all the other fies of Scotland, as
we are able by firme evidences sufficiently to proue.
And therfore are we now come to take presentlie so
much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

issues and profits out of those fies in times past from
vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither
his menacing wordes, nor yet anie other violence
that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if
he be moze desirous of peace than of battell, and lus-
teth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes,
and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see
the utter extermination of his realme afore his eyes,
command him to send unto vs forthwith ten thou-
sand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken
by and receiued by him and his elders in times past,
and further that he make a cleare resignation of all
claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto
the said fies, in such sort that the same may passe vnder
our dominion in perpetuall without anie con-
tradition.

When king Alexander had heard that the answer
of his enimie was, he was therewith moze moued,
perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that
he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he
assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men,
that though he were not able to match his enimies
in poluence, he might yet passe them in number. He
diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing
was Alexander Stewart, a very valiant knight, ne-
phew to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of
Dunblie. He had with him all the men that came forth
of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left
wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the
men of Louthian, Fife, Perth, Berwick, and Stri-
veling shire. In the middle ward was the king him-
selfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts
of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger ap-
peered. These battels were ordered in such arraie,
that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of
their owne language, to exhort them to manhood,
thereby to win praise and honoz.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham,
where he came first within sight of his enimies, he
called his people together, and exhorted them to do
their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men,
against those enimies that invaded their countrie
without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put
their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant
victorie vnto that part, which had most right and ius-
test cause of battell. He further shewed how neces-
sarie it was for them to behaue themselves valiant-
lie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with
manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children,
liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life
but in the valiant using of their able hands, so that
their whole safegard rested in this point, either to
vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to liue
in seruile bondage as their flanes and miserable
thralles, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be
abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them
therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scot-
land should see them fight that day, noting both their
manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust,
and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie
and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the
moze hardinesse and courage, namelie against them
that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These with other
the like wordes king Alexander uttered with bold
spirit to encourage his people. And on the other part
king Acho likewise thought it expedient to use some
exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be
afraid of the great number and huge multitude of
the Scots.

The chiefest point to encourage them to do val-
iantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and there-
fore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie
not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought
thither with them (which could not be small) but also

ming into
Scotland.

his demand.

King Alexan-
der assembleth
his power.

The ordering
of the Scottis
host.
Alexander
Stewart lea-
der of the
right wing.
Patrike
Dunbar cap-
teine of the left
wing.
The king in
the middle
ward.

King Alexan-
der exhorte
his people to
do valiantlie.

Hope of suer-
tie in what
point it rested.

The necessitie
of the cause.

Desires of
bloud & spoile.

Acho exhorta-
tion to his
people.

Hope of spoile
incourage
men of warre.

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his god and valiant seruice. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be atchiued without extreme teopardie, it behoued them to attaine to these so great commodities by perising thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraid battells of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might soone coniecture. For thorough dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infabled, that they appere to represent rather thabowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues dearelie, and not to die vnreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous day followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their vttermost forces to vanquish the enemies.

The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their indeuors, they arraid their battells. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (because he had not num-

ber sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraid moze weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first incounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pressed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & encourage their men to stand to the bargain with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie valiant capitaines.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he sufficed even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse cracktie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiving themselves ouerpresse with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrinke,

and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running aboate. Alexander Steward therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certaine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into araid, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hardie betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to flee amaine.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was soze wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing soze discomfited: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recovered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceasing from the pursute of the enemies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outrageous tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constrained to come on land for safeguard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

Acho being thus abashed with these two unfortunate mischances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Orkneie. In this battell, which was fought at Llargis on the third day of August, in the

yeere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about five thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon smeth not to agree altogether herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarcked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and toke them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriuing at Llargis in

Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountreing with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & browned in the sea, into the which they were diuen. Amongst other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great valiance, and soze lamented of his vnckle. Acho had much ado to escape himselfe: he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countrymen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his comming into Orkneie, sent into Forwaite and Denmarke for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yeere next following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whom he begot on his wife queene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioicing of the people. For the people conceived double ioy & glasse

High enterprises atchiued with extreme perill.

The ordering of the battells.

The battells beinge.

The valiance of the kings.

The great number of Scottishmen.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians fleth.

The left wing of the Scots in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots.

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

The losse of the mariners.

Acho fled into Orkneie.

1263.

John Fourdon.

Godfrey king of Henrich.

1228.

Danes, of Dondonald.

1230.

Whar, while Sodor.

Denies.

Danish and Gopodous.

But.

Whar slaine.

Danish and Gopodous.

Denies.

Danish and Gopodous.

Denies.

Danish and Gopodous.

Denies.

Danish and Gopodous.

Denies.

Scots,
t great
as for
e same

beheld
put to
h great
y were
Danes
h verie
ot ceas
it made
a fctio
the cas
one be
which he
nber of
with an
st foure
fotoned
e marci
for safe
e of the
icaped.
infotm
ifcomf
g of his
ips that
oast, till
ich was
it, in the
fozwe
e shou
don se
loziting
ns into
house
e ships,
besieged
astell of
churches
argis in
e of our
ich were
n in the
ing with
Wondo
e brow
i. Among
ng Aho
ie, and
do to el
his ent

erfite of
ere how
is, to ad
her per
that did
oell auer
omining
nmarke
er things
to Scot
himfelfe
the pte
at prepa
ed, the
e, the 21
land, the
ot on his
e king of
ng of the
oy e glaw
nalle

The left hand
of the Scots
in danger.

The Danes
and Norwegians
chased
by the Scots

The loss of
Achoy ships
by tempest.

The loss of
the mariners
Achoy ships
to Dhanie.

1263;
John Foulton

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

time of the
trouble be
tween the Scots
and the
Danes and
Norwegians

ne. To here of, because that both a new prince was
borne, and that enemie dead which sought the destruc-
tion of the whole realme. After the decease of king
Acho, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faith-
full prince, and one that had the feare of God before
his eyes.

In the second yere of his reigne, he sent his am-
bassadors (of whom the chiefe was the chancellor of
Norwaie) unto king Alexander, to some they found
at saint Johns towne, and there signified unto him,
that king Magnus their maister would willingly
give ouer all his title, right, and claime unto Aran
and Butte, so that the residue of the Isles might re-
maine in quiet possession of him and his successors
in time comming. Hereunto was answer made by
king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheri-
tances pertained unto him and his progenitors kings
of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any
agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he
had recovered the full possession of the same Isles.

The ambassadors being dispatched and sent awaie
with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Ste-
ward of Pallerie, and John Cummin were sent with
an armie ouer into Aran, which Ile they then recou-
ered (though not without blood smoth) of the hands of
the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same
in possession now for the space of 167 yeres passed,
but not without some alteration and trouble, as may
appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a tow-
ter (as should seme) well instructed in matters as
well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also
concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore
that the same may the better appeare to the readers,
I haue thought it not impertinent to set downe what
I haue read in the same Southwell, touching the
kings, or rather viceroies of Aran, and those Isles
which for a season (as should seme in deed) were sub-
stituted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may al-
so appeare, that sometime there was a certaine succe-
ssion in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from
the brother to the brother, &c. in manner as if it had
bene by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the
foresaid Southwell) one Godfred reigned as king in
Aran. And in the yere 1228, one Reginald being
king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked per-
sons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place.
In the yere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed
one Hulbar, the sonne of Olmund (surnamed Har-
con) to gouerne the said Isles called Sodowenles,
that is to say, the Ile of Aran, & the other Isles there
abouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Hulbar, to-
gether with two other captains Olave and Godred,
surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at Butte,
where they wan the castell: but Hulbar was slaine
with a stone that was throwne downe upon him.
And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godred
came unto the Ile of Aran, where they diuided the
kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave
had Aran allotted to him for his part, and Godred the
other Isles. But after that Godred was also slaine,
Olave gouerned both in Aran, and in all the other
Isles: those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleis
held in possession. In the yere 1237, in the moneth
of Maie, Olave king of Aran, the sonne of Godred,
& brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose
decease his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reig-
ned 12 yeres, being but 14 yeres of age when he
began his reigne.

In the yere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie sent
for Harold king of Aran to come unto his coronati-
on, who comming thither, was honorable received,
and obtained king Hacos daughter in marriage:
but as he returned from thence, in the yere 1249,

together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a
tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his
brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he
was slaine the first of June the same yere, by the ser-
uants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the
sonne of Godred Don gouerned Aran one yere, be-
ing removed by the king of Norwaie: & after him
Magnus the sonne of Olave began his reigne ouer
Aran & the other Isles, by consent of the Hanskemen
themselves. But in the yere 1254, one Puarus was
ordained king, or rather viceroie of those Isles, & go-
uerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of
Norwaie resigned his title to all the said Isles unto
king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his
lieutenants there, of whom the first was called Co-
drick mac Pares, the second Alane. And after him
Paurice Sharsaire succeeded; and then followed one
that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I follo-
to Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which
appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeres
assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you
consent the same with the time of the foresaid resig-
nation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant ap-
pointed to haue the rule of those Isles, now that they
were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was
bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ships,
and four hundred mariners to come to the aid of the
Scots, at all times when he should thereto be requir-
ed. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike,
and Perth, Alexander Steward, with the thanes
of Argyle, and Lennox, sent with a puissant armie
unto the other of the westerne Isles, the which those
that were greatest, they brought with much a do-
under the obedience of the crowne of Scotland, the
residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, sent
his chancellor in ambassage unto king A-
lexander, to trie if he might by treatie recover a-
gain the said Isles: and if he might not bring that to
passe, yet to compend with him for a pecunie tri-
bute. The first motion of the chancellor would in
no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend any
longer time about it, they fell in communication
touching the second, which took effect at length in
this wise. King Magnus by his letters under his
great seale, renounced and gave ouer his right or
claime that he had or might haue, both for him and
his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king
Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie
the said king of Norwaie, foure thousand marks
sterling, together with a pension of tribute of an
hundred marks by yere. And for the more confir-
mation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings
and their people, Margaret the daughter of king
Alexander, being not past one yere of age, was
promised in marriage unto Hanigo, the sonne of
king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummat
when she came to yeres mariable. Further, in
place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and
Norwegians had bene made, it was couenanted
that an hospitall should be erected & founded there,
for the sustentation of poore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in
England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of
whome the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of
Leicester, and diuerse other. B. Henrie being not
well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, re-
quered B. Alexander to send him some aid of Scots
to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arre-
res warres against him. Hereupon thortlie after,
was Alexander Comin, with five thousand chosen
men, sent by king Alexander into England, who
right valiantlie bare themselves in that war which
king

1240.
Reginald.
He began to
reigne the first
of Maie.
Puarus.
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.
Puarus.

Lieutenant or
baillie of the
Isle of Aran
under the
Scots.

The westerne
Isles recou-
ered out of the
hands of the
Norwegians

The chancel-
lor of Nor-
waie ambassa-
dor to king
Alexander.

The release of
Magnus
king of Nor-
waie to the
Scottish Isles.

A pecunie
pension.

Margaret B.
Alexanders
daughter.

warre in
England.

King Henrie
required aid of
the Scots.

Alexander
Comin sent
into Eng-
land.

Robin Hood
and little
John his
companion.

A legat from
pope Clement

The legats
demand.

The answer
of king Alex-
ander to the
legats mes-
sage.

The more pre-
cepts the more
offendours.

King Alex-
anders wife-
dome praised
by king Hen-
rie.

A thousand
marks sent to
the pope.

Scottish cap-
tains sent in-
to Affrike.

1270.
Thomas
earle of Car-
rike.

Martha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

Robert
Bruce.

Robert
Bruce married
to Martha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

king Henrie held against his barons, thereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood lived, with his fellows little John, of whom are many fables and merie tells devised and long amongst the vulgar people. But John Maior writeth that they lived (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domestickall enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of lenieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not received into the realme, but commanded to shew his message upon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbey foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he devised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be used in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall counsell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendours are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie othertwise forth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforetime.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisdom of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortly after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Korburch, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto Lewis the French king, that required his aid in that iourne which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Durward, John Quince, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with him. Lewis into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (where to they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inuoy his lands, leaving a daughter named Martha, being then about fiftene yeares of age. His yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as she was, fortunely by aduenture to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the sonne and heire to Robert Bruce the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became so enamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with her home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priue to the matter) she married him in all hast, least any

man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this marriage was borne that Robert Bruce which after wards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soon as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he took such indignation that he should bestow his telfe so lightly vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized his castell of Turneburgh into his hands, with all his other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he took pitie on his case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paid for his marriage, restored to hir againe all his lands and livings, suffering hir to inuoy her husband without anie more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sister, & their brother in law the king: & after did attend them in their iourne to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a fozman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whom he wrestled, till at length one Fergushard a Scottishman borne, of the countrie of Koffe, descended of noble parentage, banquished him to his great praise & apurance in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so worthie a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earldome of Koffe for euermore. Of this Fergushard succeeded five earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Koffe, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seventh earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earldome of Huntington, as the Scottish writers do testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about thre yeares after her mothers deceasse, vnto Hamigo, or rather Aquine king of Portugal, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the marriage, leaving behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, her yonger sonne Dauid deceased: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a marriage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the Sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this marriage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuing for the space of fiftene daies together. & This yeare a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Portugal, were lost

King Alexander
der wife
South the
said
Spence.

Robert
Bruce that
was after
king of Scotland
land is borne
1274.

King Alexander
der with his
Sister the
queene came
to London.

A fozman
of passing
strength.
Fergushard
a Scottishman
ouerthrew
the said fozman.

The earle
dome of Koffe
given to William
Koffe
alias Leslie.

The death
of Margaret
queene
Margaret.

The marriage
of Margaret
king Alexanders
daughter
ter.

The death
of Dauid
sonne
to king Alexander.
The marriage
of Alexander
prince of
Scotland.

1279.

101
ba
of
St
th
th
hi
ti
ti

The death of
Margaret
queene of
Scotland.

The death of
Margaret
queene of
Scotland.

The four
of friends.

A commande-
ment giuen
against dis-
turbance of
priests.

The Shoban
contrarie to
the true in-
terpretation
of the
christians.

The Scots
contribution
for a iourne
into the holie
land.

Alexander
married the
daughter of
the earle not
of Champagne
but of Dreux,
sister Southw.

Alexander
married the
daughter of
the earle not
of Champagne
but of Dreux,
sister Southw.

Southwell
bathie some-
what from the
Scottish writers
in re-
port of the
Alexanders
death. See
more in Eng-
land.

1290.
1285. H.B.
1286.10.M
Thomas of
Erilton of
the river.

1290.
1285. H.B.
1286.10.M
Thomas of
Erilton of
the river.

1290.
1285. H.B.
1286.10.M
Thomas of
Erilton of
the river.

1290.
1285. H.B.
1286.10.M
Thomas of
Erilton of
the river.

ned pur-
t Robert
heires of
e crohone
s adueris
he should
he neuer
irnebertie
nd possed
id maried
thin thort
an easie
bir mari-
livings,
mie more
after, the
membred
Scotland.
e after the
econd son
deare af-
land came
er, & their
m in their
be pzeient
, as then
e of his fa-
gouverne-
n by right
me ycare
n August,

King Alexan-
der displeas-
ed with the
said Mar-
garet.

Robert
Wife that
was after
king of Scot-
land is borne
1274.

King Alexan-
der with his
wife the
quene came
to London.

in in king
of bodie,
wellled,
an boyne,
ble paren-
e aduance-
redon of so
of so home-
ledome of
succeeded
earle was
, in whose
tie of that
ime prince
nage into
ngton, as
after that
ngland at
Margaret
ling. She
David, and
(according
ried about
into Han-
id decaat-
tion of the
amed also

The earle
dome of
gint to
ham Rol-
alias Lellie.

The death
quene Mar-
garet.

The mar-
ing of
Margaret
king Alexan-
ders daugh-
ter.

mediate
other, bir
whereof
ellion, pro-
e Alexan-
gther, the
maried br-
nday after
re ycare of
riage was
ie contin-
r. & his
which had
ate, were
lost

The death
David son-
to king Alex-
ander.

The mar-
ing of
Alexander
prince of
Scotland.

1279.

lost by shipwacke; as they would haue returned
backe againe to Scotland after the consummation
of hir marriage there with king Hamigo or Aquine.
Whilie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint,
two greivous losses chanced vnto king Alexander,
the one following in the necke of another. For first
his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past
twentie yeres of age, departed out of this world,
without leaving anie issue behind him; and not long
after, his daughter Margaret quene of Forwaie
deceased also, leaving behind hir one onelie daugh-
ter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an
infant.

In the same yere was a generall counsell holden
at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the pre-
lats of christendome being there assembled. To
this counsell were summoned to appeare all the pro-
uincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging
friers. And for that there were so manie sundrie or-
ders of them, each man desiring of his owne baine
some new alteration; all those orders were reduced
into the foure orders, which after by the church of
Rome were approued and allowed. A generall com-
mandement was also giuen, that no man should go
about to begin anie new forme of such baine super-
stitious orders, which appoint themselves to such
labors, to the end they may liue in pleasure, lust & idles-
nes, vpon the trauell of other mens labors. In this
mean time, after that the christian armie was retur-
ned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce con-
cluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan (that truce
notwithstanding) ceased not to make great slaugh-
ters and inuasions vpon those christian men that re-
mained behind. The christian princes soe moued
herewith, made their appells for a new expedition
into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth penie
of all their lands, or rather (as some bookes say) the
tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the
furtherance of this iourne: notwithstanding through
such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said
princes, that iourne brake, to the great damage and
preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander hauing lost his wife and chil-
dren in manner as is before expessed, not onelie hee
himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great pen-
suerne and sorrow, each man by a certeine soe-
lodgement and misgiuing in mind, doubting the
unhap that might thereof insue. But yet did king
Alexander, by the aduise of his nobles, in hope of
new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Cham-
paigne in France, named Yolant. The marriage was
celebrated at Edinburgh with great feasting and tri-
umph: but that ioy and blisshesse induced not long
after. For the same yere on the 18 day of April, as
he was galloping vpon a fierce horse at Kingorne,
forcing him in his race somewhat rashlie, he was
throwne ouer the west cliffe towards the sea by a
wonderfull misfortune, so rudelie, that he brake his
necke, and so therewith immediatlie died in the 42
yere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfer-
ling, in the yere after the incarnation 1290. It is
said, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of
Marck a little before night, demanded of one Tho-
mas Litchmont, otherwise named Thomas the ri-
mer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith)
Thomas Grifiton (who in those daies was reputed
for a noble prophet) or (as we may call him) a sooth-
sayer, what weather they should haue on the morrow.
To whome the said Thomas answered, that on the
morrow [before none] should blow the worst wind
and tempest that ever was heard of in Scotland at
anie time before.

On the morrow when the skie appeared cleare
and bright, without cloud or anie other signe of foule

weather, and that it blew vnto the midst of the
daie, and no wind heard from anie side, but all calme
and quiet, the earle of Marck sent for the forenamed
Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his
marks, in prophesying of anie such notable tempest
as he had spoken of the night before, considering it
proued so lithe a daie, without appearance of anie
tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto,
saying that he said it was not yet past none. And
incontinentlie herevpon came a post to the castell
gate of Dunbar, where this earle of Marck as then
laie, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as
before is recited. Then said the prophet: That is
the seathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall
blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of
the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was
a man in great admiration of the people, shewing
sundrie things, as they after ward chanced: howbeit
they were euer bid and inuolued under the veile of
darke and obscure speeches.

Manie strange wonders and unkinde sights were
seene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the
17 yere of his reigne, there was such an infinit
number of woymes through all the parties of Al-
bion, that not onelie the leanes and fruits of trees,
but also flowers & herbs in gardens were eaten vp
and consumed with them. And in the same yere, the
waters of Forth and Taye rose with such high tides
in flowing ouer the banks, that manie towines and
villages were drowned, to the great destruction
both of men and beasts. In the 20 yere of his reigne,
there was a comet or blasing starre seene of a mer-
vellous quantitie, shining euerie day toward the
south, euen about none daies. On the Epiphanie
day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes
of such immeasurable great hailstones, that manie
towines were throwne downe by violence thereof.
In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage
of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the
realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings
and edifices, burning vp steeples with such force of
fire, that the belles were in diuers places melted, as
though it had bene in a fornace. Amongest other,
those of the abbey of Abirbrothocke were most pre-
tious, which were as then consumed together with the
steple wherein they hung. The towines of Aberdeen
and Perth were burned the same time: also part of
Lainrike, with the temple, and all the towines and
villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise
manie towines and other buildings in Lothian, and
in diuers other parts of the realme, so long here to
rehearse.

In the 31 yere of his reigne, was the first com-
ming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great
mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard
that euer this sickness had come within that realme
before that time. In the solemnization of the second
marriage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome (ac-
cording to the manner) led the bride in a danse,
a great number of lords and ladies following them in
the same danse, there appeared to their sight as it
were closing vp the hindermost of the dansters, a
creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & liue,
with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through
which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the
companie were so astonied, and put in such fright
& feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their
danse for that time. In the daies of this Alexander
the third, liued sundrie great clearkes. Amongst o-
ther, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent
physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge
in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in
high fauour with Edward king of England, than
with king Alexander, during his life time.

* This

Unkinde
sights and
wonders.

High tides.

Blasing
starre.

Great winds.

Fire caused
through winds.

Bells melted

The first com-
ming of the
pestilence into
Scotland.

A strange
fight in dan-
sing.

Learned men.
Michaell
Scot a phy-
sician.

Francis Thins
addition, to
this marke.)

The lawes of
Alexander the
third.

This Alexander made manie healthfull and good
lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and
longnesse of time are worne away; so that things
so profitablie by him deuised, same rather by report
to haue bene ordeined, than that they are by cu-
stome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure
parts, through which he made his progresse almost
euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in e-
uerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare
the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest
person might haue free access vnto him. As often
as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of
law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to re-
ceiue him with a chosen companie; and when he de-
parted thence, to bring him to the borders of his iur-
isdiction, where he was honorable receiued of the
next gouernors. The which travelling about his
realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all
his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of
all others. During which time of his progresse, no
great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow
him; bicause he would not charge his people in retai-
ning of them; and for that cause also abated and re-
streined the troope of horsemen which followed the
nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane
number, bicause he supposed that the multitude of
horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were
needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbad his
people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize,
when he considered that through the unskilfulness of
sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing
themselves to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, ma-
nie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby
the merchants were diuened to extreame pouertie.
Which precept when it had continued almost a whole
yere, and by manie mens speeches was reprehended
as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike,
at the length there arriued such plentie of strange
merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and
cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memorie of anie
former age. But yet to take order with and for the
benefit of the merchants, he forbad his people to buie
anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as
were merchants of his land, and that all the other
people should buie of them such things as they
needed.)

Scotland
without a k.
and gouernor.

Whiche fees
infusing for
lacke of a
king.

Six gouer-
nors chosen to
haue the rule
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable
wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme re-
mained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither
left anie issue behind him to succeed in the gouerne-
ment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by
testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the
rome of a gouernor, so that hereof ensued such in-
nit misorders, by the presumption of wicked and
gratious persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpun-
ished (bicause iustice was like to want due pro-
cesse) ceased not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts,
to the grieuous oppression of the people: which mis-
ruled demcanors and disordered enterpises of those
outragious persons, when such as had anie zeale to
the wealth of their countrie vnderstood daillie to mul-
tiplye and increase, they thought it appertained to
their duties to prouide some remedie in due time,
and therevpon called a counsell together, wherein
after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters
debated touching the rule of the realme, it was fi-
nallie agreed, that six gouernors should be elected and
chosen, of the which thre should haue the administrati-
on and rule of the north parts, and these were Wil-
liam Frazer bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane
earle of Fife, & John Cummin earle of Buchquane.
The other thre were appointed to the gouernance of
the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of
Glasgow, sir John Cummin (a man of high estima-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in mat-
ters concerning peace as warre) and James high
steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of Eng-
land, surnamed Longshanks, call in his mind, how
he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the
same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it.
And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of
Dorwaite (of whom before ye haue heard) was right
inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she
were but vertie yong in yeres, & not able for mari-
age: yet to compasse his purpose that waies soorth,
he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland,
requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with-
all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheri-
tance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had,
consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that
the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liber-
ties, without anie kind of seculie subiection, in the
same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies
of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble
progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of
this marriage to succeed them, then should the crowne
returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king
Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to
be made by king Edward, or anie of his successors
in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir
John Scot of Albawore, and sir James Menis,
were sent into Dorwaite to fetch the bride ouer into
Scotland: but before their coming thither, she
was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scot-
land againe without effect of their errand. And thus
by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt English
men and Scots ceased. Then began to ensue great
trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the
contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of
king Alexander, for the title and claime which they se-
uerallie made and pretended to the crowne. There
were thre chiefe that seemed by nearnesse of blood
to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest
sute in their claime: John Balioll, Robert Bruce,
and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne
to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Fla-
bell the yongest daughter to David earle of Huns-
tington, on whom he got a son named also Robert,
that married the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue
shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was,
that now claimed the crowne. John Balioll came of
Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid David
earle of Huntington: for Alane lord of Galloway,
which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two
daughters, of the which the eldest named Deruogill,
was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balioll, father
vnto this John Balioll, that thus made claime to the
crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was
come of the eldest daughter of earle David, the bro-
ther of king William, he ought by reason to be re-
puted as next heire to the same king William, with
none other person alius approached so nere vnto him
in blood.

* Here I thinke it conuenient before any more
be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (be-
sides that which is alreadie spoken, being here in part
repeated) of the descent of this Deruogill, the daugh-
ter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same
somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of Wil-
liam I. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ
1160, as saith Lelies, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius
gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and
Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at va-
riance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided be-
twixt them in equal portions. This hall coming
to the eares of king William, he was desirous to
quench

How can the
be true, when
Edward had a
wife at that
time: but
because the
Scottish
kings were
themselves
come from
two monies
lice in most
things which
they wrote in
the descent
of Edward

Of this mat-
ter though not
wholly is
narrated in
the before,
yet, as
the cronicle
of the brother
another.

The daughter
of Dorwaite
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the kinsmen
of Alexander
for the crowne.
As a moe of
this matter in
the English
historians.

The ancedors
of Robert
Bruce.

The line of
the Balioll
which was due
to the crowne.

Whiche
after spoke
Scotland.

William be
spoiled his
countie.

Whiche
the lord of
Galloway.

Buchanan.

Wil. Paris
namely him
alred.

all in mar,
mes high

of Eng-
land, he
d, now the
ouerue it,
ught ter of
was right
ough the
for mar-
ics forth,
Scotland,
me with
of inher-
rein had,
ms, that
and liber-
n, in the
the daies
his noble
came of
croune
s of king
of title to
successors

ights, fir
Wennis,
uer into
her, she
to Scot-
And thus
English-
sue great
on of the
smen of
h they se-
: There
of blood
I earnest
rt Bzufe,
as sonne
ried Al-
of Hun-
Robert,
we haue
use was,
l came of
d David
alloway,
hir two
eruogill,
ll, father
ne to the
he was
, the bz-
to be re-
am, sth
into him

my moze
that (be-
e in part
e daugh-
the same
of Wil-
of Chiff
ergusius
ert, and
ell at ba-
ided be-
omming
sious to
quench

How can the
be true, when
Edward had a
wife at that
time: be-
cause the
Scottish
kings were
not
married
to
English
women
until
the
reign
of
Edward
the
first.

The daughter
of David
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the king
of Scotland
and the
king of
England
for the
crown.

The ances-
tors of
Robert
Bruce.

The time
of the
Bailioll
with his
title
to the
crown.

Fr. Thia.

Buchanan.

Will. Parous
named him
Edward.

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the
said brethren, and for that it came with indifference
(as he supposed) he ment to pacifie and satisfie each
part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betwene
them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in
grudge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inhe-
ritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue
both the king and his brother, the one as enuious a-
gainst him, and the other as an unequall iudge, in gi-
uing his right from him. Wherefore when king Wil-
liam was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this
Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings
misshap out of all danger, being deliuered from the
feare of anie law) began to utter his conceiued ha-
tred till this time couertlie concealed. For upon the
sudden, he took his brother prisoner, put out his eyes,
cut out his tongue, and not contented with a simple
death (to be giuen unto him at one instant) did most
miserable a long time together put him to paine, by
dismembering the seuerall parts of his bodie, before
he should die. After which wretched fact against his
owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English na-
tion, and taking prizes on the borders, he did unna-
turalie and traitorously (as it were an utter eni-
mie to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens,
with all kind of murther and slaughter of battell. In
which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if
he had not bene resisted by his nephue Rowland (ga-
thering a strong power to him of such common peo-
ple as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the
imprisoned king) he had utterlie spoiled all the coun-
tries adioining to England, or else would wholie
haue brought them into his subiection. For this
Rowland a lustie young gentleman, bold of spirit, in-
dowed with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not
onelie beat downe the force of his vnkle, but did ma-
nie times (and that sometimes most happlie) fight
with the English, when they spoiled his native soile,
or that he made anie inuasion into their borders.

At length when king William was deliuered of
restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert
(notwithstanding all his former euils) by the media-
tion of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was
pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promi-
sed to make recompense of all such damages as he
had committed; for the sure performance whereof,
he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert
shortlie after departing this life, they which had ser-
ued under him, given by continuall use unto theft
and blood, did yeld themselves to the fauourable pro-
tection of the king of England, either for inconstan-
cie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched
with remorse of conscience for the euill which they
had before committed. These men thus shauolued vnder
the wings of England, did againe take armes a-
gainst their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpa-
trike, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before
had bene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all
such euils as were by him perfozmed. Against whom
was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set bat-
tell slue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds
of the common people. They which escaped the con-
flict, did flee to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine
of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pillering,
who by continuance of followers, & increase of peo-
ple, were now growne to some number, & did wan-
der ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euerie
place where they set foot: and not so content, did from
thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe
tooke in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vt-
terlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he
not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to
Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of
all Galloway. At length encountering with this

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third mo-
neth after the companie of this Gilbert was be-
fore dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine,
with the greatest number of his followers, by the
said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few
missing.

The king of England highlie offended therewith
(because the yere before they had sworne themselves
to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne
blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill
to seeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king
of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the meanes
he could, to appease the king of Englands displea-
sure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the
end the king of Scots wrought so with the Eng-
lish, that Rowland was admitted to come to Car-
leill to the presence of the king of England, the which
Rowland did accordingly. At that time before the
king of England, refelling the slanderous accusati-
ons of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he
had done nothing either rashlie, or vniustlie against
his and the common wealthis enimie) he was hono-
rable by the English king suffered to depart from
Carleill. These things thus done, & king William
returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance
the continuall constancie and good seruice, which
thized the father of Rowland had manie times done
to him and to the realme; therewithall not forget-
ting the worthie exploits which this Rowland had of
late perfozmed for the common wealth: for which
considerations he worthilie recompened the said
Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie
of Galloway. And further (although he did not me-
rit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the
king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to
beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this in-
deserued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue
him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of
the said Gilbert. All which William Parous reporteth
to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway,
married the sister of William Horvill constable of
Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the
same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from
whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and con-
stable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother,
a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his no-
table seruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of
John king of England) was rewarded by the said
king with honorable and rich revenues: for which by
the permission of William king of Scotland, he pro-
fessed himselfe the liege man of John king of Eng-
land, and sware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is
before said) married Margaret the elder daughter of
David earle of Huntingdon, of whome he raised thre
daughters, whereof the eldest being Donnagill, was
married to Balioll, the second to Bzufe: in right of
which Donnagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged
the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the el-
der sister. On the other side Robert Bzufe, albeit he
was descended of the yongest daughter to earle Da-
uid, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his fa-
ther was first borne, and therefore if king William
had deceased without issue, the crowne had descen-
ded to him: for which consideration he mainteined
that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for
his part, because he was come of the yongest daugh-
ter of king David, married to his father Henrie Ha-
stings, wanted not allegations to propound, why he
ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other
also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland,
and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute.
This controuersie being brought before the gouer-
nors, was at sundrie times argued with much con-
sideration,

Rowland re-
stayed to the
fauour of the
king of Eng-
land.

Rowland
made lord of
Galloway.

Carrike giuen
to the sonne of
Gilbert.

Rowland con-
stable of Scot-
land.

Alane lord of
Galloway, &
constable of
Scotland.

The title of
Robert Bzufe

Hastings.

The doubt of
the governours

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The title
doubtfull,

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The nobles
swore to
stand to the or-
der of king
Edward.

This report
of the Scottish
writers smel-
eth altogether
of malice con-
ceived against
him, for that
he scourged
them so fore
for their
untruths.

Respect of
persons in de-
ciding contro-
versies is not
to be confide-
red.

sention, not without the assistance of the nobles fa-
uoring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kin-
red moved them, namely Balioll and Bruce had no
small number that leaned unto their parts; by rea-
son whereof, the governours were in doubt to proceed
to any definite sentence in the matter, least if they
declared one of them king, another would attempt
to usurpe the crowne by force.

Hereupon they iudged it best to referre the deci-
sion of all this whole matter to some mightie king,
which was of puissance able to constrain the parties
repugnant to obey his sentence. Hereunto was
none thought so meet as Edward king of England,
and therefore they chose him. [Of whose faith and love
towards them, they did not any whit mistrust, be-
cause Alexander the last king of Scots had found the
father of this Edward, both a loving father in law to
himselfe, and byright tutor to his realme. Whereunto
also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward,
for that the said Edward had of late before tried the
fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testi-
monie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the
heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.]
Whereupon king Edward toke this charge upon
him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day
to come unto Berwik, willing that their counsell
might be assembled there against that time. At his
comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing
heard what could be said on each part, and throughlie
considering at length their allegations, he perceived
the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to dis-
cuss the truth by good aduise of counsell: and there-
fore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best
learned and most skillfull lawyers of all the realme to
be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he pro-
mised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest
clerks that might be found within all his domini-
ons, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised deba-
ting of the matter, the truth might appere, according to
the which he minded to giue sentence, without fa-
uor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke
a solemne oth of the ambassadoys of Scotland, and
such nobles as were there to stand to his definitive
sentence, further thereupon requiring a writing to
be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.]
After when all such matters and proses as were pro-
poned by the parties, alledged by them for furthe-
rance of their titles were put in writing, as matter
of record, he returned backe againe into England.

¶ Where the Scottish writers report, that king Ed-
ward bled himselfe nothing byrightlie in this mat-
ter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the
eyes of his conscience blinded, upon hope to gaine
somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But
how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue
to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring
that which the Scots doe write thereof, with that
which is to be found in our English historie. But to
proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King
Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth,
sent into France for men learned and of great ex-
perience in the lawes, that he might haue their opi-
nions in the demands of the parties for their doubt-
full rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first com-
manded them in no wise to agree upon any resolute
point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the
plee should seeme doubtfull by reason of their con-
trarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better un-
der that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he
thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

¶ Whoebeit the most part of the lawyers iudged with
Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his person,
and also for that he was come of the first issue male.
But some there were that gaue sentence with John

Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister.
King Edward supposing this to be the time most
conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer
the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwik, where
he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified,
to be present, that small sentence might be giuen, ac-
cording as he had before promised. When he was
come thus unto Berwik, and the foresaid 24 lear-
ned lawyers assembled as assistants with him, and
the parties appering before him in a chamber prou-
ided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be sterlie
kept, and the entries strongly warded, that no man
might come in or out, but by his appointment and li-
cence. His purpose was to make him king, that
would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of
him, as superior lord thereof. And because he knew
that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood
and wise dome, he thought best to assaie him first, and
if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then
he minded to trie what the Balioll would do.

When Robert Bruce had throughlie heard king
Edwards motion, he answered that he twied the li-
bertie of his countrie, more than his private prefer-
ment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his coun-
trie (which euen to that day had bene free) into the
bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King
Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomack, brake
off with him, and fell in talke with the Balioll, who
had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he
passed not whether he intoid the same in libertie or
seruitude, so he might haue it. Whereupon when this
Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oth unto king
Edward, that he would doe homage unto him for the
realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the
same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue
sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne
and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of
great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing
the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruce with-
out reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Ed-
ward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this
day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this mat-
ter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it
shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth
consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind,
shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day
of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen
sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be gi-
uen on thee. Shortly after, John Balioll went in
great arraie unto Scone, where he was crowned
king of Scotland on saint Andrews day, in the
yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next
insuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmasse, he
came to Helwcastle upon Tyne, and there did ho-
mage unto king Edward for the realme of Scot-
land, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his no-
bles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his
realme (which had remained in freedom unto those
dates) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but
small felicitie succeeded therof. And here it appe-
reth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland,
which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for be-
ing farre from home, they durst not contend against
the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it
greauoulie in their hart, dissembled with the present
time, and couered their anger under the cinders of
a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out,
notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declara-
tion and proue whereof, there was shortly after occa-
sion offered to Spaldouffe, by the death of the earle of
Fife, being (in the time when there was no king)
made one of the six governours of the realme: for this
earle was not onelie killed by these of Abirneschie
(which

R. Edward
commeth to
Berwik.

The purpose
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots doe
intimate re-
port,

The answer
of Robert
Bruce,

The Balioll
promiseth to
doe homage
unto king Ed-
ward.

The saying
of the earle
of Gloucester
to the Scots
kings, that
like to be
true.

R. Thin.

John Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland,
1292.

John Balioll
doeth homage
to king Ed-
ward.

So lay the
Scottish
writers, but
contrarie, read
more hereof
in England.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

Challenge
maimed be-
tweene Fra-
nce and Scot-
land.

rest sister.
time most
conquer
like, where
specified,
given, as
n he was
to 24 year.
him, and
ber prout.
be surlier
it no man
ent and li
ing, that
cotland of
he knew
r manhood
n first, and
pose, then
o.
heard king
ied the li
ate prefer
his coun
e) into the
en. King
ach, bzahe
lioll, who
e, that he
libertie o
when this
unto king
him for the
o hold the
ard gaue
he crowne
rouerlie,
a man of
und (seeing
zule with
king Ed
y the this
this mat
and his, it
t searcheth
ans mind,
adfull day
now given
ment be gi
oll went in
s crowned
ay, in the
yeare next
tmaslie, he
ere did ho
e of Scot
f all his no
submit his
unto those
ymen: but
re it appe
Scotland,
ige: for he
no against
e taking it
the pzeent
cinders of
burst out,
he declar
after occa
the earle of
s no king)
ne: for this
Abirneithe
(which

R. Edwards
commit to
Berwick.

The purpose
of King Ed
ward, as the
Scots do
vintile re
port.

The answer
of Robert
Bruce.

The Balloch
promiseth to
do homage to
king Edward.

The saling
of the earle
of Gloucester
to the Scots
Squire, but not
like to be true.)
King Ed
ward was no
man so to be
dealt with.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland,
1292.

John Balliol
doth homage
to king Ed
ward.

So say the
Scottish
writers, but how
true, read
more hereof
in England,
Fr. Thin.
Buchanan li. 8.

John Balliol
king of
Scotland
was a
man of
a fine
countenance
and a
good heart
in the
parliament
of England
in the
year 1292.

John Balliol
king of
Scotland
was a
man of
a fine
countenance
and a
good heart
in the
parliament
of England
in the
year 1292.

John Balliol
king of
Scotland
was a
man of
a fine
countenance
and a
good heart
in the
parliament
of England
in the
year 1292.

John Balliol
king of
Scotland
was a
man of
a fine
countenance
and a
good heart
in the
parliament
of England
in the
year 1292.

John Balliol
king of
Scotland
was a
man of
a fine
countenance
and a
good heart
in the
parliament
of England
in the
year 1292.

(which familie did then grea the flourish in riches and
aropate within Scotland) but the brother also of
the said earle was called into late by the Abirneith
ans, for whom the king in assemble of the states did
give sentence against the other. This Abirneith affect
the land thereof the contention grew was to abin
ged, supposing therein the king to be more tuisit a
gainst him than was cause, and that the king was
not so severe a revenger of his brothers death, as he
hoped that he would be: for sake the Balliol, and ap
pealed to the king of England, before whom he com
mitted his sute against Balliol. The deciding there
of was appointed to be holden at London, where was
an assemble of parliament of the nobilitie, after the
English manner, amongst whom this Balliol had
his place also.

The parliament begun and Balliol there summe
ned as cited, would have answered by his proxy: as
attorney: but this (not being allowed) Balliol was
compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his
cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which constreint
le when he durst not at any time recesse, forerlie
he still bare in mind, untill fit oportunitie might ar
rise the revenge thereof. But when he heard, and
then could not deliver himselfe of such disgrace; he
retained home with a mind of deablie anger, re
taining mounteins of choler therein, who still bending
himselfe on everie fine to satiffie his anger, stretched
on this point: how he might reconcile the hearts of
his subjects: and offend the state of the English.
Whilist Balliol with this meditation was feeding
his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to
performe his desire, by reason of the newe nettle
growen betwixt England and France, as after
shall appear. For upon this occasion of wars, king
Edward of England commanded this Balliol by
treace of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come
with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his
warres against the king of France.)

King John Balliol incontinentlie heretofore be
came repentant, in that he had endangered himselfe
thus by doing his homage; and thereupon sent his
ambassadors to king Edward, as then sojourning
at London, to craveance his aid touching the same
homage, alledging that in homage as it was done
without the assent of the three estates of Scotland, it
was of no strength in it selfe, and not worthy to be
observed being done by force; for which cause he
would renounce his friendship and alliance, aswell
for manie other injuries done unto him and his: as
for that he would faine to restore his countrie to his
former libertie. Which message when none of the
better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certaine
monke (as after have the abbots of Aberkirk)
carried these letters into England, upon the secret
whereof, king Edward answered the ambassadors
(whom he favoured with innumerable countenances)
that since he perceived (with he) your king will not
come unto us, we intend ourselves to come unto him,
whereunto the ambassadors departed. Foras much
Buchanan) could scarcely refuse home in safety:
being at his returne into Scotland rather had in
contempt of his own people, than ever not receiv
ed for such an ambassage.

After this, king Edward the better to accomplish
his purpose against the Scots, sent messengers to con
clude a peace with the king of France, and for the
more confirmation of the same peace, the French
kings daughter was given in marriage unto king
Edward his sonne. Whereunto (as said the Scot
tish writers) he purposed (when he had made up his
will once against the Scots) to have offered his
sister as before, notwithstanding that he had
promised to marry her to his sonne. But this he

procured the friendship of Robert Bruce, and upon
promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king,
the same Robert delivered unto king Edward his
hands all such castles as he held in Scotland. John
Balliol the Scottish king, understanding that king
Edward minded to make a conquest upon him, sent
William bishop of Saint Andrews, and archbishop
bishop of Dunblod, with sir John Sotheris, and sir
Ingram Cumfrank into France, to crave the an
cient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as
then king of France; which accordingly was done:
and for the more approbation thereof, the eldest
daughter of Charles earle of Flanders and Arion,
brother to king Philip, was promised in mari
age unto Edward Balliol, the sonne of king John,
which Edward should enjoy lands of yearlie rents
& revenues to the summe of sixtene hundred pounds
sterling, in places not of the demerines belonging to
the crown, as Valenciennes, Damptiere, Harcourt,
and Boure, which his father held in France with
Lanarche, Ribion, Maldoiers, Corringham, and the
castell of Dunbar, with the appurtenances in Scot
land: and hereto was annexed a promise, that if those
seignories and places exceeded the value of sixtene
hundred pounds of yearlie revenues, then should
the surplusage remaine to the R. of Scotland: but if
the same amounted not to that summe, then should
the said king make them good, and forgie the same
with other rents in Scotland, as otherwise as should
be thought meet. And further, the said summe of
sixtene hundred pounds in yearlie rent was assigne
as it were the dower of the said lady, to enjoy to
her selfe during her life after her husbands decease, if
her hap were to survive him.

In consideration whereof, king Philip contrary
ed to content and pay unto king John in name of
the marriage meute, the summe of 40000 crownes,
as (as other write) 25000 pounds sterling. The charter
containing the articles, covenants, and agree
ments of this marriage and league above men
tioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October,
in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters po
curatorie made by king John to the said bishop of
Saint Andrews, & the other his associates, bare date
at Strimling, the third mones of Julie the same
yeare. Wherlie heretupon, king John was adver
tised that king Edward purposed to come and be
siege Berwick; therefore by advice of his nobles
he sent the most part of all the barons and gentlemen
of Fre and Lowland unto Berwick, to defend the
towne against the enemy, if he came to besiege it.
The Englishmen came not thither with a mightie
power by land, but also with a great number by sea to
wards the said town of Berwick. Whilist con
tinuing the Scots being afflicted, came forth a
great shoale that approached by sea, to the
ships, and quailed about the towne.

King Edward rather provoked than feared with
this misadventure, came with a farre greater pow
er than before, to crave the siege: but when he
perceived his purpose like not to speale effect as he
hoped it should have done, he devised how to take
this towne by some slightfull policie. Whereupon he
framed a shippe he would have laden with his siege
and to raising his campe, he sent a little ship from the
towne, and then sending painted banners and en
signes, resembling altogether such as the said noble
men in Scotland when he suddenly returned toward
the towne, thence one of his soldiers sending a
decree of Saint Andrews about on their barrell,
after the manner of the Scottishmen. There were al
to least before into the towne, certaine Scots that
knew the king of England, which gave knowledge
to the Englishmen that they were the king of Eng
lands army, and that they were come to take the
towne.

Ex chron. A-1
London, as I
take it.

Hector Boe
tius.
Abandon.

1295.

The gran
men of Fre,
and Lowland
sent to Ber
wick to be
lieve it against
the English
men.

English ships
taken at Ber
wick.

Edward the
fourth.

The policy of
king Edward
to take Ber
wick.

John was coming with his armie to their succours. The Scots that were within the towne, hearing it had bene most true, let open the gates, and came forth against their king (as they supposed) to have received him with all joy and gladnesse.

But when they came nere unto the Englishmen, they perceived both by their language and habit what they were: but this was not before the Englishmen were hard at the gates, so that when the Scottishmen would have fled backe to have got into the towne againe, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the heeles, that they entered the gates with them, and so toke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the soldiers and men of warre, as also of women, children, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassion, so that they left not one creature alive of the Scottish blood within all that towne. Thus was Berwick wonne the 30 day of March, in the yere 1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thorough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chronicles testifie) that where at the falling tide the water was not able to drine about the mils, some of the same mils yet were now at a low water set on gate, by reason the streames were so hugelike augmented with blood. There were slaine above seven thousand persons that day, with the greatest part of all the nobles and gentlemen of life and Louthian.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people at Berwick, in great desire to be avenged, gathered his power, and sent the same forth against king Edward, with whom they met not farre from Dunbar, and there incountring with him in battell, the Scottish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and Spenteth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dunbar, but they were besieged so streitlie by the English power, inuironing the castell on each side, that in the end they were constrained for lacke of vittells to yield themselves to king Edward, on condition to have their liues saued, which covenant was not obserued; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported that Robert Bruce upon secret conference had with king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solicited all his friends in the Scottish armie, to flee upon the first iourning, which the residue perceiving, were so discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw awaye both armes and weapon, and so were vanquished without resistance.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring him to performe his promise touching the right which he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he receiued no answer to his asking touching that request; for king Edward had no lesse desire to imbrace the kingdome of Scotland, than Bruce, as the Scottish writers affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruce concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is said before, that he had nothing else to doe but to conquer Scotland, and to deliver them once againe vnto the king. Robert Bruce hereby perceiving the fables meaning of the king, returned right soon vnto his land in England, hauing great indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed king Edward, and yet not considered with himselfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion serued to reuenge the injuries received, which he intended to do, and that in most cruell manner, as after wards it will appeare. King Edward after he had thus wonne the castell of Dunbar, and the towne, sent the earles of Comburgh and Strueling, and other nobles, to seeke out the king, and to bring him to the castle of Berwick, where he was to be kept.

John Cummin lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was swoorne his liege man.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same John Cummin, king John with his sonne Edward came to Mounros, where perceiving himselfe to be fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reason of the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abillments, and with a white wand in his hand (as the manner is) presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning there vnto him all his right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, utterlie renouncing the same both for him and his heires for ever. Hereof was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confirmed with the hand and seale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might be deuised, bearing date the fourth yere of his reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the lords and barons of Scotland at Berwick, where he caused them to be swoorne his liege men, and to do homage vnto him as to their soueraine lord and supreme gouernor. Which William Douglas (a man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) refused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison, where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for the more suertie of their allegiance, he constrained them to surrender into his hands all the strengths & holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on the sea coasts, as also such other as were situate in the inner parts of the countrie.

These things done, and order taken in each behalfe as was thought requisite for the quiet keeping of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne Edward Balioll vnto London, where they were kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the said king John to returne into Scotland: but leaving still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he should attempt anie new rebellion after his departure; which after was deliuered at the request of the pope. King John upon his returne into Scotland, perceiving that he was in the hatred both of his lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the administration of the Scottish dominion, and finally went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inheritance and lands there, where at length falling blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed out of this world in the castell Galliard, leaving those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his deceasse.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make against France, had by not bin staied through the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue the same with all diligence; & therefore gathering all the strengths & forces in Scotland to withstand the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham regent there, whilst he should be occupied in France, which Cressingham before was treasurer. When hauing provided a great number of ships, he passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots should not stirre, for they had of late suffered so many overthrowes and losse of men, that they were not in a kind of disposition to make anie long time he might be defended. And whole people that he might be in any waye to be overcome, till such time as he should be able to returne home, and to take vengeance upon them for their former opportunity of time and occasion served, wherefore the lords of Scotland

The Scots deceived and intrapped.

The crueltie of the Englishmen.

Berwick is wonne.

The 29 of March being good friday, 1295. H.B. The abundance of blood spilled. Streames augmented with blood.

The Scots discomfited at Dunbar.

The castell of Dunbar rendered to king Edward.

Robert Bruce occasion of the overthrow of Scots at Dunbar.

Robert Bruce submitted himselfe to king Edward.

The answer of king Edward to Robert Bruce.

The castles of Berwick and Strueling wonne.

King John taken into

the castle of Forth.

John Cummin lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was swoorne his liege man.

A charter.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward.

The habits of Scotland delivered into king Edward's hands.

John Balioll kept as prisoner in England.

He returned into Scotland.

He returned into France, and deceased in the castell Galliard.

King Edward his purpose to make France.

King Cressingham regent of Scotland.

King Edward's purpose to take France.

King Edward's purpose to take France.

The Scottish lords assembled at Berwick.

The lords gathered at Berwick.

John Cummin.

William Wallace began to stirre.

John Balioll kept as prisoner in England.

He returned into Scotland.

He returned into France, and deceased in the castell Galliard.

King Edward his purpose to make France.

King Cressingham regent of Scotland.

King Edward's purpose to take France.

King Edward's purpose to take France.

King Edward's purpose to take France.

King Edward's purpose to take France.

king Edward the castell of
Fofaire.

the same
Edward
infelce
Edward,
reason of
he suffered
illments,
maner is
refigning
he had to
ning the
r. Hereof
life, confir-
and other
as might
are of his
led all the
e, where he
and to do
ie lord and
doglas (a
eds) refu-
to prifon,
e. And for
onftreined
trengths &
at fiod on
tuat in the

John Balliol
king of Scot-
land & fign-
all his right
to king Ed-
ward.

A charter.

Homage of
barons of
Scotland to
king Edward.

Fr. Thin.

The hold-
Scotland
delivered into
king Edward
his hands.

John Balliol
all kept as
prifoner in
England.

He returned
into Scot-
land.

He renoun-
ceth the ab-
nuftration of
Scotland.

He returned
into France
and decreed
in caftell
Gard.

King Ed-
ward his
purpofe to
nappe France.

Hugh Cref-
ingham re-
gent of Scot-
land.

King Ed-
ward bar-
ned by the
Scotch
rers of Scot-
land.

having knowledge that king Edward was passed
over the fea, they got them all together straight-
waies, and assembled in counsell at Striueling,
where by generall agreement, twelve noble men
were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie
one in their limits appointed, that they might the
better prouide to refist the enimie. Amongest these
gouernors, John Cumyn earle of Buchquhan was
principall, a man of great wifedome and fingular
knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war.
This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie,
and with the same entered into Forthumberland,
where he waisted with fier and fword all that coun-
trie. After this, he laid fiege to Carleill, but he wan
nothing there, the towne was fo well defended. In
that feafon alfo, the fame of William Wallace be-
gan to fpying, a yong gentleman of fo huge ftature
and notable strength of bodie, with fuch skill and
knowledge in warlike enterprifes, and hereto of
fuch hardineffe of ftomach in attempting all maner
of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie
where lightlie to be found. He was fonne to one
fir Andrew Wallace of Craigie, knight, and from
his youth bare euer an inward hatred againft the
English nation. Sundrie notable feats alfo he
brought againft the Englifhmen in defense of the
Scots, and was of fuch incredible force at his com-
ming to perfect age, that of himfelfe alone, without
all helpe, he would not feare to fet vpon thre or
four Englifhmen at once, and vanquifh them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie acts was
notified thorough the realme, manie were put in
god hope, that by his means the realme fhould be
delivered from the feruitude of the Englifhmen
within fhort time after. And hereupon a great num-
ber of the Scotch nation as well of the nobilitie as
other, were readie to affist him in all his enterprifes.
By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped
nor taken of the Englifhmen, that went about to
haue got him into their hands. At length, when de-
ceafion ferued to be the helpe of fuch a notable chie-
feine, he was chosen by generall confent of the Sco-
tifhmen as gouernour vnder John Balliol, to deli-
uer his countrie from bondage of the Englifh na-
tion. At the fame time manie abbeies & fpiritual be-
neffices in Scotland were in Englifhmens hands.
Pewertheleffe, this William Wallace by commis-
fion had of William Frafer bifhop of faint An-
drews, auoided and put them forth of all parts
of Scotland, leaving neither temporal nor fpiri-
tual perfon of their blood within that realme. For
thortlie after, by publike authoritie, he received the
armie that John Cumyn earle of Buchquhan had
led before, and conftreined thofe Scots that fauored
king Edward, to obey his commandements, in
renouncing all fuch faith and promife as they had
giuen or made vnto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puiffance
againft the Englifhmen, that held fundrie caftells
within Scotland, and with great hardineffe & man-
hood he wan the caftells of Fofaire, Dundee, Brechen
and Spountros, ftealing all fuch fouldiers as he found
within them. Wallace now full of this his profe-
rous fucceffe, and hearing that certeine of the chie-
feft capteins and officers of thofe Englifhmen that
kept the caftell of Dunoter, were gone forth to con-
fult with other Englifhmen of the foris next to them
adjoining, came fuddenlie to the faid caftell, & toke it,
not leaving a man aliue of all thofe whome he found
as then within it. Then after he had furnifhed that
hold with his owne fouldiers in moft defensible wife,
he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in maner
void of all the inhabitants, but the caftell was fo
stronglie garnifhed with men and munition, that

confidering it might not be wone without great
murder, he raied from thence, and returned into
Angus. King Edward as then being in France,
hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallace
his aduerfarie, sent diuerfe noble capteins vnto his
lieutenant Hugh Creflingham, with an armie into
Scotland to redrefse the matter.

Wallace in the meane time had laid fiege vnto
the caftell of Couper, but now being aduertifed of
the comming of this armie againft him, he raied
his fiege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge
there, that Hugh Creflingham with his armie fhould
not paffe the fame, according as the report went
his intent was to do. Here incounting with the
enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a
verie worthie victorie, for he fwe not onlie the force
faid Creflingham with a great part of his armie be-
ing paffed the riuer, but alfo forced the refidue to flee,
in fuch fort, that a great number of them were drow-
ned, and few efaped awaie with life. Thus hauing
gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Stri-
ueling, he returned againe to the fiege of Couper,
which thortlie after vpon his returne thither, was
renozed vnto him by thofe that were within in gar-
rifon. There were manie of the Scotch nobilitie the
fame time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the
king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie
and vittels, if he would onlie receive them into fa-
uour, wherevnto he granted. By which means, fundrie
other caftells were yielded vnto him, the which af-
ter he had garnifhed with men, munition, and vit-
tels (according as was thought requifit) he brake vp
his campe, and went with fundrie of his moft faith-
full friends vnto the caftell of Striueling.

Afterwards perceiving that though feartie of
cozne, great dearth arose on each fide within the
realme of Scotland, he deuifed which way he might
best relieue the peoples neceffitie and lacke in that
behaffe, and hereupon he determined to paffe with a
mightie armie into England, and to founne there
the moft part of the winter, in fufteining the whole
number of his men of warre on fuch prouifion as
they might find within the bounds of their enimies
countrie. He commanded therefore that all the
Scots, appointed to go with him in that iourne,
fhould be readie at a certeine day and place prefired.
But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aber-
den and other) for that they disobeyed his comman-
dements fet forth by letters and proclamations,
were hanged as rebels and traitors to their coun-
trie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his
commandements were the better obeyed, fo that ha-
uing got together an huge holl of men, he entered
with the fame into Forthumberland, wafting and
fpoiling the countrie euen vnto Bewcaftell. Thus
putting the enimies in great feare and terror, of his
awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe in-
to Scotland, laden with fpoile and glorie of their
prosperous atchiued iourne. They entred into Eng-
land (as fo. Maior writeth) about the feaft of All
faints, and remained there till Candlemas after, li-
uing ftill vpon the fpoile of the Englifhmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the
great slaughter of his people, and what damage the
Scots had done in Forthumberland, returned in
great difpleafure out of France into England, and
sent his ambaffadors vnto Wallace, fore menacing
him, for that he had invaded his realme in fuch cru-
ell wife in his abfence, which he durst as he sent him
word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home
himfelfe. Wallace herevnto answered, that he had
taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his inter-
prie, touching the inuafion of England, in like fort
as king Edward had done for the conqueft of Scot-
land.

Hugh Cref-
ingham sent
into Scotland

Hugh Cref-
ingham flaine
at Striueling
and his armie
difcomfited by
William Wall-
ace.

The caftell of
Couper ren-
dzed to Wal-
lace.

Dearth in
Scotland.
The policie
of Wallace to
relieve the
peoples lacke
in time of
dearth.

Disobedience
punifhed.

Wallace inua-
deth For-
thumberland.

Fr. Thin.

R. Edwards
message vnto
Wallace.

The answer
of Wallace to
R. Edwards
message as
the Scots
do writ.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare unto king Edward, that he invaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole induer to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadoers to declare from him unto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Caster in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armes against him.

Wallase entered England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedly according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entered into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie upon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue fought, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiving them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their ranks to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saing (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor enough for him that he had enforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe together in order of battell, and so preserving them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this loznie.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he toke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens reputations, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that fauor which made bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumlins blood, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefeest amongst those that thus enuied the high glozie of Wallase, and upon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head captaine, who should haue the leading of the bantgard, which is reputed a most high honor among the Scottishmen. And among other, John Stewart, and John Cumin, thought scozne, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen unto him by agreement and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith John Maior, the lord Stewart had before vpheld him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chiefeestins (hauing their brests filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bying their men into anie perfect arate. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cumlins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compass about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his induers notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerfet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left alive. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, namely one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Jate, a templer, whome Wallase perceiving to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and drew him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursue likelie to befall them. In this unfortunate battell, were slaine one of the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his Barons (for so they name them that are taken by to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Spalduffe earle of Fife, with sir John Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whome he highly esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Sparte other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was striken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

* When William Wallase was passed the river Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his dispersed people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Where vpon each of them (drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the bankes of the river, in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie compaignie best heare one another; Bruce began to say as followeth. I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and ballie to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be ouercome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onelie the mercie of thine enemy. And dost thou not see the Cumlins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceived against thee: Loke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words John Maior supposed that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whome Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the kingdome,

The Cumlins fled.

The Scots followed him.

Frere Brian Jate drew him there in sight of all the English armie.

Nobles of Scotland slain at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens daie.

Fr. Thin, John Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan lib. 1. Lellies ep. Ross lib. 6. p. 13. Conference betwene Wallase & Bruce.

1298.

Wallase reconnected his wife.

Philip king of France.

France.

Scottish ambassadoers sent to pope Boniface.

Wallase is enuied.

K. Edward invaded Scotland.

Wallase raised a power to resist him.

Strife for the leading of the bantgard.

The second
battell ouer-
come.

other before: neuertheless, the Scots encouraged
with their fresh towne victorie, got themselves pre-
par'd into arate, & receiued their enemies with such
incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the up-
per hand of these also. But scarce had they made an
end with this second battell, when the third part was
at hand ready to charge them, being now fore in-
flected, what thoroughly wearinesse and wounds recei-
ued in the two former encounters, besides the want
of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by ex-
hortation of their capitaines, and the valiant presence
of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on
their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to re-
ceiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they
put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the
Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands,
that they were not able to follow anie great waite in
the chase.

The third
battell of the
Englishmen
banquished at
Roslin.

1302.

The matter
is amplified
by the Scots
to the potters
molt.

The great
preparation of
king Edward
to invade the
Scots.

The Scots
withdrew to
their holds.
The English
armie passed
through Scot-
land from the
south parts to
the north.

Edward
sendeth into
Wallase.

Wallase re-
fused the offers
of Ed. Edward

The castell of
Sterling ren-
dered.

This Althred
the Scottish
bookes name
Diltes.

The castell of
Arquhar was
taken by force.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is be-
fore rehearsed, upon saint Matthewes day, in the
yere after the birth of our Saviour 1302. The glo-
rie of this victorie was great, considering that thi-
rie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & through-
lie appointed for warre, should be thus in one day
banquished with an handfull of Scottishmen. For as
their histories make mention, they passed not eight
thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed
that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace
of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long
intoy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king
Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people
at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of English-
men, Gascoignes, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke
his part, and hauing all his furniture and puruei-
ance ready both by sea and land, he set forward with
the same to invade the Scots on ech side. The Scots
perceiving they were not of puissance able to resist
his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means
whereof the English armie passed through all Scot-
land, cuen from the south parts to the north, & found
few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and
such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the
mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the
Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a mes-
senger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come
in and be sworne his liege man and true subiect, he
should haue at his hands great lordships and posses-
sions within England, to mainteine his port as
was requisit to a man of verie honorable estate.
But Wallase refused these offers, saying that he
preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotland,
before anie possession of lands in England, were
the same neuer so great; considering he might not
injoy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The cas-
tell of Sterling at the same time was in the kee-
ping of one sir William Althred knight, who would
not render it to king Edward by anie summons
or other meanes, till after three moneths siege he
was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these condi-
tions; That all persons being within the castell, should
depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at
their pleasure. Neuertheless king Edward caused
the said sir William Althred to be conueied to Lon-
don, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres af-
ter.

Sundrie other castells were taken by force the
same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted,
being found within anie of them, slaine without
mercie or ransome. Amongest other, the castell of
Arquhar in Murray land was taken by force, and
not one left aline that was found in the same (one
gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with

child, was in that respect preserved. She was the
wyfe of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though
by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Eng-
lishmen toke hir but for some other woman of me-
aner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being
suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where
she was deliuered of a son; that was named at the
font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was reco-
uered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king
Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be restored vnto
his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation
of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to
do here in; for he thought it neither conuenient that
a prince should take lands or possessions from noble
men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of
their manhood, shewed in defense of the realme; nei-
ther iudged he it reason to keepe him from his right-
full inheritance that had lost his father, his friends,
and all his whole substance in the like cause and qua-
rell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this
meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certaine
other lands in War, nothing lesse in value (consi-
dering the largenesse and fertilitye) than the other of
Arquhar were: and willed him to content himselfe
with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his
father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi-
ed, and no man should seme to haue wrong in being
deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander
Boyis had afterwarde his name changed, and was
called Forbesse, for that he stue a beare in those par-
ties, by great and singular manhood. And so the sur-
name of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended
from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie
puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish
all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the
realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots living
together with Englishmen, vnder one vni forme ma-
ner of lawes, they should finallye lost themselves to
be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the su-
preme gouernement of their publike weale, as also
in all other things, touching the friendlie societic of
life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nati-
on, with all manner of bookes, as well those contei-
ning diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of pro-
fane matters, to the end that the memorie of the
Scots should perish: and thereto appointed gre-
uous punishments for them that should disobey his
commandements herein, in keeping anie of the said
bookes vndeaced. And he ordeined also, that the
Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of
Sarum, and none other. Moreover, he compelled all
such Scottishmen as were of anie singular know-
ledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Ox-
ford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing
in politike prudence by their instructions, should
seek to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king
Edward going about (as the Scottish writers do re-
port) to extinguishe the name of Scots, together with
their rule and empire, passed through the most part
of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate
which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his com-
ming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple
standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe,
which was builded (as before is shewed) in the hono-
ur of Claudius the emperour, and the goddesse Victoria.
But for that his commandement was not immedi-
atly put in execution, he changed his purpose, and
appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius,
with the superscription of his name, should be taken
a waie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Ar-
thur, with his name to be set by; commanding the
place to be called Arthurs hois (as ye would say) Ar-
thurs

The marble
chaine is con-
uered into
England, and
placed in West-
minster.
The nobilitie
of Scotland
fuged to Ed-
ward.

Wallase el-
deth to as-
sist the
Englishmen.

Domare or
Dumrie was
gouern-
ment of Scot-
land vnder
king Edward

Conference
betwixt
Cumyn and
Wallase.

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Forbesses.

Indentures
betwixt
Cumyn &
Wallase,
touching the
conspiracie.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burnt.

John Cumyn
doubteth.

Cumyn disce-
th the con-
spiracie.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whither
sir Hector
Boecius or
other became
thereof.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whither
sir Hector
Boecius or
other became
thereof.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whither
sir Hector
Boecius or
other became
thereof.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whither
sir Hector
Boecius or
other became
thereof.

thars court.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into England, toke the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conueied by to London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scottis lords to assemble at Scone, where he caused them to take a new oath, that from thenceforth they should take him for their soueraign lord, and to obvie him in all things as loiall subiects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworne to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschued more than the companie of a serpent, to haue anie thing to do with the Englishmen, touching anie agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their desires. Moreouer, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Adam de Wallace to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And hauing thus set all things in good and quiet order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great joy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cumyn furnished the red, and Robert Bruce hauing conference together, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length by on offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by anie means they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Bruce, and the other, that is to say, the Cumyn, should inioy all the Bruces lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honours and dignities, as next unto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betwixt them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seals interchangeable, for the full ratifying of covenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after, upon deliuerie of those writings, Bruce went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren unto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

John Cumyn (after that he and Bruce were thus agreed upon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this confpiracie denieth betwixt them, would not last to anie such conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authority and power (as he mistrusted) would not be great, if the Bruce once attained the crowne; and hereupon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, containing the covenants of the said articles, and sealed with Bruces owne hand and seals. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret to king Edward, declaring unto him the whole matter as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his maiester, according to instructions giuen him in that behalfe. King Edward at the first gave him credite either to the writings, or words of the Cumyn, supposing that the same were done through anie, which he had to say to the Bruce, ever desiring lest he should beare the rule in Scotland. And if the Bruce once attained anie authoritie within the said king, at length king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he desired the counterpane of the indenture into Bruces hand, questioning with himselfe, if he knew his owne hand, and if he knew the hand of the

was pruite to anie such denisse or writing, and therefore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forsaik all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he conieured at the first how this accusation of Cumyn was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did unwise: but such was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruce should escape that danger, to accomplish that whereunto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatlie after that Robert Bruce was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he conieured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the wate in most speedie wise, whereupon he causing a smith to shew thise horseshoes for him, contrarie to the callins forward, that it should not be perceiued which wate he had taken by the tract of the horseshoes, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horsmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Bruce halted forth with such speed in his iournie, that the seventh day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found David, (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthy yong gentleman, vnto whom (they musing what he meant by his sudden coming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumyn, and how marcolie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his fight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maiester the said Cumyn, signifying by the same, that if Bruce were not the sooner put to death, there would insue shortly such trouble and rustling in Scotland against king Edward, that it would be much ado to appease it.

The letters being found about Cumins seruant, through means of yong Fleming, the Bruce after he had appoyed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maiester the said Cumyn was in the friers at Dunferme, he first due this fellowship that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunferme, by the guiding of the said Fleming, to seeke the quier of the friers church there he found Cumyn. And reasoning the matter there with him, so that he had vied him to euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end after some multiplie of words together, Robert Bruce plucked forth his sword, and strooke the said Cumyn a fore blow in the helme, and therewith striking out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindsay, and Roger Bicknart, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church each half, deniued of him what was the cause of that blow (said he) Cumyn is slain. And (said they againe) had thou attempted to fight

Robert Bruce
with a.

He cometh
to Louchma-
ben.

Robert Flem-
ing.

A seruant of
Cumins tak-
en with let-
ters on him.

Cumyn was
at the friers in
Dunferme.

For the
consequence
of the
nobilitie
of Scotland
to be
Edward.

which
to be
the
Englishmen.

Edward
to be
gouern-
our of Scot-
land
by Edward.

Conference
between
Edward
and
Bruce.

Indentures
between
Edward
and Bruce,
touching
the
regencie.

John Cumyn
and Bruce.

Cumyn
deliuered
the
indenture
to
Edward.

The temple
of
Columbus
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, wher-
in Hector
Boetius or
other dream
thereof.
Arthur be-
lieues

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Bruce.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burne

Scottishmen
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Dunferme.

The temple
of
Columbus
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, wher-
in Hector
Boetius or
other dream
thereof.
Arthur be-
lieues

Comin is
saine.

1305.

wallase is
taken.

wallase is
brought to
London.

He is put to
death.

John Fourdon.
John Maior.

Fr.Thin.

Abolution
from Rome.

Robert
Bruce is
crowned king
of Scotland,
the first of that
name.

John Maior.
King Robert
is discomfited
at Speffen.

an enterpryse, and left it doubtfull? And immedi-
atlie herewith they went to the place where Comin
lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of
him whether he thought he had any death wound,
or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian.
And for that he answered how he trusted to doe well
inough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they
gaue him three or foure other wounds so grieuous
and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yel-
ded by the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our
Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About
the same time was William Wallase taken at
Claskow by the means of Sir John Spenteth and o-
thers, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust;
but they being corrupted with the offers of large re-
wards promised by King Edward to such as could
helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was
apprehended at length by Domare de Valence
earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men
brought him to London, where he was put to death,
and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in
sundry great towres there for a spectacle, as it were
to giue example to other. This was the end of that
puissant champion William Wallase, praised a-
mongst the Scottisshmen aboue all other in that age,
for so much as he would neuer yeld or consent to ac-
knowledge any superiority in the Englishmen o-
uer his countrie, no not when all other had submit-
ted themselves to King Edward as his liege sub-
iects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when
he was young and went to schoole, he learned by heart
two verses of his scholemaster, which euer after he
bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them,
(when a toy toke him in the head) as follovveth.

*Dico tibi verum; libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruilis, sub nexu vincto sili.
My sonne I say, freedom is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thralls arrest.*

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was
blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie
(saith John Maior) composed a whole booke in vul-
gar verse, in which he intred all those things vul-
garlie spoken of this Wallase. But I do not in all
points saith the same author, giue credit to the wri-
tings of such as he was, who onlie get their food and
clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by
reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scot-
land.

But now touching Bruce; after he had saine Co-
min (as before is mentioned) he purchased an
abolution from Rome for that act; and to the end he
might then through authoritie obtaine some aid to
resist the puissance of his aduersarie King Edward,
he went by support of friends into Scone, where
caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day
of March, though he had no great number that toke
his part in the beginning; as shortly after well ap-
peared. For when he should assemble an armie a-
gainst a power of Englishmen that were sent a-
gainst him by King Edward, immediatlie vpon
knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to
get together any sufficient number to resist his ad-
uersaries, though with those few which came vnto
him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so
incounting with Domare de Valence lieutenant
of the English armie at Speffen the 9 day of June
1306, he was there put to flight; and though the
slaughter was not greatly yet for that it was judged
to be an enill signe to haue such infortune be-
pon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor
spoke greete from him.

Domare de Valence after he had obtained this
victory against King Robert, banished the whole
all those that supported the same Robert, by the

thercof, many ladies and gentlewomen were con-
strained to flee into woods, and other desert places,
to escape the crueltie of their aduersaries. King
Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl,
and from thence to Strath, where the third Ides of
August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe
with the Cumins and other such Scots & English-
men as were assembled in those parties ready to
pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chan-
ced to him before at Speffen; for he was put to flight
after the same maner, though he lost here but few of
his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place
Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Bu-
chan lib. 8, which is also called Datochie by I. Maior.
lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruce had so hard
a beginning for a punishment of the death of Co-
min, saine in the church by him and his friends.
Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto
him in these two seuerall battells, he was left so de-
solat and vnprouided of all friendship, that he was
constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the
woods and mounteins, with a few other in his com-
panie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes
for want of other food.

Whilist he remained in this estate of aduerser for-
tune, there were two that shewed themselves right
trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the
rest, the earle of Lenenor, and Gilbert Bale: for
though either enforced by persecution of enemies, or
constrained through some other necessitie, they de-
parted sometimes from his presence; yet did they e-
uer acknowledge him for their soueraigne lord and
onlie king, ready at all seasons to serue and obey
him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his
friends peas and seruants, in that present miserie,
did cleaue for sake him; so that sometimes he was
left with onlie one or two in his companie, & glad
to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no
person lightlie vnderd to resort. His wife & quene fled
to saint Dunos, and chanced to be taken by William
Cummin earle of Ross, who deliuered her to King
Edward, by whose commandement she was com-
mitted to safe keeping at London, where she remai-
ned till after the battell of Bannockburne. His
brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards
were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexan-
der, with many other nobles and gentlemen of
Scotland, of whome some were executed at Car-
leill, and some at Berwick. Nigel was taken at
the castell of Bilsbyke whither he fled, and came to
Berwick: Thomas and Alexander were taken at
Locheis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded.
I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finallye the most part
of all such as had aided him before, and were now
thronged from him, were within one yeare after, ei-
ther saine or kept as prisoners in England.

Wherevpon he was thus left desolat of all aid and
succour, hauing his brethren and other of his friends
murdered and saine to his bitter discomfort and ru-
ine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued e-
uer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time
to come he might recouer the realme out of the en-
emies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof
to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke
in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots,
& lodging vnder the bare earth, without house
or other habitation; he was so accustomed thereto
by hauing the same in his youth, that the same
griued him little by nothing at all. But to conclude,
with this his valiant and most excellent fortitude
of mind and courage, that no inuidious with-
stand of fortune should abash his inuincible
heart and manlike courage. At length, after he had
liued in this place in sundrie parts of
Scotland,

Fr. Thin.

The miserie-
ble state of
Robert in
beginning
of his reigne.

The earle of
Lenenor and
Gilbert Bales
faithfull ser-
uants to King
Robert.

King Ro-
berts wife
taken.

Fr. Thin.
Simon Fra-
ser and Wal-
ter Logan
quoted.

Nigel
Thomas and
Alexander
brothers of
Robert
taken and
put to death.

King Ro-
berts good
hope in time
of extreme
need.

His inuinc-
ible heart and
courage
standeth
strong.

King Robert
was secretly
brought into the
castle.

King Robert
was secretly
brought into the
castle.

His power
increaseth
in the
castle.

King Robert
commeth to
Edinburgh.

con-
ices,
king
holl,
es of
saine
plish-
ite to
chan-
sight
to of
place
Bu-
saio-
hard
f Cu-
liends.
unto
so de-
e was
to the
com-
tunes

King Robert
erikness dis-
comfited in
tholl.

Fr. Thin.

The miser-
able state of
Robert in the
beginning of
his reigour.

The circle of
Leuenor and
Robert have
faithfull ser-
uices to king
Robert.

King Ro-
berts wife to
hen.

His
wards
Alexan-
der of
it Car-
then at
ame to
then at
edded.
st part
ce now
ster, etc

King Ro-
berts good
hope in time
of extreme ad-
uersitie.

His immet-
table hart and
bravadoes
somach.

he had
arts of
otland,

King Ro-
berts
erikness
discomfited
in the
tholl.

King Robert
erikness
discomfited
in the
tholl.

King Robert
erikness
discomfited
in the
tholl.

King Robert
erikness
discomfited
in the
tholl.

King Robert
erikness
discomfited
in the
tholl.

King Ro-
berts wife to
hen.

His
wards
Alexan-
der of
it Car-
then at
ame to
then at
edded.
st part
ce now
ster, etc

King Ro-
berts good
hope in time
of extreme ad-
uersitie.

His immet-
table hart and
bravadoes
somach.

he had
arts of
otland,

Scotland, the better to avoid the sleights of them
that lay in wait to apprehend him, he got over in-
to one of the Isles, where comming unto one of his
special friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbe-
loved of the people in those parts, he was most har-
tillie welcome, and gladlie of him received, to his
great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, he
got support of men, armoz and weapons, by meanes
whereof taking new courage, he passed over unto
Carrick, & winning the castell there that belonged
to his fathers inheritance, he due all the English
men, which he found within it, and bestowed all the
spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his
soldiers and men of warre. His friends that late
hid in covert and secret corners, hearing of these his
doings, began from each side to resort unto him, by
whose assistance shortly after he won the castell of
Inverness, and due all them that were within it
in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most
part of all the castels in the north, rasing & burning
by the same till he came to Glenelke, where being
advertised that John Cummin with sundrie English
men and Scots were gathered against him, because
he was upon a strong ground, he determined there
to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and
wondering at his manlie courage, durst not ap-
proch to give him battell, but sent ambassadors un-
to him to have truce for a time, under colour of
some communication for a peace, till they might in-
crease their power more strongly against him: which
being done, they pursued him more fiercely than
before. Scuerthelesse King Robert received them at all
times in such warlike order, that they might neuer
take him at anie aduantage, but were still driven
backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was
of no great importance to make account of, but such
like as hapeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light
encounters, where the battels come not to soine pu-
issance against puissance. The same whereof yet pro-
cured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in
Scotland.

* About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter
Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauour-
ing their countrie) were taken by such as followed
the faction of Cummin, deliuered to the English, sent
to London, and there executed. Almost about which
time, James Dowglas joined himselfe to the part
of King Robert. This James being the sonne of
William Dowglas, was a yong gentleman very
active and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts.
When he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hea-
ring that his father was by the king of England
cast in prison, in which he shortly after died, as is be-
fore noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his
life after the aduise of his friends. But being with-
out living, & all his other friends by misfortune dis-
perfed: he committed himselfe to the seruice of W.
Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome he
was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well in-
tertained: untill king Edward comming to Ster-
ling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of
Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lam-
bert going to Sterling to salute the king, caried
Dowglas to attend upon him, to the end to prefer
him to his living and inheritance. Whereupon the
bishop finding the king at convenient leisure, be-
sought him to be fauourable to his Dowglas; to
resort him unto his fathers patrimonie: and that
(receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and de-
fence) it would please him to implete him in his faith-
full and warlike seruice: adding further such com-
mendations in the behalfe of James, as for that
time he thought most conuenient. But the king un-

derstinding his name and kinred, spake bitterlie of
the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father Wil-
liam Dowglas; further answering, that he would
neither vse the same James, nor his trauell in anie
thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore
him to his patrimonie, because he had with the
same gratified other that well deserued it: for which
cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still
in the bishops seruice, untill Wm came into
Gerne, at what time (least he might lose the oppor-
tunitie to off. no king Edward, whome he secretlie
in heart disdained) this Dowglas departed from
Lambert his master, taking with him all the bi-
shops gold, and certeine of his best horses, with the
which, having in his companie diuerse other hardie
yong gentlemen, priuie to his doings, he fled with
all speed unto King Robert, offering him his seruice,
and to spend his life in his quarell and defence. The
bishop was priuie to his consins going awaie, & pea-
ced and counselled him thereunto, though he would by
no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt
least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he
might haue run in danger for his cloaked dissimu-
lation. The Dowglas was toisullie receiued of King
Robert, in whose seruice he faithfullie continued both
in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dow-
glases was in some estimation of nobilitie before
those daies, yet the rising thereof to honoz chanced
through this James Dowglas: for by meanes of
his aduancement, other of the same linage toke oc-
casion by their singular manhood and noble pzooves
shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to
grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that
their mightie puissance in maintent, lauds, & great
possessions, at length was (through suspition concei-
ued by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of
their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hear-
ing of the doings of his aduersarie King Robert,
doubted (if some redress were not found in time)
lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of
his said aduersarie, would revolt wholie from the
English obedience: and heretupon purposing with
all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland
from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie
than ever he had raised before) to the borders; but
before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a
right sore and grievous maladie, whereof he died
shortlie after at Burgh upon sands, as in the Eng-
lish historie more plainlie doth appeare, though
Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle
before he departed out of this world, there were
brought unto him 55 yong striplings, which were ta-
ken in the castell of Kildrummie, after it was wonne
by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be
done with them, he commanded they should be han-
ged incontinentlie, without respect to their yong
yeeres, or consideration of their innocencies that
might haue moued him to pitie. After his decesse,
his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succeeded in the
gouernement of England, who following his fa-
thers enterpryse, called a councill at Dunfreis, sum-
moning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the
same, and caused a great number of them at their
comming thither to do their homage unto him, as
to their superiour lord and gouernoz: but yet diuers
disobeyed his commandements, and would not
come at his summoning, upon trust of some change
of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son
was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his
eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of
his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe no-
bles of his realme.

Shortlie

A craftie dis-
sembling
prelate.

The rising of
the Dowglas
ses to honoz.

The death of
king Edward
Longshanks.

The crueltie
of king Ed-
ward as is
noted by the
Scottish wri-
ters.

Edward of
Carnaruan,
sonne to Ed-
ward Long-
shanks.

How came to
king Edward
of Carnaruan

Hoſtlie after this, the ſaid Edward of Carnar-
 nan returned into England, and in the meane time
 John Cumyn erle of Buchquhane gathered a migh-
 tie armie, both of Scots and Engliſhmen to reſiſt
 againſt king Robert, that he might thereby declare
 his faithfull affection toward the new Engliſh king.
 He truſted onelie with multitude of people to cauſe
 his enimies to giue place: but king Robert though
 he was bolden with a ſore ſickeſſe at that time, yet
 he aſſembled a power, and cauſed himſelfe in a hoſe-
 litter to be caried forth with the ſame againſt his
 enimies, who abiding him at a ſtreight, ſuſpected it
 had bin an eaſie matter for them to be put to flight:
 but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation,
 for in the end the Cumyn with his whole armie was
 diſcomfited, and a great number of king Roberts
 aduerſaries ſlaine or taken. This victorie was got-
 ten at a village called Cnuerrour, ten miles diſtant
 from Aberden, on the Aſcenſion daie, wherewith
 king Robert was ſo much reſreſhed in contentation
 of minde, that he was ſuddenlie therupon reſtored to
 his former health, hauing at that time alſo taken the
 caſtell of Aberden, which he vtterlie deſtroyed, and
 cauſed to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his
 enimies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cumin
discomfited by
king Robert.
at Ennerroure
1308.
Fr. Thin.

Donald of the
Fles discom-
fited by Ed-
ward Bruce.

Argile sub-
dued by king
Robert.
This was in
1309, as John
Ma. saith.

Edward
cometh into
Scotland.
Anno 1310
should seeme
by lo. Maior.

A foze Dearth

1311.
Castels reco
uered by king
Robert.

King Robert
invaadeth
England.

1312. 10. Ma
The towne of
Perth reco-
uered, other-
wise called
S. Johns
towne.

Castels soon. of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other

strengths and castles were rendered unto him, and
cast to the ground.

The castell of Kokesburgh was taken by sir James Dobyglasse on Feastinges euen, in the yere 1313, when they of the garison were overcome with immoderate surfetting by meates and drinkes excessive taken, according as on that day the accustomed is. In that yere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Surrey, won the castell of Edenburgh. In which yere also, Bruce won the Ile of Man; John Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yere Edward Bruce besieged the castell of Striving: but the strength of the house was such, that by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his traueill and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, proved vaine for the time. Within this castell as captaine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scottish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittells, munition, and all manner of puruesance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finally Edward Bruce, perceiuing no meanes whereby to achieve the enterpryse, which he had rashlie taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well enough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the captaine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto, inasmuch as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likelie it should haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the captaine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortreffe were not succoured within twelue moneths next ensuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vniuerselle made, as most men iudged: for euery man of auncient wisdom might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing for long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet hee would not go about to breake the covenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid hee might not well want.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth meſſengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his ſubiects, but alſo vnto all his confederats and allies, to haue men of warre taken by and reteined to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Scots, which he intended to ſolow to the viter deſtruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of ſpoile, not onlie ſuch as were appointed by commiſſioners of the muſters, but alſo a great number of other that offered themſelues of their owne accord to go in that iourne, namelie ſuch as had little to liue vpon at home, and truſted to amend the matter by ſome god fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which this is reported by the Scottiſh writers, that ſuch aid came to the Engliſh, were theſe; Holand, Zealand, Wabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Calais coigne, Normandie, Guien, and Burdelois. For all theſe at that time were either ſubiect to the king of England, or elſe in confederate league with him. There were alſo manie Scots that were Engliſh by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

But

Rokeburgh
Swane en
Shrouetuef-
day.

1313.
The castle
Edinburgh
swane.

Struening
Weltbesieger

Sir Philip
Mowbray

same often-
times excee-
dingly truth-

Edward
Morse,

ed: Anbros
composit

King
offended
his brother

1851. R. Edm
 taketh
 soldier.

The opinion of expert witnesses of him Edward.

aid out of
nd, countri
al Edward
aid of m

Crunches
made by
beats to a
rhythmic
background

1. and

by Sir Robert
perre
e with
erecol-
custo-
all, as
castell
an the
same
strive,
hat by
d what
trauell
it, pro-
is cap-
med fir
taking
ing the
ls, mu-
it to de-
ie Ed-
p to at-
ken in
to well
y large
ider the
ther, he
hereto,
nother
at than
ing the
ine ma-

Robert
Swane on
Shouetel-
day.
1313.
The castell
Edenburgh
swone.
Striueling
well besieged.

Sir Philip
Mowbray.

no god
him and
recozded
ccoured
uld then
meane
is com-
fudged:
ilie con-
day to
of them
ould be
ert him:
for his
uld not
o doubt
ret well

In bruisse
composition.

King Robert
offended his
brother.

Edwards
taket by
souldiers.

Out of Suba
countries
Edward had
aid of war.
For all
king of
ith him.
ightly by
ne.

But

But the number of naturall Englishmen ex-
ceded anie one nation beside, inso much that the whole
armie that of one and other, contained (as the same
went) one hundred and fiftie thousand souldiers, and
almost as manie horsemen, beside carriage-men,
coffers, women, and lackies, but the same herein
belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the truth.
For it is not to be thought (as John Maior himselfe
writeth) that he should get such a number together,
not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth
such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie
men as are to be found in England of lawfull age,
so manie able personages may be found there to
passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of
abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and
sufficient provision, or else they will not streine them
selues thereto. Nevertheless, the whole number by
all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers
as Englishmen, brought their wives, their children,
and whole household-maine with them, in hope after
the countrie were once subdued, to have dwelling
places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit:
for so had king Edward promised them. By reason
whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike disci-
pline might be obserued amongst them; for men, wo-
men, and children, were all mixt together, with such
clamor and noise, through the huge number of peo-
ple, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing
right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie or-
dered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insu-
lent of such incredible number, took no heed at all
to the governing of them, supposing victorie to be al-
readie in his hands; inso much that at his coming
to the borders, he took aduise with his counsell to
what kind of torment and death he might put king
Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all.
He also brought with him a religious man somewhat
learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to de-
scribe the whole maner of his conquest and victorie
ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all
things would come to passe as he could wish, or de-
uise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in John Bales
booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great
Britaine, was named Robert Baston, and had the
gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Car-
melites order, he being (as before is said) of that
cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all
his doings by god & prudent aduise, and with 30000
men, right hardie and thoroughlie exercised in wars,
came forth against his enemies, shewing no token
of feare in the world, but boldly pitched downe his
tents in good order and warlike array, vpon a plaine
a little aboue Bannockshorne. Whether he did this
for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of
his people, or for that he would shew how little he
doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they
shuld haue him in contempt, it is vncertaine. Indeed
there were diuerse expert warriors amongst the
Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the
Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie
would not be had, except it were dearely bought:
the wisdom and manhood of king Robert was
knowne so well amongst them, that they were as-
ured he would not teopard himselfe in such a case, but
that he knewe he had such fellows about him, as
would sticke to their tackle.

Howeuer the Scots by appointment of their
king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterpryse, had
cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was
lodged the battell should soine, and pitched sharpe
stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer
with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that

a few souldiers might passe ouer well enough; but if a
nie great number should come preassing together, or
that anie horsemen came thereupon, the sods would
shinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with
extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure
to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or
else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to
get out of those pitts. By the place where king Ro-
bert was thus incamped, there runneth a great
brooke or water called Bannockshorne, so named of
often-cakes called bannocks, which were used to be
made commonlie at the mills standing on the banks
of the said water. It falleth into the Forth right fa-
mous afterwards by reason of this battell fought
nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a
mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred
horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Striue-
ling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbray the cap-
taine, that he was come with his armie to succour
him. As Robert being aduertised of their gate, & be-
holding them which way they took, he sent Thomas
Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue
the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood
incountered with those Englishmen in sight of
both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt
them for so small a number, continuing a long space
with vncertaine victorie. In the meane time sir
James Douglas, deading that his speciall friend
the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with
multitude of the Englishmen, came to As Robert,
and falling on his knees before him, required li-
cence to go forth to the support of them that were
thus fighting with their enemies: which because the
king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of
the campe without licence, hauing in his companie
a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the pur-
pose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, he
might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the
place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had
got the victorie with great murder of the English-
men, he traied and went no further; least he should by
his coming seeme to betraue them the glozie of the
victorie, which had wonne it with so great prowesse
& singular valliance. All those in the Scottish campe
were relieved, in god hope of greater successe to fol-
low in the whole enterpryse by so happie a beginning.
The Englishmen passed little thereof, but yet for that
the Scots should not wane proud, and take ouer-
much courage thereby, they determined to giue them
battell the next morow. King Robert with great di-
ligence caused his people to prepare themselves rea-
die to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing a-
ble to match them in number, deuising which waie
he might traue them into the ditches before prepa-
red. He commanded through the armie that euerie
man should on the next morow receiue the sacra-
ment of the Lords bodie, through the which they
might haue the better hope of victorie against the
vniust invaders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that
all things would prosper with them, euen as they
could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they
hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of
the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seeme
to them good, and most for their owne anail. But
king Robert all the night before the battell took little
rest, hauing great care in his mind for the surtie of
his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration
this chance, and another while that; yea and some-
times he fell to deuout contemplation, making his
prayer to God and saint Phillip, whose arme as it
was set and inclosed in a silver case, he supposed had
lanc.

E. j.

hene

The fight of
St. Randall
with 500 Sco-
tishmen in his
companie a-
gainst 800
Englishmen.

The English
men deter-
mine to giue
battell.
King Robert
prepareth to
receiue the e-
nemies by bat-
tell.

hane the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his praier, the case suddenly opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, leass that relike should haue bene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the arme otherwise than well.

A subtill chapleine.

A matter devised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

The king verie iofull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thanksgiving. On the morrow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffrate did celebrate before the king that day, and ministered vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the arme. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wanted manhood, considering that such an huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as allies to the Englishmen, with full purpose of heart to extinguish the Scottis name and memorie, and to plant themselves in their seates and rowmes, as in possessions utterly holden of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scottis men against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Again, to auoid feare out of their hearts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warrelle affaires, not taken by by choice and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference together, in hope of spoile and booties, having not else whereupon to liue at home in their countries.

Moreover, if nothing else might raise their hearts in hope of victorie, their lust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against inuiolous innaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarrell, haunting partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their hearts to do valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued soldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safely undertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert used to encourage his people.

Fr. Thin.

But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Bruce, further saing, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he uttered these words, and bareheaded imbraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole arme, he reached to euerie man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was overwheated before he had taken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward called the colonels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superiortie. Again, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecoverable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kingle robes, is said to haue used these speeches to the arme. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of soldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasie peece, catapultes, bowes, and other such engines of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots do want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clothes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall come, will come subdue them. Sparrell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in fight) some weake compante of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen soldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruce (nourished by my god father) to the end that he might receiue worthy punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: therefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aloue) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) given to you by my father, in that kingdom. Therefore now shew you selues valiant persons, that you may againe recouer the same, at this day possessed by the vniuersall and vnrighfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure south all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in array of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their captains, they were brought into order of battell, not without much ado, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battells, which stood inclosed in the midst of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battells on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randulfe, & James Douglas, captains of verie approued valiance, under whom went seven thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Batersans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, where-in were ten thousand men: but for that he was spoiled of too much cashnesse, there was joined with

him and
and
Maio
king
name
that
hope

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

the
the
the
the
the
the

is over,
by the
also the
o' crook
the ball
bale in
land, in
ing for
leo they
uerable
out of
e home
without

Maio) Fr.Thn.
s said to
not hos
off ball
ech unto
uldioz
s which
pulses,
ch on the
e onlie
s fling,
the peo
ength of
ue them,
sabbou
eir accu
ell. And
ht) some
em, yet
more ex
f battell
its owne
d bath in
d by my
wozthie
bzozhen
now re
ther two
London,
you had
u by my
eto pour
reouer
f and on
rffer by
land of
erue the
1. Thus

rd in ar
ht scarce
hich they
lesse, at
captains,
without
e. The ar
ngest the
battels,
e wings.
not, diu
d he com
inglasse,
r thome
hze thou
battrans
forward,
no ward
er, where
was fast
ned with
him

The exhort
tion of king
Edward.

Edward.

The abbat of
Inchmaharke
bearing a
crosse.

John episc.
of Dunelm,
writing pag
12. he writ
the abbat
of Inchmaharke
of the
crosse.

Edw. the
first.

Edw. the
first.

Edw. the
first.

Edw. the
first.

Edw. the
first.

Edw. the
first.

Edw. the
first.

him scruteine ancient gentlemen of great whyserie
and circumspection, to qualifie his battie and hot na-
ture. The third battell, in the which were (as John
Maio) recordeth) fiftie thousand fighting men, the
king himselfe led, the which a verie cherefull counte-
nance amongst them, so farre forth, that euerie one
that beheld him, conceived in his mind an assured
hope of victorie to succeed.

The abbat of Inchmaharke afore said (who as be-
fore is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore
the king) came forth before the battels, with the cro-
cisse in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard, ad-
monishing them valiantlie to take in hand the de-
fence of their countie, and the libertie of their posses-
sion: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as
it were for his owne private defense, his owne house
and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men
for euerie man: must fight for the libertie, life, patri-
monie, children, and twines of all the realme: for such
and so great is the dignitie of our countie; as they
which de face or spoile it, are to be punished with per-
petuall fier, and they which do preserve it, are to be
recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And
here with all this abbat instructed them of manie
things touching the loue of their countie, which na-
ture hath so planted in all men, that for the preferua-
tion and libertie thereof, none should refuse any dan-
ger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were pos-
sible) that it might be manie times lost therefore.
Which done, he feared not to admonish them to wor-
ship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the
crosse. Incontinentlie wherupon, the Scottish armie
fell on knees before it, deuoutlie commending them-
selves to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on
knees, thought verelie they had perished without
stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise a-
gain, and to come forward, they began to be some-
what doubtfull. And hereupon rushing together, at
the first joining a great number of people on either
side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which
were arrayed on the bitter skirts of the English
wings, fore annoyed the Scots, till finally Edward
Brace came on their backs with a thousand speares,
and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did
but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinent-
lie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of
thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once
in thicke, to haue borne downe and ouerthotten the
Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with
most violence towards them, they tumbled into the
fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one
upon another, that the most part of them was slaine,
without all recoverie. Nevertheless the Scots in
maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the
enimies, were nere at the point to haue bene van-
quished. [During which conflict saith Buch. this
happened (which though it be a small thing to put in
writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in
battell, and as brought no small benefit to the per-
fection of their businesse) that king Robert (who
continualie rode before the battell appointed to his
gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand
(and keeping the first order in the array) was espied
of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and
for that he rode full against Brace with his speare.
But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his
English aduersarie, overthrew him by the force of
his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so
left him dead. Whereupon, the common people be-
holding the valour of their king and capteine, did
with great force by the instigation of their fierce and
fierce minas (and not by the kings persuation) fall
upon their enemies in such sort, that they seemed to

haue had the victorie of the aduersie battell of their
enimies: had it not bene for the English archers;
which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom
Edward (sending out certaine light horsemen) did
sore repulse: wherby the Scots encouraged, made
their partie good; rather by hidden policie, than
prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots de-
vised, and an error by the English therof conceived,
did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power af-
forded in the field. For that deuile in the end was
the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in
this sort.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the
carrage, as carbores, waitemen, lackies, and the
women, beholding in what danger their maisters,
friends, & countie men stood, put on shirts, smocks,
and other white linnen aloft upon their usual gar-
ments, and herewith binding towels and napkins
to their speares; and to other such frames as they got
in their hands, placed themselves as well as they
could in array of battell, and so making a great
moist and shew aneto, came downe the hill side
in the face of their enimies, with such a terrible noise
and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting
as then with most furie against the Scots with
certaine victorie, and beholding this new reinforce
coming downe the hill upon their faces, supposing
verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts
began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw
themselves verie able to susteine the violent in-
counter of the Scots then present. And hereupon
they began to turne their backs, and fell to running
away as people clearelie vanquished: on whom the
Scots followed with insatiable ire, and due them
down on all sides where they might overtake them.
Sir James Douglas with foure hundred chosen
horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to
pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie
if he might overtake him.

Douglas (according to his charge) followed him
in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the
borders, laie in wait to haue taken him. If he had
returned by land; but he being returned into the ca-
stell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March,
with fiftene earles in his companie, was by the
same erle of March conueied into certaine vessels,
lieng there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst
by the shore into England, to shew an example of
the trustable state of princes: for though this Ed-
ward was that day in the morning right proud of
the great puissance and number of people which he
had about him, not unlike sometime to the great
armie of king Herres yet he was constrained before
the evening of the same day, to save his life in a
poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie
thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers af-
firme) amongst whom was the erle of Glouce-
ster, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish
part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst
other two valiant knights, sir William Wallace,
and sir Walter Ross. The spoile was so great of
gold, silver, and other Jewels gotten in the field, that
the whole number of the Scottish armie was made
rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse mo-
nie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at
this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe,
and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine,
that died amongst other in this mortal battell, was
so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie
which he had sometimes with him in England, that
he reioiced little of all the gains got by so famous a
victorie. He caused his house to be buried right ho-
norable in saint Patriks church beside Edinburgh.
The queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept
E. ij.

The English
mens hearts
began to faint.

The English
men put to
flight.

King Ed-
ward cleareth

The English
state of trust-
able puissance.

The number
of Scots
slaine.

Sir Giles
Argentine
slaine.

The quene
king Roberts
wife restored
to his husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England
now, delivered by exchange. One of the nobles
of England, which was taken at the battell, the rich
clothes of silke, velvet, and gold, which were found
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The
Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought
further by king Edward to describe the victorie of
the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst o-
ther, and commanded by king Robert to write con-
trarie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had
sene: who thereupon gathered his rustic wits toge-
ther, & made certaine rude verses beginning thus.

Miracles made
by Robert
Bailon the
Carmelite.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo.
Rijum retrido cum tali themate ludo.
With barren verse this rime I make,
Bewailing whilest such theme I take.

Where be some that haue iudged, how this victorie
was attained by: the singular fauor of almightie
God, by reason of miracles, which they rehearse
to happen at the same time. The night before the day
of the battell, there came to the abbete of Glaster-
burie two men in complet armour, desiring to
lodge there all night: the abbate keeping an house of
great hospitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and
making them good cheare, demanded what they
were, and whither they were going: who answered
that they were the seruants of God, and going to
helpe the Scots at Bannorbozne. On the morrow
the chamberlaine found them departed before anie
of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was
sene shortly after to passe ouer the land forth on
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this
was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkney,
and for that cause king Robert endowed the church
of Orkney with five poundes sterling of the cu-
stomes of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church, with
bread, wine, and wax.

Robert fles-
hing reward-
ed for his
faithfull ser-
uice.

Many noble men for their approued manhood
shewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,
by whose means he reneged the treason wrought a-
gainst him by John Cummin, with slaughter of the
same John, had the lands of Cumminald giuen
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the
said Cummin. It is reported by writers, that two
knights of Babant that serued amongst the Eng-
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,
who being somewhat moued therewith, and mis-
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which
with Is. Edward informed thereof, caused them by
a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scottish campe,
with commandement to aid king Robert to the vt-
termost of their powers, purposing to punish them
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before
the joining of the battells, he caused proclamation
to be made, that whosoever brought their heads vnto
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

A proclama-
tion.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-
turning into Babant, built a goodlie house in Ar-
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Bruce to be
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

The Scottish
house in Ar-
tuerpe build-
ed.

ceive form of the Scottish nation that should resort
vnto that house, as may appeare even vnto this
day: And this was done for a memoriall, to shew
that love and hartie benigolence these two knights
bare towards king Robert and his people, for the
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glory-
ous victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not un-
worthy the reporting. For John Mentith, which
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-
lie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof
beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gar-
diship of the castle of Dunbilton: which fort (after
all the other castles before said were recovered to the
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few
others) that remained in the hands of the English:
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnabile,
king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as
were friends and of kindred vnto him) to betraye the
castle into his hands, promising great recompense
therefor. Wherevnto this Mentith by no means
would agree, unless Is. Robert would giue to him the
earldome of Lennox for his reward. Whereupon
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox: who had
in all his calamities bene the most certeine, and al-
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when
the earle vnderstood, he forthwith came vnto him,
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition: where-
upon the bargaine was concluded betwene John
Mentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was
most solemnelie confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the
wood Colchoun, a mile distant from the same, a cer-
teine carpenter called Kowland came thither secre-
lie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake
to the king, for he would discover a great matter
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-
gainst him, by the capteine of Dunbilton. Which
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Bruce, that be-
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number
of English inclosed, which at dinner should either
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he
had obtained the castle. Whereupon the king no-
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued
by the said John Mentith in the castle of Dunbilton:
after that he had searched all other places, and
was courteously invited to sit downe to dinner;
answered that he would not eate, vntill he had lo-
ked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse,
and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the
smith was absent and caried the key away with him.
But the king not waiting for the coming of the
smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar
dore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,
the armed men were brought forth before the king,
who being severallie examined, confessed the whole
matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in
the haven to haue caried the Is. prisoner into Eng-
land, if they had taken him alive. Whereupon the
rest being punished, John Mentith was onlie cast
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because
the king would not offend his friends & kindred in so
dangerous a time as that was. For this Mentith
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of this

1314.
The crowne
of Scotland
inclosed.
Margerie the
daughter of
king Robert
by his
first wife.

1314.
Buchanan.

John Men-
tith made ca-
ptaine of Dun-
bilton castle.

The second
marriage of
king Robert.

The issue of
king Robert
by his second
wife.

Liberties by
king Robert.

Englishmen
inclosed in a
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his en-
terance into
Dunbilton
castle.

1315.

The lords of
Ireland re-
quire aid of
king Robert.

Walter.

Edward
Bruce pro-
claimed king
of Ireland.

The English
men posse little
in the popes
company-
ment.

this p^{er}son was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Buse, vnder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

In mediaticke after, king Robert called a parlement at Airc, where, by consent of the thre states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie latofullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Buse, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James Douglas.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulster, on whome he got a sonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maule. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancie. After the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and towne in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, as well towne as baronies, sundrie new prerogatives and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the towne of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recouer their libertie, now after so notable an overthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requesting that it might please him to send his brother Edward Buse, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iourne in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and taking with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he toke the towne of Ulster, and gaue a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Buse was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeyne of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the greivous yoke of the English thralldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they seemed to passe little of his commandments in that behalfe, for they dailie sought how to make themselves strong in that part, lest they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

King Robert, being informed how through the reinforcement of the English armie, being dailie re-

freshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James Douglas gouerno: in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittells & other provisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constrained to eate horses and other such lothsome meates, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iourne of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vntwifelic with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is vncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staied till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, effones to invade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James Douglas the gouerno: hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine thre notable captains on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Galcoigne captaine of Berwik, with sir James Peuill, and the third sir James Douglas slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should doe anie god at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonly were euer to god for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the shore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceived that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to encounter, hauing but an handfull of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thre score armed men in his compaignie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forth againe towards the enemies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onlet vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first encounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their booties lying at Dunbrell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the booties being possessed with ouer great number of stauke with them before they could get to their ships. Sir Robert euer after customablie called this William Sinclair his owne bishop, for the noble prowess which he shewed in this enterprise.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Buse was borne, which Robert after the death of R. Dauid le Buse was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randolph earle of Murray, the second day of April recovered

See more
hereof in Ire-
land.

King Robert
passed ouer
into Ireland.

Edward
Buse is
slaine in Ire-
land.

See more of
this matter in
Ireland.

R. Edward
senteth a na-
uie into Scot-
land.

Englishmen
discomfited.

William Sin-
clare called
R. Roberts
bishop.

Robert Ste-
ward borne.

1318.

refo: t
to this
shew
night
for the
glori-
of the
1314.
is in so
not by
, which
e Eng-
treme-
therof
he gar-
t after
d to the
ne few
glith:
nable,
such as
ais the
npenle
means
him the
reupon
herein,
he said
there-
would
sho had
and ab-
it, when
to him,
13; wher-
e John
it was

ue this
in the
, a cer-
secret
speake
matter
sared a
Which
that be-
number
either
that he
ing no-
etermi-
ceined
Dunbri-
s, and
inner;
had lo-
excuse,
that the
sh him.
y of the
cellar
which,
e whole
able in
Eng-
on the
lie call
becaus
ed in so
pentish
men of
nent of
this

1314.
The crowne
of Scotland
was
Margerie the
daughter of
king Rob-
ert by his
first wife.

John Stew-
art made
king of
Scotland.

The second
marriage of
king Robert.

The issue of
king Rob-
ert his second
wife.

Liberties by
king Robert.

Englishmen
inclosed in
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his en-
terance into
Dunbryon
castle.

The lords of
Ireland re-
sist and of
king Robert.

Ulster.
Edward Buse pro-
claimed king
of Ireland.

The English
ambassadors
sent to the
pope.

Berwikke re-
covered.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

Ri.Southwell.

The Scots
enter further
into England
tha they were
accustomed,
even unto
wetherbie (as
Foord, saith.)

Fr.Thin.

1219.
Berwikke be-
sieged.

Ri. Southwell.

William Spel-
ton archbishop
of yorke.

recovered the towne of Berwikke out of the Eng-
lish mens hands, which they had held for the space of
twentie yeres before. It was taken now by prac-
tise, through meanes of one Spalbein an English-
man, who for his labour had certeine lands given
him in Angus, which his posteritie inioeth to these
daies.

*Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare
what mischietes came through hunger and other mis-
fortunes, by the space of 11 yeres in Northumber-
land; for the Scots became so proud after they had
gotten Berwikke, that they nothing esteemed the
English nation. But (amongst other things by the
Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de
Gardonne came with 160 men, to drive aivate
the cattell pasturing by Forham, which the people of
the towne perceiving, ran forth and encountered
with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them,
had not Thomas Grey capitaine of the castell, seeing
them in some leoparde, issued forth with 60 of his
souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their
horses. The which Grey had bene twice before besie-
ged in the castell of Forham, once almost by the
space of a whole yere, and another time by the terme
of seven moneths, in which he behaved himselfe like
a worthy gentleman, in that his enemies got none
advantage of him, although that during the siege,
they had erected manie fortresses before the castell,
to annoie such as were within: of which foris they
made one at Wpsittington, and one in the church of
Forham, the castell whereof had bene twice tein-
ted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Percie
and Penill (being great succourers of the marches)
rescued the same. For at one time the utter ward of
Forham castell was taken in the time of this Grey
on saint Katharins euen, which the Scots kept not
but thre daies, and their purpose in winning the
same did utterly faile them.)

After that the earle of Murray had recovered
Berwikke, he and the lord James Douglas in the
moneth of Maie invaded England with a puissant
armie; passing further into the countrie than the
Scots had bene accustomed to do before time, bur-
ning as they went forward the townes of Forshal-
lerton and Burrobbidge; and coming to Kipon,
they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein;
but compounding with them that kept the church a-
gainst them for a thousand marks, they forbore to
burne any of the buildings. After they had taried
here thre daies, they departed thence, and went to
Banarsburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating
the woods (into the which the people were with-
drawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great
bootie, and returning homewards by Scipton in
Craven, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt
it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came
backe into Scotland with their spoiles and pris-
oners without any resistance. [This castell of Ba-
narsburgh was taken by John Lilliborne, which after
rendered himselfe to the king upon certeine condi-
tions.]

In the yere following, king Edward came and
laid siege unto Berwikke, but the towne was so well
defended, that he was constrained with small hono-
r to returne home, and leave it as he found it. For in
the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege
before Berwikke, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey,
and the lord James Douglas assembled their
forces together; but perceiving themselves to be weak
to remove the siege by force, they passed by, and en-
tering into England, wasted and spoiled all before
them. Keeping on their way into Burrobbidge, &
whereof when the citizens of Yorke were advertised,
with their capitaine William Spelton their arch-
bishop,

shop, and the bishop of Ely, not making them of the
countrie once priuie to their purpose, but hauing in
their companie a great number of priests and men
of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day
in the after none, not farre from the towne of Wit-
ton upon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke
northwards.

But forsomuch as the most part of the English
men were not expert in the seates of warre, and
came not in any orderlie arraie of battell, they
were easilie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots,
who were readie to receiue them in good order, close
together in one entier squadron, and after their ac-
customed maner, at their first joining they gaue a
great shot, wherewith the Englishmen out of
hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots
perceiued, they got them to their horses, and follo-
wed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and dea-
ting the Englishmen, neither sparing religious per-
son nor other, so that their died to the number of
four thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst
the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water
of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the
number of a thousand. To be short, if might had not
come the sooner upon, it was thought scarce there
should anye of the English part haue escaped.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of
Berwikke, understood what mischietes the Scots did
within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to
haue encountered with his enemies: but the Scots
advertisid of his purpose, returned with all their pri-
soners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through
Gilland, and the west marches, withdraw home
into their countrie. About the feast of All saints,
when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in
their harvest, so that their barnes were now stuffed
with coine, of the which prouision they were to live
all the yere after, the Scots under the conduct of
the said two capitaine, the earle of Murray, and the lord
Douglas, entered into England, and burnt the
countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people
as they toke prisoners, and also all the cattell which
they might meet with, and so kept upon their iourne
till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destruy-
eng all afoze them, & then returning through West-
merland, practised the like mischietes there, in bur-
ning by houses and coine in all places where they
came, as they had done before in Gilland. And fi-
nallie passing through Cumberlond with the like ha-
uocke, at length they drew home into their owne
countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and
plentie of great riches which they had got in that
iourne. [And the souldiers going backe againe to-
ward Scotland, fought with the commons of New-
castell at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures
done unto them, in which conflict sir John Perith
knight was slaine, and manie other squires belong-
ing to the constable and marshall. About which time
also king Edward lieng at Leth to go into Eden-
burgh) was constrained to returne for lacke of vil-
tels.]

About the same time died Margerie Wyse king
Roberts daughter. Shortly after also was a truce
taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scot-
land for a certeine time. When king Robert hauing
no trouble, neither within his realme nor without,
caused a parlement to be holden at Berth, where he
required the lords to shew their deids and charters
whereby they held their lands. The lords after long
debate taken herein, at length pulled out their
stronge all at once, declaring that they had none o-
ther charters nor charter to shew for the tenure of
their lands, which Robert was somewhat amazed at
this sight, and toke no small indignation therewith,
but

The battle
of the lord
Swale.

The Eng-
lish men
were
slew.

The may-
or of
Yorke.

The Scots
made
land.

Burgh
under
Stanemore.

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

Margerie
Wyse
king
Robert's
daughter.

Parlement
at Berth.

The rulers
and charters
whereby the
lords of
land held
their lands.

Confederate
of the lord
king
Robert.

A palmer
taken
with
horns
on him.

The lords
that had con-
fessed
were
committed
to
death.

The blacke
parlement.
1220.

And there-
by the
lord
Robert.

Among other
there were
Robert de
Bosch, John
Capitayne
and Robert
de Burgh
a notable
warrior,
John Maior.

The battle of
Hilton upon
Swale.

lith, and they
lots, The English
close men discom-
in a fitted.

ue a
it of
rots
follo
flea
per
x of
ingst
water
o the
d not
here

ge of
s did
le to
rots
r pri
ugh
ome
ints,
ot in
uffed
line
of the
e lord
at the

*The Scots
invade Eng
land.*

eople
 which
 rnie
 frol, Barchbnde
 Hest, Stancmoye

but
they
nd fi
ie ha
stone
and
that

le fo Fr.Thin.
Bew Scala chron
ures

erith
long
time
den
bit

King Margerie
Prince Bzufe Decet
Scot. Seth.

ring
hout,
e hée
2 parliament
at Perth.

The evidence and charter whereby the lords of the land held their lands

Conspiracies
of the top dogs
against King
Robert.

Spencer ex-
amined foot-
ings on him.

The lords
that had com-
piled, are
committed to
trial.

**Gebläse
instrument.
1320.**

Deadly Aber
nigh loathly
is head,

Among others
here the se,
Gilbert de

Richard
from a note
in various
don Major

•

CONFIDENTIAL

but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuertheless, he purposed to be reuenged of their proud presumptions, when moze opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselves how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceiued thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, inasmuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and that they were that had consented to the same, hathlie sent for the whole number of them, as though there had bene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but streightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castles, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwikke, and there arrested the capitaine of the towne, named sir William Soules, and caused him to be conueied to Berth (committing the said William Soules (as faith I, Maior) with the countesse of Straberne, to perpetuall prison) where shortly after he called an assemblee of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was Dauid Abernethie, the sifers sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason aforesaid, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioine with them therein, he refused so to do, but yet for that he did not utter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his misgapp, for the great ballance which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorable manie yeeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chivalrie.

In deed the king himselfe would gladly haue saued his life, but for that he minded to doe iustice on the relesse, and finding no man to make fute for him, he permitted the execution, to proceed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the relesse of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without delay that they should be executed. Then came diuers and sundrie persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuoussly, in comparison of them for whome they now made fute, and therefore he had them be contented, for they should assuredly haue according to that which they had deserved. And therewith were the officers commanded to make hast with the execution, which was done instantant-

lie without any further rest.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no evident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Sparwell, with Walter Berclafe Thristle of Aberdene, Patrike Craim, Hameline Helzinton, and Gufface Katze, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straberne & William de Soules were condemned to perpetual prison. The earle of Buchughanes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made countable of the realme in place of John Muncie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Keth, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the see apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to cease from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as were surmised that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie proceed of the covetous desire in the Englishmen, seeking to conquer that realme without any iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the loslie stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were anye thing worthy to be reformed on their behalfe, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [saying (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

Shortly after, king Robert entered with an armie
into England, and wasted the countre before him,
till he came to the recrosse, which standeth upon
Stanesmore. Wherwith it shold seeme by that which
Richard Southwell twelfth hereof, that king Robert
was not present himselfe in person in this countre,
but that he appointed the earle of Murray to be his
lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the
Epiphanie entered into England, and coming to
Darington, staid there for a season, whilste the lord
James Douglasse, and the lord Stewart of Scotland
went abroad to harrie and spoile the countre on
each side; the one of them passing forth towards Hart
tillpoule and Chelmsle, and the other towards Rich-
mond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, having
no capitaine amongst them to defend their countre
from that grievous inuasion of the enimie, gaue
great summes of monie in like manner, as at other
times they had done, to haue their countre spared
from fier and spoile.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies
within England, and in the end returned without
battell, for when the knights of the north countries
repaired vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at
Donmest, and offered to go into the field with him a-
gainst the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by
reason of the disease that was depending betwixt
him and king Edward : but howsoeuer the matter
went, king Edward sore grieved in his mind with
such insuasion made by his enemies the Scots, he
gave order to beat downe a traine of an hundred thorow
saue men; that was his horsechacke and on foot (as the ro-
port went) appointing them to be ready to enter in
to Scotland at Lammas next : whereof king Ro-
bert being advertised, went to prevent him, and they
brought on the square of the Battellie of saint John
Baptist

A legat sent
from Rome to
the Greeks.

The answer
made to the
legat.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
with an armie
in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell.
1321.

The bishop:
rike of Dur-
ham burnt by
the Scots.

Richmond:
White redeemed
from spoils
with a sum of
of money.

The Duke of
Lancasters
Disloyalty.

King Robert
invaadeth
England.

The abbey of
Holme burnt.

Fourneis ab-
bey.

Leuin sands.

The towne of
Lancaster
burnt.

Preson in
Anderneis
burnt.

K. Edward
raisth an ar-
mie.

He entered
Scotland.

The abbeyes
of Whorose
or Whorose
and Wiburgh
burnt.
King Robert
inuaith the
north parts of
England, ap-
proching al-
most to yorke.

K. Edward is
put to flight.

The earle of
Richmond is
taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell,
Rinale abbey.

Yorkeswolde
wasteth by
Scots.

Baptist, he entered into England with an armie
thence to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that some-
time belonged to him at Kosse, and Allerdale, and
spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding
his fathers corps was there interred.

From thence he marched forward, destroying and
spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping up
on his iourne, passed Doden sands, towards the ab-
bey of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the
waie, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought
king Robert to his house, and made to him great
chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands
from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and mar-
ching forward vnto Cartmelle beyond Leuin sands,
burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a pri-
orie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from
thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they al-
so burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke monks,
and a house of preaching friers. Thence came to them
the earle of Murray, and the lord James Douglas
with an other armie, whereupon marching further
southwards, they came to Preson in Anderneis,
and burnt that towne also, the house of friers in-
uolued onelie excepted.

And thus being foure score miles within Eng-
land from their owne borders, they returned home-
wards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other bo-
ties which they had got in that iourne, coming to
Cartleill on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging
about that towne the space of five daies, they wasted
and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came
within their reach. Which done, on saint James e-
uen they entred into Scotland againe, having bene
within England at this time three weekes and three
daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the
feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie
came to Newcastell, and desirous to be reuenged of
such iniuries done to his subiects, entered into Scot-
land, and passing forth till he came to Edinburgh,
through want of vittells and other necessarie prouisi-
on, he was constrained to returne home within the
space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of
his coming, had caused all the corne and cattell in
the countrie to be conueyed out of the waie into cer-
teine forts, wherevnto the Englishmen might not
come to get it into their hands, & so to relieve them-
selves therewith. But in their returning homeward,
somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled
and burnt the abbeyes of Whorose, and Wiburgh,
with diuerse other religious houses and places, not
sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the
inhabitants that fell into their hands.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after en-
tered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling
& wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke.
At length, hearing that king Edward was com-
ing towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of
ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Sa-
uith, there to abide battell, which king Edward re-
fused not to do, though in the end he was put to
flight with his whole power, and chased with great
laughter both of Englishmen and Scots, which
were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie
were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of
Richmond, and Henrie Scotie, with others. This
battell was fought in the yere of our Saviour 1323,
15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the archa-
nall. King Edward being the same time at the abbey
of Rinal, aduertised of this overthrow, fled and got
him into Yorke, leaving his plate and much other
stuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sud-
den departure, which the Scots coming thither
found, and took away with them. And from thence
they passed forth into Yorke shire, spoiling and wa-

sting the countie men vnto Beverleie, which to tyme
for a summe of monie they were contented to spare,
and so then they returned home wards, entering a-
gaine into Scotland on All Soules day, which is the
second of Nouember, after they had remained with-
in England at that time the space of a moneth and
foure daies.

Shortly after, king Robert sent an ambassado: to
the French king [to pacifie him offended with them
for the English] and to renewe the ancient bond of a-
mitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and
France, which was accomplished with this new con-
dition added to the former articles, that if it chanced
that succession failed touching the inheritance of the
crown of either realme, so that a doubt should rise,
who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and
title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles
of both the realmes; and further, that they should not
onelie remove and exclude all such as went about
longfullie to usurpe the crowne, but also to defend
and mainteine the true inherito: to the bittermost of
their powers. In confirmation of this covenant, both
the kings received the sacrament. And for further
ratifying of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas
(then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he,
nor anie of his successors hereafter should dispense
with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they
did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void
and of none effect.

In this yere 1323 (as Richard Southwell re-
poynteth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners
from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto
Newcastell, there to treat of some agreement of
peace. For the king of England came Amerie de
Valence earle of Penbrooke, the lord Hugh Spen-
ser the yonger, and foure other persons sufficientlie
authorised. And for the king of Scots came the bi-
shop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of
Murray, and foure other persons likewise of god
calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon
a truce to indure for 13 yeres, which was procla-
med in both realmes about the feast of saint Bar-
tholomew next ensuing. About this time also, or not long be-
fore, an Englishman descended of noble lineage, cal-
led Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in
commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance
with one of king Edwards priuie chamber, named
John Spenser; insomuch that fighting together a-
bout the same words, Hamtons hap was to sea this
Spenser, & therupon knowing there was no waie
but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with
all speed into Scotland, where he was received of the
king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him
for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman,
the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he
called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scot-
land vnto this day, increased so in kindred and hono-
r, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with
the kings blood, that few linages in that realme
are of like estimation. They are now called Ha-
milltons, somewhat changed from the name of their
first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made
by king Edward the second gardian or capitaine of
the castell of Bristow in England, the which he kept
until the coming of queene Isabell against hir
husband Edward the second, at what time he deliue-
red the same into the hands of the said queene, and re-
turned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England be-
ing called abroade by two of the Spensters, as
Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre in-
to the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as
commoners, that in the end he was deposed of all
kinglie

his son Ed-
ward the third
crowned.
1326.
Ri. Southwell.
The castell of
Bristol.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The bond of
amitie betwixt
Scotland and
France re-
newed with
new articles.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.

James Dow-
gill sent into
France to the
Papall.

Hamton an
Englishman
of noble birth
Hamiltons
are called so.

The resigna-
tion of the
Papall to
king Robert.

Fr. Thin.

3 parliament
at Cambus-
hemeth.
In ac for ti
succession of
the crowne.

The barons
thence
with the
king's blood.
Fr. Thin.
1325.
Scala chron.

The rule of
things com-
mitted to
Thomas

K. Edward
deposed.

me
are,
g a
the
oth
and

to
hem
of a
Buchanan.
and
com.
ned
France
f the
rife,
and
bles
not
bout
fend
ft of
both
ther
reas
r he,
ense
they
bold

epo
ners
into
nt of
ie de
pen
ntlie
he bi
rle of
god
d by
ocle
rna
g be
cal
ds in
iance
med
er as
a this
wate
with
of the
him
nari,
in) he

Scot
ono,
with
alme
Ha
their
made
ne of
hept
of
cline
ndre
nd be
s, as
re in
es as
of all
inglie

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The bond
amitie betw
Scotland and
France re-
newed with
new article

promis

Ri. Southw
James Dow
pale sent into
France to the
Salid.

Hamton an
Englishman
of whom the
Hamiltens
are descende

Fr. Thin.

Scot
ono,
with
alme
Ha
their
made
ne of
hept
of
cline
ndre
nd be
s, as
re in
es as
of all
inglie

Fr. Thin.

Scot
ono,
with
alme
Ha
their
made
ne of
hept
of
cline
ndre
nd be
s, as
re in
es as
of all
inglie

James Dow
pale sent into
France to the
Salid.

James Dow
pale sent into
France to the
Salid.

James Dow
pale sent into
France to the
Salid.

James Dow
pale sent into
France to the
Salid.

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine
secretlie murdered, as in the English historie more
plainlie appeareth.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his
corone, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the
yeere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he
received the crowne, the Scots went to haue stolne
the castell of Roxburgh by scaling, and they went so
cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the
number of 16 of them got aloft on the walls: but the
capteine of this castle Robert Baners being war-
ned aforehand of their coming by one of his sould-
iers that was a Scottishman bozne, suddenlie assa-
iled them, slue nine or ten of them, and tooke five pri-
soners alive, but sore wounded, so as this misfortune
falling to them in the beginning of king Edward
the third his reigne, might haue bene a forwarning
of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouerne-
ment.

Whilste these things were a doing in England,
king Robert though he might seeke to haue title iust
inough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had pos-
sessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by
lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine num-
ber of yeeres, by consent of all the estates of the
realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and
to conclude the succession of the Ballioll from all
claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the
crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglas
into France vnto the lord John Ballioll, to require
him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of
right and interest which he might seeme to haue to the
crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his
heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Bruce,
and his heires. In consideration of which resignati-
on, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be ap-
pointed forth in Scotland.

The Ballioll being now sore bozne with age, and
thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vn-
to this motion, considering (as he said) he took it to
be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert
should inioy the gouernement of the Scottish king-
dome, as most worshipie and able thereto, hauing de-
liuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie
from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called
therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the
presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Ro-
bert and his heires, all the right and title which he or
anie other for him either had, or hereafter might
haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie in-
terest or claime which might be auouched for anie
cause or consideration, from the beginning of the
world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir
James Dowglas forth of France, with so good ex-
pediton and dispatch of that businesse therabout he
was sent, king Robert verie ioyfull thereof, assem-
bled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of
the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a
new act to be establisshed touching the succession of
the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David de-
ceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begot-
ten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Mar-
garete Bruce his daughter, should succeed in possession
of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were
sworne to mainteine this ordinance.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent
vnto king Robert for peace, but forsomuch as it was
perceiued to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusi-
on thereof insup, but preparation made on either
part for wars. King Robert hostile after fell sicke,
by reason thereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor
to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration
of all things touching the common-wealth, and other
the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

earle of Murray, and to the lord James Dowglas,
two capteins, for their high probesse and noble val-
ancie in those daies greatlie renowned. These two
hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie
thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thou-
sand, entered with the same into Northumberland,
wasting & spoiling the countrie on each side. [And in-
counting with an assemble of the English at Dar-
lington, there slue many of them, and put the rest to
flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an
armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which
number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thou-
sand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their
coming into Northumberland, they might well
perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots
made in burning of villages, houses, and towines,
where the enemies were: but yet because they taried
not long in a place, but passed on without following
here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere
to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw
towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and
home, he might haue them at some aduantage as
they should returne, which was thought should be
hostlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to de-
fend their owne borders, when they heard once that
the English armie drew that waies forth. But
coming to the riuer of Tyne, through abundance
of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen,
that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the
armie was constrained to incampe there for the
space of three daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till
they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was
distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which
was about 22. miles thence) for provision, which
was sent them from those places in great plentie.
In the meane time were thus certeine light horse-
men sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand
where the Scots were, and to view their doings.
[Upon proclamation before made by the king (that
who so could bring him word where the Scots were
harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of yerelie
reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas
Kokelbeie after diligent search, brought word to the
king thereof:)] for those which were sent, finding
where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a
mounteine, not past five miles from the English
campe, returned backe to king Edward, and decla-
red what they had sene and learned of the enemies
doings.

King Edward right ioyfull of the newes, causeth
his armie to be diuided into three battels, and forth-
with marcheth on towards the place where his en-
emies late. And coming about none daies within
sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the
place which they kept was so strong, that with the
height of the ground, & thereto defended on the one
side with the course of a riuer, that by no means
they might be assailed without great and manifest
danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it
best to chuse forth a place to incampe in for that
night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto
the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto
some enen ground where battell might be giuen; but
the Scots refused so to do, alledging that sith the
Englishmen were three to one in number, it was no
reason to will them to forsake their ground of ad-
uantage which they had taken and chosen forth for
their owne defense.

Thus were they incamped nere togither either in
sight of other for the space of three nights, euerie
day shewing themselves in order of battell, without
breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horse-
men, which on either part now and then came forth
and

Randall and
to James
Dowglas.

They made
Northumber-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

1327.

King Edward
ward the
third cometh
with an armie
against them.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots
are incamped
on a hill.

The English
men sent to
the Scots.

The answer
of the Scots.

The Scots
dislodge.

The English
armie raised.

An enterprize
exploited by
sir James
Dowglas.

The Scots
secretly re-
turne home to
their countre.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue seene good emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceived how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same riuer, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie hereupon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, James Dowglas took advantage with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprize.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted vpon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed silie by the English watch, that he was not once descried by any of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the moving of the horse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet per the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots withdrawen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enimies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglas yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this bunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, took better heed after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightene daies, till at length the Scots priuily in the night conueied themselves away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scottish campe, that euery man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglas at a certeine houre the same night, but whether they intended to go, it was unknowne, saue onlie amongst the captiues. Whereupon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camilado that night, placed themselves in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the græne hides of beasts untanned. Also they found three hundred hides of savage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind them five hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not dye them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found five Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgeons. The enimies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his counsell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

In this yeare died Walter Stewart, father to Robert Stewart, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, R. Elizabeth mother to David Bruce the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert won the castell of Roxburgh, and shortly after besieged the castell of Alnwick, where were slaine William de Poysstake knight, John Clapauen, and Malisus de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that R. Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was covenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suretie and ratification of this finall agreement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in marriage with David Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the marriage before remembred was kept at Berwick within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this marriage, departing out of this life at Cardus the seventh day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grievously vexed with a leprosie, which thus finally made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knowen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recovery: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enimies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged hereunto, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countre from the yoke of seruile bondage (which he beleued would succeed by the government of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole endeavors, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same full to passe.

This same therefore did spread bugelie, not onlie amongst

The
king
of
Scotland

This
was
the
first
time

A
quest
proponed
in
England
to
Edward
the
first

1325, as
Major
Cath
but that
was
not
the
same
yeare
that
the
Scots
were
besieged
in
Stirling
parke.
The
English
armie
was
sent
from
the
king
Edward
the
first
to
the
king
Edward
the
first
to
the
king
Edward
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

The
he
was
the
first
to
be
the
first

they
no
ing-
but
ted
de-
take
sing
at

to
deot-
ame
the
ling
In
Dor-
Alm-
falte
bar,
n the
sent
nion
that
afine
Scot-
king
that
mar-
land
to be
p the
ould
ster-
on of
o na-
king
dauld

rebu-
th the
he so-
was
eigh-
num-
land.
after
rozes
Lord
gre-
nalite
are of
inces
le his
er for
ozms
hat if
er, it
roue-
recei-
ill his
d) the
raint
off of
with,
to de-
idage
ment
ere in
fect of
raffe,
great

The death
king Robert

1329.

King Robert
rafter both
prosperous
and atchie-
fozname.

King Robert
rafter both
prosperous
and atchie-
fozname.

melie
ongst

Chas. of
Robert.

as palle-
maged the
munda.

Question
depende to
a English
ward by king
Edward the
first.

The heralds
advised the
queen.

The herald
advised.

The heralds
advised.

The heralds
advised.

The opinion
the herald
concerning
king Robert's
decease.

amongst his owne people, but also amongst stran-
gers, inasmuch that his due praise was not wait-
ting, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his
borie enemies. For (as it is said) on a time it chanc-
ed that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet
amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of war-
like enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had
excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, af-
ter much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this
question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by,
commanding him to declare which were the three
most worthie & valiant capteins that he had knowne
in all his daies. The herald advising with himselfe of
this matter, staied a space, in which means while all
the companie were quiet, longing to heare his an-
swere therein, both for that they knew his skill was
such as was able best to give sentence in such a mat-
ter; and againe, for that manie of them thought he
would haue numbrized some of those that were there
present amongst those three. But the herald did not
onelic know all the noble men within the realme of
England, but also all such strangers as had in anie
wise excelled in partiall prowesse, hauing all their
acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and there-
upon boldlie offered his mind as followeth.

The first, most worthie and valiant chieftaine (said
he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie
the emperor: for he subdued three kings and three
realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and
prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was
sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels
against the Saracens got the victorie, & due two of
their principall capteins with his owne hands. The
third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise
the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king
of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named,
but all those that were present, with scornfull laugh-
ter began to laugh at the heralds presumption, for
that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence
honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at
the heralds request, the king commanded them to be
still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech
your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offered, to
take my words in good part: for I haue bene euer
of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case
be uttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence;
namelic, where your highnesse commandeth anie
man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I
shall desire you to consider, that if a man must
needs be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be van-
quished of him that is knowne for a right valiant
personage, than of him that is but a coward. More-
ouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much
I esteeme the valiancie of king Robert (whome I
perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbrized
with the two former most valiant capteins) if truth
might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with
god cause before them both: for the valiant acts at-
chised by Henrie the emperor may be ascribed
rather to the wisdom of his counsellors, than to
his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrari-
lie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie,
and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, re-
couered the realme of Scotland, by his singular
manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and
established it with such tranquillitie, that he appea-
red more terrible to his enemies of England, than
euer they had bene afore to his subiects of Scot-
land. These or the like words uttered by the he-
rald, were well allowed of the king; and stopped the
mouths of them that toke the matter so strange
lie at the first.

But now to returne to the purpose, king Robert
a litle before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he laie, the chieffest pères of
his realme, and there in presence of them all, com-
mitted vnto them the government of his sonne Da-
uid, a child as then not past seuen yeres of age. He
also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule
of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued
was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no
wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord
ouer the Isles; because the people of the same are of
nature wickedfast, and soone seduced and brought to
mone rebellion against the king, into the which be-
ing once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their
due obediencie againe, by reason their countreies are
of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by
sea; as instructed with the same. Secondlie, he ad-
uised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the
Englishmen, nor to leaopard the realme vpon the
chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe
them off from indamaging their countreie, by often
skirmishing; & cutting them off at streits & places
of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be dis-
comfited, they may haue some power yet reserved to
make new resistance. Thirdlie, he forbade them in a-
nie wise to make any long peace with England; for
naturallie men war dull and slouthfull by long rest
and quietnes, so that after long peace, through lacke
of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to
sustaine anie great paines or trauell.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen should
continue in peace no longer than there waited a
portunitie and conuenient occasion for them to at-
tempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best,
that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetu-
all peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than
for three or foure yeres at the most. He willed them
further, to consider one thing, that when their appea-
red least occasion of warres with England; then
they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduen-
ture their enemies should come at vnwares, and find
them vnprovided for timely resistance. Herevnto
he desired them, that after his decease, they should
chose some one of the most worthie capteins within
the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Ierusa-
lem, and there to see it buried within the temple, be-
fore the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had
not bene for a long space hindered by vngent hosti-
lities of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by
death, he had bowed to haue passed with an armie
into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, &
against the Turkes and Saracens.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one as-
sent, appointed sir James Douglas to take this
enterprise in hand, who willingly obetied their order,
as he that had euer during the life of king Robert,
serued most faithfullie the bodie wherein the same
heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Douglas
beare the bloudie heart in their armes. The com-
mendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth
forth (to comprehend manie things in few words)
to be: that he was euerie way a most worthie person,
and that there were few to be found (from the for-
mer brookall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of
vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so
was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though
his vndoubted good successe and perpetuall course of
victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or ex-
ther wicied with his misfortunes) were verie great,
yet he seemed to Buchanan, to be farre more woun-
derfull in his aduerser fortune: whose valure of mind
was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much
as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto
him at one time: whose singular constancie appea-
red by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his
valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were
at

The aduise
giuen by king
Robert vnto
his nobles be-
fore his de-
cease.

His desire to
haue his heart
borne to the
holie sepulchre

The cause
why the Dou-
glas beare
the bloudie
heart

Fr. Thin.

There is no
hodie but hath
his shadow,
no rose but
hath his
pricke.

at one time bered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Realme oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was diuised into extreme pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recoverie of the kingdome, neither did he laid anie thing unbefaming the noble mind of a king: for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marcus did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred. For when he had recovered his former estate, he foliued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enemy unto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were deprived of so iust a king and goodlie father.)

Sir James Dowglas then chosen as most worthy to passe with king Roberts heart unto the holy land, closed the same in a case of gold, imballed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclair and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the citie of Ierusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he reposed with such number as he had brought thither with him, unto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puillance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enemies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honor to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge to those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was diuised on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon; readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The Dowglas, to make his manhood and prowess the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue under him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enemies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) he was neglident, and toke small regard of dangers that might inue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enemies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglas, one of the most valiant knights that lived in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 7 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, at it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotch chronicon. He might haue bene right necessarie for the defence of Scotland, if his change had bene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in manner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne David, a child scarce seven yeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Stone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of king Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recovered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certeine ambassadours inambatlie after the death of king Robert, unto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if neede shoulde so required. Wherefore when he was going to Widdone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of theues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: wherupon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saing, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.

Moreover, for the better pprose of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the shiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against theues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than ever it was in anie kings daies before. Anie insolent and misruled persons were tained by his seuerer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meane he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull rogues and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilst such streit punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the shiriffe: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

Hyperbolicall
commendations.

The baliance
of James
Dowglas
shewd against
the Turkes.

James Dow-
glas commeth
on land in
Spaine.

James Dow-
glas slaine by
the Saracens
in Spaine.

How often
James Dow-
glas had got
the victorie.

David.

1331.

Earle Thomas
Randall
gouernor of
Scotland.Ambassadours
sent into
England.A truce for
three yeres.Fr. Thos.
Buchanan.I meane to
haue iustice
exercised.Domesticks
of theues.A lawfull
ordnance
against vag-
rant persons.

and tr
truth
how th
seruic
hard i
by in
ouer
might
does,
man
sum
red i
his g
hap
etill
toget
and f
purs
ken
foe
spit
other
hon
man
that
dar
rich
ther
licit
to e
if e
wei
im
Sc
En
we
loz
Edwards
supple to de
me earle
Thomas (as
the Scots do
say.) What
is a kind
of pacific a-
mongst men
by the same
means re-
spects to bring
success in
attempt.

David.

1331.

Earle Thomas
governor of
Scotland.Ambassador
sent into
England.A truce for
three yeeresFr. Thin.
Buchanan.I meane to
have iudicial
executed.Domestic
of the same.A leuabie
ordinance
gainst vag-
rant personsh streit
by the
used and
trie, by
sole his
alue of
merethe
e search
and

and it fall, who had the plow irons, that finally the
truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie false-
hood the partie gillie was hanged, as he had well be-
serued. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how
hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought
vp in slothfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held
euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he
might the more easilie oppresse all stubbozne offen-
dors, which would not submit themselves to his com-
mandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon
summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, temper-
red with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with
his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it
happened on a time at Haddington, where threescor
e still and naughtie disposed persons being gathered
together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side:
and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a
pursuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all ta-
ken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which follo-
wed the said pursuant at the heeles, and without re-
spit hanged them vpon gibbets to giue example to
others. Whorrough such rigorous iustice, no rebel-
lion was heard of within the realme of Scotland
manie yerres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed,
that not onelie theues and loitering lubbers were
daunted, but the realme also advanced in wealth and
riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies
thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great fe-
licitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began
to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that
if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie
were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie
impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the
Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of
England: for the singular manhood and high pro-
uidence of this earle was by him and other his nobles
loze suspected.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by
sleight, which might not be done by force, that after-
wards the realme of Scotland might be the more
infeebled, and as it were made open to receiue dis-
pleasure at his hands. For king David was young,
and manie of his nobles bare small god will ei-
ther towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of
their fathers and friends in the blacke parliament.
Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best de-
stroe earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his
imagined hope, as to atchieue anie luckie enterpryse
against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch
him by poison: and after he had long debated by
whome he might worke that feat: finally he found
none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order
and facultie of those, that wandering from place to
place, can with dissembling visage say that thing
with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for
oftentimes men of that order, put no difference be-
tween shame and honestie, cloking their execrable
wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypo-
critical cotwiles.

This monke, fullie instructed in that therabout
he was sent, came into Scotland, and feining him-
selfe to be a physician, got credit within a while a-
mongst the people, to be a man of most excellent
knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that
being made priuie to the matter, set forth his cun-
ning and practise to the uttermost, declaring what
notable and most desperat cures he had taken in
hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the
same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer:
namelie he burred it abroad, that for healing of the
stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all
christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures
which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it
was knowne, how the lord gouernour was sore burred
with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue
him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie
worke his diuelish enterpryse.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe:
for being taken for such a man as he was named to
be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming
before him, he handeled the matter so with words,
that the gouernour was contented he should take
him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention,
that perswading him to keepe such diet as he prefer-
red, and hereunto to take such stirrups & other things
as he would giue him, at length he most traitorous-
lie poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such
mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by
little and little waste his entrails, that the monke
might haue leasure to escape home into England,
per it were perceiued that he had done. He there-
fore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found
meanes to conueie himselfe out of the wate, and re-
turned most speedilie into England, informing king
Edward how he had delt. The gouernour feeling him-
selfe tormented with such paine and woe in his sto-
mach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was
gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he
began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned
by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the ve-
nem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it
was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with
an armie to the borders, purposing to invade Scot-
land, for that he thought how the gouernour was ei-
ther dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore
he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble
vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion
to atchieue some enterpryse, highlie to his aduantage.
But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a pow-
er, and though he were not able either to ride or go,
yet he caused himselfe to be caried forth in an hor-
selle. King Edward hearing that the gouernour
was comming towards him with an armie, & that
himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation,
he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communi-
cation of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended,
though nothing else was ment but that he should ef-
pie how all things in the Scottish campe stood. The
gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrai-
ed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appeere
he was rather recovered of his infirmite, than o-
therwise weak and feeble thorough his disease, and
then causing the herald to be brought before him,
where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his mes--
sage was, which consisting in certeine demands not
greatlie agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold
countenance answered, that he trusted within short
time to make it knowne, what right the English-
men had to moue such unreasonable request, and
thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such go-
geous and rich apparell as he ware at the same time
when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not
perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the go-
uernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with
his armie into England, and licencing euerie man
to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and
as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he
tooke it) caused him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus
was the wretched righteously recompensed, as he had
most iustlie deserued. In the meane time, the gou-
ernour returning homewards, through force of the ve-
nem still increasing, decayed at Spilceburgh, and
was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere of our re-
demption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes,
Thomas

The gouernour
is poisoned.The monke
feels.Edward
his purpose to
invade Scot-
land.The gouernour
in an
horse is
caried forth
to encounter
the English-
men.An herald
sent to the go-
uernour.The gouernour
answers to the herald.The monke
is burnt.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

1331.

Thomas and John, worthy such a father, they being persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

After his deceasse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and David earle of Mar were chosen governors, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus:

It chanced there was one William Lorion, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put under censures of the church by the officiall of Glasgow: he took at length the same officiall as he was going towards the towne of Ayr, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Douglas, before his passage to the holie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safeguard.

At his coming into England, he met with Dauid Cumyn earle of Atholl, and manie other Scottishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driven out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceased, this William Lorion in name of them all was sent hither into France to perswade Edward Balioll to attempt the recovery of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended into him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pitie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to atchieue, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scottishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered: finally he concluded to passe over into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

At his coming thither, he made suite to the king, to sit him in his righteous quarrell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superiours thereof. King Edward gladdie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king Dauid, by the marriage of him with his sister. Here with he appointed forth six thousand men well apparelled and araided for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumont, a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchananes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl, Angus [the lords Perth and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferris, John Downhaile] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when king Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the

Balioll to assist him in that enterpryse: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capitaine, whereupon when all their prouision was once ready, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incounting with Alexander Selton, they slew him, and put his folkes to flight.

Balioll beinge ioyfull of this happy successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called St. Johns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being advertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hastened toward the enimies, not as though they should haue to do with men of warre, but to chastise a number of thieves and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioinie both together in Strathern, that they might jointly set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of heady nor starting hole by night might auail him, boldly came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Dunblane nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and encamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fife miles from thence, at Whithardour.

This Scots that were with the earle of Mar, having knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither took heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselves, but fell to singing, banling, reueling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assault them the same night in their campe, and there vpon raising his people to make them ready to accomplish that enterpryse, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and coming vnto the water of Erne, passed the same by the ford, where one Andrew Murray of Tullibard had pight a flake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to thew them the waie. Thus having got all his armie over the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lying fast asleepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then layd in sleepe without all defense. And there vpon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groining of people, as they lay on heapes ready to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be killed with the blow, and murder of them, so that they slew none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, besides innumerable of the commons. A certaine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed the miselues together, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their felloiues, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselves euerie mothers sonne. The chieffest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

William Lorion.

Scottish lords banished into England.

William Lorion sent vnto Edward Balioll.

Edward Balioll cometh into England.

The promise of the Balioll to King Edward. Edward doth agree to aid the Balioll. The English writers speake but of two thousand, or 2500 at the most. Ric. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

the bert kni all h beir son the Hol kelt cell also nie Ale that geo hea Th An hol lue sail lie. It nig off. to fed lish wi and ual sal sed ba tio gr lo fol cr I

Thin.

Alexander Selton is slaine.

The earle of Mar is slaine.

The earle of March is slaine.

H. B.

North home of the Balioll.

Edward Balioll is slaine.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

North home of the Balioll.

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirat
taken.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countrymen would not ransom him, but to his further grieve had slaine his sonne within Berwik, he became the king of Englands man; and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William
Dowglas of
Liddesdale
taken prisoner.

About the same time William Dowglas of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, the flower of chualrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance to the king David: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he retained out of Normandie, Anjou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Balioll. The Scots perceiving themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the forces of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwik both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfully that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were achieved with variable fortune.

Edward king
of England
purposeth to
subdue the
Scots.

The earle of
Murray is
sent into
France.

Berwik is
besieged.

Buchanan.

Sir Alexander
Seiton
capitaine of
Berwik.

Archibald
Dowglas
chosen gouernor
in place of
Andrew
Murray.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the capitaine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittells, the capitaine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilist things passed thus at Berwik, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archibald Dowglas to be gouernor in place of Andrew Murray. This Archibald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withdraue king Edward from the siege of Berwik to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised another shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capitaine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vnlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the couenant, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his advantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respite. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weicing with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie which he promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should rebound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorously deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honoꝝ and renowne of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yong enough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honoꝝ once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraye their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and soueraigne.

10

20

30

40

50

60

With such & manie other the like words, his noble & worthy ladie perswaded hir husband to restraue his inward grieffe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honoꝝ or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honoꝝ, for the righteous quarell of their countrie: [at what time R. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archibald Dowglas the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from R. Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwik from further danger of the enemies force.

Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skilfull warriors on his side, hauing few with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars; for that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and sleepe for that night, and to provide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arrayed his people in order of battell. The vanguard was geuen

The appointment
of the
Scottish
battell.

The policie of
the English
armie.

Sir Alexander
Seiton is
doubtfull
what to
do.

The manie
counsellors
of R.
Edward
advised
him.

The Scottish
armie put to
flight.

The great
laughter of
Scots.

The number
of Scots
slaine at
Halidon hill.

Sir Alexander
Seiton
remoued
his campe
to Halidon
hill.

1313. H. B.
Buchanan.

Scots.

Archibald
Dowglas
purposeth
to giue
battell.

The towne of
Berwik
relied to R.
Edward on
St. Margarets
day, as
R. Southwell
saith.

nen fi
earle
and J
rep,
uous
comi
seie,
their
battl
with
of R

thing
but a
they
of a
rath
their
lign
thon
to be
they
the e
put i
than
Eng
Scot
mife
with
nun
day
war
cret
ran
tell
moi
balt
Jar
of i
of S
And
tell
Gr

abo
gift
satt
yea
Be
san
tak
pla
to t
pla
Sou
list
tell
tha
Ro
am
bei
Al
th

poi
ca;
pe
to
sul
rec
mi
cal
for

it as
here-
ants,
it his
otish
os to
of fir
same
n be-
selfe,
crea-
plexi-
mion
in to
re du-
e re-
ther,
e the
used
mies
ines,
alle-
ound
fault
enti-
be in-
ines,
nd of
ue to
saith-
ough
they
if by
they
their

noble
taine
it for
that
ould
ale of
were
Boe-
ell of
ioured
glasse
into
king
two
th all
from
bat-
death
ne of
nce.
ns in
uised
it pre-
doul-
want
with
tence
ained
f com-
nd de-
glisly
there-
l with
elues
nd to
next
ed his
as ge-
uen

Archibald
Douglas
purpo-
ly to
give bat-
tall.

The appoint-
ing of the
Scottish bat-
tall.

The policy of
the English
arm.

The Scottish
arm: put to
flight.

The great
laughter of
James.

The number
of Scots
slain at Hal-
lowhill.

1313. H. B.
Scotlan.
Fr. Thin.

Archibald
Douglas
purpo-
ly to
give bat-
tall.

The tower of
Berwick
renewed to Ed-
ward on
the day, as
at Southwell.

men to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraser, and John Spurrey lieutenant to the earle of Spurrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grievous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were joined Alexander Gordon, Kenneth Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground; they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they hauing once got, boldlie turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them ouer rashlie, in hope that the victorie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so sue no small number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more laughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserably on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ranfome. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archibald Douglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Steward, and Alane Steward, the sonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruce earle of Carrick, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraser. This battell was fought on Dagdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

¶ That this number and therewith manie mo do abound by one yeare, Wil. Harrison doth gather together by the series, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Dagdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwick was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth may be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margin the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Dagdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walf. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the nineteenth of Julie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Hallidon hill.

Immediatlie vpon this overthrow of the Scottish power, Alexander Seton and Patrike Dunbar captains of Berwick, despairing of all support, yielded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saued, and to become subiects to king Edward. Wherevpon, when they had receiued their othes, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build up againe the castell of Dunbar vpon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he

was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. R. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Balioll, manie great lordes of England (amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vsing the aduise and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll here vpon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, sue of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbraton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumrinald, Lodheluin by Alane of Aepont, the castell of Biddrummie by Christine Bruce, and Arghart by Robert Lauder, the pisle of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson (who were supported with monie by Philip the French king) These captains would by no means neither yeld themselves nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defende them to the uttermost for the behoue of their souereigne lord and maister king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further bering the Scots, by their cruell innovations made into their cuntry: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing ariie thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by solemne othes, neuer to remoue arie rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great alteration betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Spowbray for certeine lands in Buchquhane (which Edward the first had giuen John Spowbray, brother of this Alexander.) Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Spowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Spowbray had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, David Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Spowbray, and by new sentence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheritor thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. The Balioll (fauouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceiued that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which faction Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbraton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dunbar a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole cuntry adioining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of David Bruce) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and sensing the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force,

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, sue onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwixt Spowbray & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

1334. Fr. Thin. John Maior.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, chaungeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortly after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be renoked) for taking the Balioll, ioined him selfe with Andrew Murray gouernor of Scotland (for David Bruce) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at severall times) we haue ioined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might freely repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by marriages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Downes. This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Berwickcastle vpon Tyne, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as h. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

The castles of Rothlaie and Dunnone belongeth to the Balioll, Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochelein besieged.

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainsfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothlaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Aile shiriffe of Wate [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothlaie, hauing before made him shiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as daily submitted themselves vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good will. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fiftene yeres, was conueied [with bote and horse, by the helpe of William Harriot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbreton, where he was iustlie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capitaine.

The Balioll being soze offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochelein: but perceiuing that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michael Harriot, David Wemmis, and Richard Paleuill, with diuerse other. These capitaine aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Herse, beside Kintrosse, making bastilles and other defenses within the same, for their

more safegard. Within the castell were two valiant capitaine to defend it, the one named Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andewes.

The enemies assailed all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the river where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & troncs, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling capitaine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime queene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Wepont then capitaine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engins as he had deuised for the purpose, assailed to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept by the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quicklie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finallie brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afoze it, drowning by the bassils and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yer they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Wepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, due part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischief that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a bolv neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortreffe, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his wayes, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochelein chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a soze tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forth land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his compaignie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glasgow, and perceiving there was little for him to doe, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor in his come, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win thole strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murray and Buchquhane, which pertained to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworne vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that he was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of

Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andewes.

The enemies assailed all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell.

The castell of Dunnone taken. Fr. Thin.

The shiriffe of Wate slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. John Maior.

The battles and tents of them that lay at siege drowne.

A measurement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray re- turneth froch of France.

Fr. Thin. Countres reduced to the obedience of king David. Fr. Thin.

1335

h. Edward marcheth Scotland both by sea and land.

The earle of Atholl fleeth into the mounteins.

He submitteeth himselfe.

David Cummin earle of Atholl goes out of the castle into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Sir William Douglas, and Andew Murray ransomed.

his drowne to him within and of would Bruce almost Inseparable bell of Dunne which John monie gile. this p numb that it such hi red so laid so [with there] they d (called to be not fa shiriff put th ners. bert gran Wate from felici the & ard, men Car ior c nant to hi A ned he u Ste said frie cam and redi tim old to r wel for Ath par the tim len ant loz rec tru lig as of Li ho ad pa bu

his home, would yet neuer stirpe anie superiouritie to him himselfe in title, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edwards king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publickly professe him a subiect to Dauid Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, Dauid Bruce.]

Incontinentlie here vpon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochgubow, and suddenlie toke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith John Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimony of Buch, was a man of great power in Argyle.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprises: and being incountered by the waite by Alane Lile thirrist of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slue the thirrist, [with John Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Batodanus) seeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the thirrist, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their cozne and graine. Such felicities succeeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselues with Robert Stewart, in hope to recouer the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome John Maior calleth Carucher, & Buchanan Caruder of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned forth of France, and landed at Donbizon, where he was most ioyfullie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfrie Koss, & others] came into Liddelale, Kanstrew, Kille, Cunningham and Aire, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king Dauid. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kanfraie come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murray also, to reuenge the iniuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he sojourned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie toke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with hearbs and roots for a time, and durst not come forth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king Dauid. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king Dauid, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Dowieglasse of Liddelale, and Andrew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of thre yerres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edinburgh, they found the lords assembled in counsell, at

the which John Randolphe earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time resolued from the king of England, submitting themselves to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramsay, a verie skillfull warriour, Laurence Dheson, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

* After this, John Randolphe, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat Dauid Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblee) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to Dauid Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolphe returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowieglasse latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long losshomesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murray, which was taken at Bokesborow. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garbed with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowieglasse, and Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowieglasse did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no longer deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cumin, and almost all the other toke part with Dowieglasse. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terrore to all the rest of the assemblee, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certaine rumors spred abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defence.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well bittellied and manned to saile into the fozz, the which being there arrived, burnt and spoiled the townes on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was ready to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accoringlie, with Godfrie of Koss, & Alexander Dowieglasse, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, whilist the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Hamur (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darke.

Ye may read moze of this matter in the historie of England. A nauie sent into Scotland. Shipwacke.

K. Edward invaded the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Hamur, named Guy.

nt Alane Mery and Jamie Lambie captiues of Lochleuin.

nt A deuile to dworne the castell.

The castell of Dunnone taken. Fr. Thin.

The thirrist of Bute slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. John Maior.

Incontinentlie.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned forth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countie returned to the obedience of king Dauid. Fr. Thin.

The earle of Atholl fled into the mounteins.

He submitted himselfe.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

nt David Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Scots in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

nt

John Fourdon.

William Dow
glasie com-
meth to the
succour of the
Scots.Dauid de Al-
nand a Sco-
tish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of
manlike force
and stature.The earle of
Murrey is
taken prisonerThe earle of
Atholl reuol-
ting to the
Balioll is est-
ablished govern-
or. The king of
England re-
turneth home
taking the
Balioll with
him.

consisted on the Burrowe more, beside Edinburgh, by the power of the governours, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglasie, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Picland hils to the aid of the Scots, whilste they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edinburgh: neuerthelesse keeping themselves in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edinburgh, they were driuen by thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir Dauid de Alnand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an are which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe together with his horse, that he are staied not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pauement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselves, at length got to the hill where Edinburgh castle standeth, and there slue their horses, making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend themselves from the force of their enemies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke where with to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they peeled themselves the next day, with condition to haue their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell slept forth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enemies on ech side, long it was per the might he ouerthrew, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enemies.

The earle of Hamure hauing yelded himselfe into the hands of the governours, was verie courteously vsed, the earle of Murrey not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murrey, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murrey one of the governours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much advanced thereby, came streightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith effsones vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and took the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enemies to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dumbrie earle of March, Andrew Murrey, & William Dowglasie, with other) took great despite ther-

at, and raising an armie to restraints his insolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kilbarnie) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Kilbarnie sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle Dauid their chiefeine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being yettwentys day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

* This Dauid earle of Atholl was verie instant & graue of government, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuouslie oppress the gilllesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fantasie, without reason. Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murrey was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murrey, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murrey in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Calbar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enemies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obedience of king Dauid. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchubane. At length this castle was wonne, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindorfs, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle Dauid. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of fortie thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindorfs asforesaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Here vpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he took the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murrey, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberdeen. Then he went to Struelking, where he strongly repaired the castle: from whence he took his iourne to Bothwell, and there also in winter he made the ca-

The earle of
Atholl is
slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
John Maiorili
s. cap. 14.Andrew
Murrey cho-
sen gouernour.The coming
put to flight.The north
parts of Scot-
land reduced
to the obedi-
ence of king
Dauid.The castle of
Lochindorfs
besieged.The king of
England com-
meth to raise
the siege of
Lochindorfs.The towne of
Aberdeen burn-
ed by the
Englishmen.Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.The towne of
Perth newlie
besieged.

My crueltie.

Edward
slayeth his
brother Eli-
zabeth.The taking of a
natural insti-
tute, as by
the English
sophists it is
perverted.Andrew
Murrey con-
meth forth
the moun-
tains.
He winneth
the castle of
Aberdeen.

He stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleye conueied vittells from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Douglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortly lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His nauie being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that ship (as they call them) were laden, wonke to the bottome of the sea, without force of anie tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne unfortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with wals and bulwarks, at the charges and onerlie expences of these six abbeyes, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoxie, Balmerinoch, Dunfermling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucrece, William Montacute of Striueling, William Felton of Rochelburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Wylred. Whilste king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enimies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in so much that passing through Gallabry, Carrike, Bile, and Cunningham, he put all to the ster and sword that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bate, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharpe reposed him for the same: and for so much as he answered him somewhat forwardlie, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place halloved and unhallowed, as being no reason, that the church should be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

It may be, that king Edward due some other man in this sort, as the Scots here do write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmite, as by our English writers it manifestlie appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balliol behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont due all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Bilsbaine, where his cosine David Cumyn was slaine. Poreuer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Purry came forth of the mountains, into the which he was before withdrauen to elchue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the castle of Kincleuin, and raised it to the earth. Shortly after he came into Bernes, and there took the castle of Kilsneth, and likewise raised the same.

Then passing forward, he burned Burnnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on eche side where they came, so that the Bernes, Angus, Stermond, and Colvise through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Purry assembling a great power, with support of them of Purry, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enimies at Bannmoze in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balliol, beside foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasing to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Purry passed thorough Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucrece, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

Andrew Purrye gardian of the Scots (and sir David Bruce) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they halsted to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countrymen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Brethetowne not farre distant; betwene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (with out anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Galushill. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balliol.

William Calbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was incountried by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransom. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Corboun met, and giuing him battell, slue the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castle of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 weeks. At which battell also was king Edward the earle of Gloucester, the lords Persie and Petill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron. Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without speed of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vied manie pleasant words in iesting and taunting at the enimies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had deuised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentile or rouert wherof they might approach safelie to the wals: the beholding this engine, merlie said, that vntil the Englishmen kept their tow the better, she would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so the after deuised it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth thorough all the boundes of Scotland,

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countrees of Scotland thorough continuall wars. The victorie of Andrew Purrye gotten at Bannmoze. Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucrece ouerthrowne. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Calbois, or rather Calbois is taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort or Mountacute is slaine. The castle of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337. Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and all

downe
the
bat
not
hof
om
bat
chp
ing
Cu
nen
ken
res
ght
Who
him
dich

The earle of
Atholl is
slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
John Maior li.
5. cap. 14.

Andrew
Purrye chosen
gouernour.

The Comyn
put to flight.

ins.
erle
into
with
Da
thin
were
. At
line,
cting
nd,
ing
uer
lege
, the
ha
ould
and

The north
parts of Scotland
reduced to the obedi
ence of king
Edward.
The castle of
Dunbar
swane.

The castle of
Lochmoune
besieged.

the
his
ame
for
scot
The
had
par
shed
, he
with
ine,
den.
ere
ie to
e ca
sle

The king of
England com
meth to raise
the siege of
Lochmoune.

The towne of
Aberdeen burn
ed by the
Englishmen.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

William of
Perth is
slaine.

William.

Edward
burns his
brother El
tham.

Edward of
a
natural infir
mity, as by
the English
writers it ap
pereth.
Edward
remained into
England.

Andrew
Purrye com
eth forth of
the moun
tains.
Beaumont
the castle of
Kincleuin.

for a death in
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Couper
left void.

The castell
of Louthian in
the hands of
the English-
men.

The death of
Andrew Murray
the gouernour.
1338.

Clutdall re-
covered out of
the English
mens hands
by William
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.
Io. Maior. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

land, with such mortallitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene seene nor heard of. The cause of which mortallitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay untilld and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Bersefen: where Robert Baners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasing words amongst them, which caused that they brake order, divided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.]

All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and coming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edenburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomack named Robert Bendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loved but little the English nation, was euill intreated and used amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Inatoun, he ceased not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and after ward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edenburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen smothering in sleape and drunkenesse, before they were able to make anie resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murray the gouernour of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarke, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his pursuit of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murray the gouernour, Robert Steward took all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king David returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Clutdall also was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie baliance of William Dowglas and other Scottish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioied the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthy capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramsie, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iustling. Where, vpon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwick, by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Crame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain. The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right baliat knight named Sir Thomas Berkleie with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernour, and gaue him battell at Blackebozne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited Sir John Strueling, who had with him nere hand five hundred Englishmen and Scots, that took his part in the king of Englands quarrell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas won the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Ballioll, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fifth he vanquished his enemies, and took prisoner their capteine the said Sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbretton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthy enterprises hardie atchieued, this William Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said Sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernour the said Robert Steward into France, as ambassadoe to king David, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernour raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to Maurice of Powbray lord of Clideldale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they won. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arrived in the late, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatly to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Cateigalard, and two esquires, Giles de la Hois, and John de Bzeise; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpyle, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turne, the earls of March and Somerset made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Baners, John Copeland, with the garrison of Robbozow, then in the hands of the English, but after wone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the vertie house of the resurrection; the gouernement where of seemed to be fatal, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramsie the capteine heretofore that died with hunger, being put in prison for vertie errie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Ballocke had taken estones

Sir Thomas
Berkleie.

The battell
of Blacke-
bozne.

John Fourdo

Sir John
Strueling
discomfited.

The castell
of Hermitage
wonne.

Sir Laurence
Abernethie
taken pris-
oner.

Sir William
Dowglas
sent into
France.

1339.

The towne
of Perth be-
sieged.

There was
also in that
armie beside
other noble
men William
Berth of Glou-
cestre.

William
Dowglas re-
turned out of
France.

Edward the
third with-
draweth into
England.

John Fourdo

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Robbozow
wonne.

Fr. Thin.

the castell of Couper to the king of Englands use, but by perswasion of this William Douglas, he rendered it up againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had served under him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serve William Douglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which town he besieged, his coming was reported into the governours hands, by Thomas Aired the captaine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, in the yeare after our redemption 1341. Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the surrendering of the lord William Douglas, the Frenchman Hugh de Waple, taking upon him on a day to approach the towne with his ships, and to give an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest booke he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Douglas sent the same ship to be to him againe, whereupon and with great thanks and thankfull answers gave as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation, although in their returne, as they passed out of Dumfries shire, they escaped verie hardlie from the thicke [The winter after the siege of Curneis, king Edward went to Berkeley, but from thence going through part of the forest of Strike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Berkeley, where Henry earle of Lancaster, joined with William Douglas (by covenant) in the kings fight, king Edward taking a truce, departed from Berkeley, half overcome with melancholie against those that first moved him to this warre, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should have done.]

In the same yeare (as some do write) or according unto other in the yeare following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driven to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like unclean kinds of meats, to susteine their languishing lives withall, yea, in some that (as is said) there was a Scottish man, an uplandish fellow named Crislocke, spared not to slea children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a Wolfe. Perth being once delivered (as before is said) to the governour, he went with his armie to Strickling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered unto him the eight day after his coming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the captaine, with his wife and children might safelie passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murray was made captaine.] Edward Baliol, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daile fall unto his enemies, to avoid further danger, after off removing from place to place, at length he was constrained to flee into England lest he should have fallen into his adversaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edinburgh was wonne by policie on this wise. William Douglas having acquaintance with one Walter Towlers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to provide a ship, and to arrive there with in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell unto the garison that kept Edinburgh castell. This Towlers according to instructions thus given him, provided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so coming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edinburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell unto the steward of household to the captaine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning up to the castell, that they might be received in. Towlers hiring a cart over night, came with the punchions up to the castell gate, earlie upon the brake of the day in the next morning, and having the gates opened, entered with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin devised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Douglasse having in his companie William Budoche, Walter Fraser, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with divers other hardie and bold personages, laid in covert not far from the castell, & having knowledge given him by sound of home, or other wise, when to come forth, he hastened thereupon with all diligence unto the gates, and finding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortress, within the which for captaine they left one William Douglas, the half brother of the other William Douglas, by whose conduct chiefe, both this enterpryse and divers other were luckilie achieved. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recondered out of the enemies hands the Englishmen, and all other that took part with the Baliol, constrained to avoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edinburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in the yeare last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yeare, or in the next ensuing, the second of June, king David with his wife quene Jane, and sundrie nobles both French and Scottish, came safelie through the seas, and arrived in Innerbernie, from whence with no small triumph they were conveyed unto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsay of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant captaines knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and having knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to give him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gave upon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most eagerly, killing and slaying a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongst the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisbury (as the Scottish historie saith) was one, and the captaine of Rokeburgh another.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, perceiving that the most part of the garison of Rokeburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with their captaine, came hastily thither, and giving a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it. Wherefore king David in recompense of his valiance thus declared in his service, gave unto him the keeping of this castell, together with the shirfwike of Lindsale. Whereat William Douglasse took such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found means to apprehend this Alexander Ramsay within the church of Batwike, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Budoche slaine, by David Berkeley. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was sore moved here with, purposing to see such punishment done upon William Douglasse for that rebellious attempt, as might serve for an example to all other how they went about anie the like offense. Nevertheless, the Douglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

1341. H.B.
1342. Io. Ma.
King David returned into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsay returned into England.

This Ramsay was so renowned, that every noble man was glad to have his sonne and kinsman to serve under him.

The castell of Rokeburgh wonne by Alexander Ramsay.

Alexander Ramsay taken by William Douglas, & imprisoned.
Fr. Thin.

Sir Thomas Berkeley.

The battell of Wincheborne.

The siege of Perth commenced in the year 1341.
John Fourdon.

Sir John Stirlingham discomfited.

The castell of Hermitage wonne.

1341.

Sir Lawrence Abernethie taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Sir William Douglas sent into France.

1339.
The towne of Perth besieged.

John Berkeley.

There was also in that armie beside other noble men William Keith of Caileston.

Children taken.
The castell of Strickling rendered.

William Douglas returned out of France.

John Rugeley.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Baliol with his army into England.

John Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

The castell of Edinburgh wonne.
Fr. Thin.

Policie.

teins and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into favor againe, and had all his lands and livings restored unto him, as well in Auldale as elsewhere.

The earle of Salisburie exchanged for the earle of Murray.

Froisard.

1342.

A parliament at Perth.

The bounteous liberality of King David. This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King David invaded Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David the second time invaded the English borders.

Five Scottish knights taken prisoners.

King David the third time invaded England. Foul weather.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors sent to French king into Scotland.

Some after the earle of Salisburie was taken by sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murray, that had bene holden manie yeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen; & now was exchanged for the earle of Murray. But howsoever it was, king David after the realm of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded vertie liberallie all such as had either done any notable service themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recouerie of the realm out of his adversaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance of a ladie of the baronie of Balzid given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortly after upon the breaking up of this parliament, king David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murray as lieutenant generall, he would not that any of his owne banners should be spied and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, serving secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iourne.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, concealing away with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortly after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his own standard to be carried afore him at that time, as he that took upon him the whole gouernance of that enterprise himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to giue the Scots any set batell, but to take them euer at some aduantage, if they straid abroad any where vnwarlike to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglington, Craggie, Boid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, king David perceiuing that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much adoe to saue themselves from perishing through the vnmearurable force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable manner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Hereupon king David, to the end that his enterprise should not seeme altogether to want effect, ouerthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or receiued. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore drissing all waies possible whereby to saue that towne, and to cause his aduersarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might unto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constrained to leaue his siege; and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subjects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward adressed his orators into Scotland, offering unto king David, upon condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not onlie the towne of Berwikke, but also Edward Balioll his old aduersarie, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wisest lost gaue aduise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought up) and other of the nobles hauing young heads, upon desire to be reuenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (whereunto they were inclined) would needs condescend to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficall offers. Whereupon an armie was leued, and solempne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certaine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therfore came with his people unto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seven of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross [whereby the armie was greatly diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongst the families departed home.]

King David, though he was sore displeased here-with, and desired most earnestlie to haue punished that heinous act; yet because he would not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment thereof, till more conuenient opportunitie might serue thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglas of Liddel did earnestlie perswade him,] at that time to leade the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence. At his comming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to doo ballantlie; but first he created William Dowglas an earle, which William was sonne to Archibald Dowglas, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was vn doubtedlie a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; inasmuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burroves and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) thre score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortrell not farre off from the borders called Liddel, they laie round about that place for the space of thre daies, without giuing thereto any assault; but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, sleaing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capteine sir Walter Selbie was taken aliue, but immediatlie by king David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to haue so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to haue done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie remoued, and went unto the abbie of Lauercock, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Batward castell, and the towne of Kirdreth, kept on

Archibald Balioll from the king of England into Scotland.

The king of Englands offers.

The Scots ready to beate the French king himselfe.

An armie leued to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglas created earle of Dowglas.

Ri. Southwell. Two thousand men of armes, & 2000 hoblers.

The earle Dowglas killed.

King David invaded England.

The lord of Liddel.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lauercock.

King David returned into Scotland.

on till they came vnto the p[er]loze of Berham, whith they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king Dauid, who in this iourne appointed to p[re]serue foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Berham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darlington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay up such store of vittels, as he should p[ro]uide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Berham, where he laie three daies, he marched to Chchester, waisting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beantepaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and let his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne by the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter whith the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither young nor old, church nor chapell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbey of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserablie sacked, although it was said king Dauid was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cathbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and ioining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had latelie sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king Dauid, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a small peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his master: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the vtterance within three daies after. King Dauid contemning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enimies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into three battels. In the first was Robert Stewart prince of Scotland, and Bartrie Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Douglas: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Douglas in the first, the king in the middle, and Stewart in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Douglas departed from the armie to descrie the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible): but entring somewhat backwardlic within danger of his enimies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather sixe hundred (as some booke haue) of young gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he toke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into three battels, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Whereupon Dauid Graham with a wing of sixe hundred horsemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enimies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end,

Robert Stewart, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrinke backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this flying backe of the earle of March and Robert Stewart, brought the discomfite vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a short while after, the same was vtterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king Dauid himselfe did in euery point please the part of a most ballant chiefeine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to doe their indenours. Neither would he flee after hee saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing moze displeasent than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and wounded him to yeeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yeeld vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by John Maior, and not onelie called Comptant, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euidnt by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reuerward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Stratherne, the countable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancelor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray]. There were taken with the king sixe earles, that is to say, Douglas, Fife, Sutherland, Wigton, and Spenteith [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Spenteith (as saith Scala chron.) byatone and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be invincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English history.

In the yere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddefdale, bying a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfort for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Stewart as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Douglas the sonne of Archembald Douglas, that was brother vnto godd sir James Douglas, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Douglasdale, Tindale, Twidale, Etrike forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capitaine of Roxburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men,

A. J. and

The cause of the overthrow

The Scots discomfited.

King Dauid his baliance.

King Dauid taken by John Copland.

1346. Scala. chron. Nobles slaine in this battell. Fr. Thin. Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balioll taken in Galloway.

Robert Stewart gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recovered out of the Englishmens hands.

Embassadours from the king of England into Scotland

The king of England offers.

The Scots ready to helpe the French, hinder their neighbors the English.

An armie raised to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Douglas created earle of Douglas.

Ri. Southwell Two thousand men of armes, 10000 hoblers.

King Dauid invaded England.

The fort of Liwell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lancroft.

King Dauid aged in the arms of Beantepaire.

The abbey of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

Herald.

The appointment of the fourth battell.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Douglas slain.

David Graham slain.

John Cop-
land chased.

1349.

The second
pestilence that
was heard of
in Scotland.
Sir David
Berklie slain

and came forth against his enemies, but receiving the overthrow, he was chased into Hokerburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

In the yere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so vehement and contagious, that it slue néere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The same yere, or (as other booke haue) the yere next ensuing, one John saint Spighell slue sir David Berklie knight at Aberdeen, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglas of Liddesdale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglas, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occasion was, for that this sir David Berklie had aforetime slaine one John Dowglas, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir James Dowglas of Walketh.

1352. I. Ma.

Sir William
Dowglas
slaine.

1354.

1355.

Sir Eugenie
de Garente-
ris a French-
man, arrived
in Scotland.

Fortie thou-
sand crownes.

In the yere following, was the same sir William Dowglas, being lately before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Strike forest, by his coline and godsonne William earle of Dowglas, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Ramsay, and other old grudges. Thus was the house of the Dowglases divided amongst themselves, pursuing each other manie yeres together with great unkindnesse, unnatural enmitie and slaughter. In the yere next following, which was 1355, shortly after Easter, there arrived in Scotland an noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie skillfull warriors, which were sent thither by John king of France, that succeeded his father king Philip of Valois, lately before deceased, and deliuered unto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, forty thousand crownes of the summe, to be imployed about the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constrained the sooner to with- draw their powers out of France.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the soldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuerthelesse, the earle of March, and William Dowglas, gather their people, and passe forth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Ramsay of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light horsemen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come forth too strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Disbet more. This Ramsay doing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got together a great bootie of cattell, with drel with the same homewards: but being sharpe- ly pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following eger- lie in the chase, were vpon the Scottish armie before they were aware. The Scottishmen, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the English- men fiercelie, and finally put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir John Holteburton, and sir James Turnebull knights. These were taken pri- soners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Eng- lishmen.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

1355.

* The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue bene after this manner. The lords Perrie and Penill, guardians of the English marches, toke truce with the lord William Dowglas, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen

had wone of the Scots. But Patrick earle of March (being in confederacie with Garenteris) would not by anie persuation consent to that league: whereupon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Roxham, ambushing themselves vpon the Scottish side of the riuer of Tweed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to for- rage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the preyes, draue them in despite alongst the castle: whereupon Thomas Greie, capteine of Roxham (sonne to Tho- mas Greie, that had bene thrée times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Roxham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) seeing the commons of England thus robbed (and deeming it his part to de- fend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued forth of Roxham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people vnerpert in matters of war, who (not know- ing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrick had laied in wait behind Tweed) issued forth to fol- low and recouer the prey: but being so farre gone in chase of the enemy, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Tweed on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the suc- cesse) forsoke their horses, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the Eng- lish, but the Scots comming so close on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at that time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.)

The earles of March, and Dowglas, after the obtaining of this victorie, came suddenly in the night season vnto the towne of Berwik, and raising by ladders to the walls, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scottish gentlemen, as Thomas Glas, Andrew Scot of Balwerie, John Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Potowgate knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Perrie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare himselfe in this enterpryse, whome Robert Stewart the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie behalfe verie thonghly. The castle of Ber- wik, notwithstanding that the towne was thus wone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the walls, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

* The tidings thereof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parle- ment appointed at London but thre daies, and with all speed came to Berwik, where he entered the cas- tle; whereat the burgeses amazed, treated with him, and thereupon the towne of Berwik was redeliue- red (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward. As Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwik, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, toke order for the repairing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Balioill a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. For there the 26 of Januarie, the said Balioill hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, al- leged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie néere of his linage; and for that he

Servant
house.

Robert the
first.

1355.

The burnt
ambles.

Solloway re-
mored.

The battell
of Porters.

The French
king John ta-
ken prisoner.

Servant
house
repaired &
gaine by king
Edward.
The Balioill
religiously
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Perrieball
Dowglas
and Garenteris

Robert poli-
ce.

of
(ts)
ge:
oad
up-
go,
fo-
les,
pon
Ho,
ots
gne
s of
de-
urb
ie of
non
ow-
rike
fol-
ie in
with
ved
nie
suc-
the
the
ing,
dly
time
ken
the
ight
g up
bout
mas
don,
ran-
sine
nas
and
nte-
care
oard
sent
in
Ber-
thus
re-
te to
urnt
Ed-
alis
arle,
with
e ca-
him,
line,
Ed-
scue
d the
and
if all
for
ning
al-
the
d no
that
be

Epist.
Roffe, lib.
1332.

he was of k. Edwards blod of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than upon him. This Balioll is by no autho^r (as Lesleus saith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of Eng- land with an oth, against the gouernement & maie^r tie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other autho^rs do agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents untill the yeere of 1342, at what time he yelded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recovered a good part of England. Wherefore it seemeth strange to me, that Roffe will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him under that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming also Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both these wyting at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agree on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings. After this, king Edward passing forth to Haddington, spoiled and wasted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had bene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those parts called Whitekirk) had with force of a rigorous tempest bene fore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned together with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbies as all other churches and religi- ous houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish wyters) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our ladie, & by reason the English- men did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it euer after. The burnt Candlemas. Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Drogglas of Piddesdale recovered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Wyndale were in like maner recovered by one Airpatricke. In the same yeere on the 20 day of October, was the bat- tell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwile named the Blache prince, over- threw the armie of France, and toke king John prisoner, with his yongest sonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Drogglas, & to the number of three thou- sand Scots, having diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the same battell Andzew Steward, Robert Gordon, An- drew Holieburton, and Andzew Claus, knights. The earle of Drogglas escaped with life and untaken, but Archembald Drogglas, son to sir James Drog- glas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ran- some, by reason that William Ramsay of Coll- thie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Drogglas had bene some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and to do other such bridging service, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time having two kings under his captiuitie, sat crowned be- twixt them at meate in the feast of Christmasse, ma- king (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in that season a great banquet. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bytuted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King David within certeine yeares after was con- ueyed by the earle of Northampton unto Berwike, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled together to consult with him touching some agreement to be had for his rancome: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there re- mained in prison as before. In the meane time, Ro- ger Airpatricke was slaine by James Lindseie, in a castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled up- on the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouerno^r Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offense.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next ensuing, after king David had bene at Berwike, there was an agreement made for his rancome, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scot- land, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Dur- ham field. It was agreed that there should be paid for his rancome one hundred thousand marks ster- ling, at sundrie dates of payment, as was accorded betwixt them. After he had bene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala Chron. saith, that at the feast of S. Michael, David king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of silver: for which, his hostages came to Berwike, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was bozne of the sister of king David; Tho- mas Senescall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurise baron of Bosquill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in Eng- land, till the monie were paid, as is before menti- oned [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his rancome.] k. David was also bound by couenant of agreement to race certeine castels within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he perfo^rmed. For upon his returne into Scotland, he east downe the castels of Dalwhinton, Dumfries, Doy- tostone, and Durisbere. He also called a parliament, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punish- ment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the overthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was utterly reuoked and disannulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane his yongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworn to obserue and kepe this ordinance.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John, in hope that his sonne should inioy the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuerthe- lesse deceiued of his hope. For shortlie after his son being one of them that was giuen in pledge to re- maine in England, till the monie for the kings ran- come

Two kings
prisoners in
England at
one time.

Roger Air-
patricke slaine.

King David
is deliuered.

1357.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Truce for
14 yeares.

Fr. Thin.

Castels ra-
ced.

A parliament.
Robert Ste-
ward disher-
ited of the
croune.
John Sou-
therland made
heire appa-
rant.

The death of
John Sou-
therland.

Al. ij.

some

Berwike
Swone.

Whitekirk
burnt.

1355.

The burnt
Candlemas.

Galloway re-
covered.

The battell
of Poitiers.

The French
king John ta-
ken prisoner.

Archembald
Drogglas
taken prisoner.

Balioll poli-
t.

Berwike
walls rased.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Berwike is
repaired a-
gain by king
Edward.
The Balliol
reigneth his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Robert Ste-
ward againe
ordained heire
apparent.
The contri-
bution of the
clergie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.

A demand
proponed to
the lords of
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.
Their an-
swer.

1357

Quene
Janes death.
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.
5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David
marrieth Mar-
garet Logie.

The repenteth
his marriage.

The banisheth
hir.

She complai-
neth to the
pope.

Sentence gi-
uen on hir
part.
She depa-
reth this
world.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such
sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise
did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Ste-
ward was reconciled to the kings favor, and orde-
ned heire apparant to the crowne in semblable ma-
ner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland
condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their
fruits & reuenues towards the paiement of the kings
ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.]
Not long after, king David called an other coun-
cell, wherein (according to his promise made to the
king of England before his deliuerance) he moued
of he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie an-
swer, and that was this: Whether they could be
contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of
Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of
Englands sonne, and to his lawfull betres: [Which
thing John Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who
also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red)
and done by the persuation of Jane the quene, for-
getting that he said before, that she died in the yeare
1357.]

The lords hearing that was proponed vnto them,
answered without anie long studie, that so long as
anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon,
they would neuer consent thereto. King David right
sofull to heare them at this point, thought himsele
discharged, for that he was not bound to labor fur-
ther in this sute, because his promise made to the
king of England touching this point, onelie was,
that if the Scottish lords would agree, then he should
intail the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next
following, which was from the incarnation 1357,
quene Jane the wife of David went into Eng-
land to see hir brother king Edward, & died there be-
fore she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at
Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith
Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sea. chro.)
in the greie friers in London beside hir mother.
This woman doth the said Maior commend for a
most rare person, in that the neuer forsooke hir hus-
band in his banishment into France, & in the time
of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she
deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in
hir life she intoyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing
had hir bodie dedicated to the marriage bed. For

*Si nihil infausti durus tulisset Vlyses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of
this woman, that she might haue bene counted hap-
pie, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with
these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should
neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation,
which now to the worlds end she hath amongst the
wisest.]

David, after hir deceasse, married a yong lu-
die gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daugh-
ter to sir John Logie knight, but within three mo-
neths after he repented him, for that he had mar-
ried himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the
disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished
both hir, and all other that had counselled him to ma-
rie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts
of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Auig-
non, where as then the pope with all his consistorie
remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court,
followed the same with such diligence, that in the
end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say)
that king David should receiue hir againe into his
company, and to accept and vse hir as his lawfull
wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland
haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had
she not departed out of this life by the way in retur-

ning homewards. Charles the first surnamed the
wise, being king of France (supported by the aies of
Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in
which torme, when a greuous contention fell among
the French and English, the last were overcome by
the first through the singular manhood of the Scots.
Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an or-
der of an hundred archers to be about his person,
and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the
night) within his court gates: which (vpon this oc-
casion) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in
this our age.] David in the meane time repaired
sundry places and strengths of his realme, & built a
tower in Edinburgh castell, bearing the name after
him euen vnto this day, called Davids tower. About
this time (or rather more trulie as others haue
before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or
shortly after the deliuerie of David Bruce from
captiuitie as the third sort do say) William Dow-
glas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the
seas (at such time as king John was preparing his
host against the Blaque prince) went with David John
vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands
with the title of knight: but after, hauing ma-
nie of his men slaine, and being inforced to forsake
the field, he returned home into Scotland. Will-
iam Douglas shortly after, vpon the deliuerie of
David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was
created earle of Douglas. Much about which

at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots ad-
uanced William Ramsay to the earldome of Fife,
by the means of the wife of the said Ramsay, whom
the king intirely loued (as the report went.) The
right of which countie king David affirmed to be
luskie in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as
trulie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which
Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in David
Robert Bruces daies; in murdering of an equier
called Michael Beton, whome he miserable slue
in a riuer for extreme displeasure. Therefore this
William Ramsay surmized that Duncan (to ob-
teine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make
Robert Bruce David of Scots his heire in reuerfion,
if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a
daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester,
and daughter to the king of England) which was
entertained in England, and should haue bene sold
to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But the (ra-
ther respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the ho-
nor of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife,
than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William
Felson, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the
said time when William Ramsay was made earle
of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his
wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle
of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the
said Ramsay went away with the honor thereof.]
After this appealing of certeine rebels that sought
to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed
to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing promised
all things necessarie for such a tourne, he fell sicke
of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of
Edinburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne,
and fortie seventh of his age, which was from the in-
carnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house,
where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

During the time that this David Bruce was
prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie let his lo-
uing affection vpon Katharine Portimer, a damsell
of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with
hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as
it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him;
whereat the lords disdaining, and highlie offended
with the king therefore, procured one Richard de
Bull,

Fr.Thin.
Lelieu. l. 2.
pag. 216.Davids tow-
er built.
Fr.Thin.Scala chro.
Of this man
Douglas
and his be-
in France
English
miles do
reput.

John Duns.

William Do-
glas
carle.Scala chro.
William
fise made
of fife.William earl
of Douglas
clame the
crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

The resigne
his right to
the StewarRobert.
Robert St-
ward is cr-
ned king of
Scotland.
1370The death
king David
1370Fr.Thin.
Scala chro.The first
king of the
Stewards
the crown
Fr.Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lectur. lib. 7.
pag. 256.

Dull, a ballet of Scotland (in seining some matter unto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so courtlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddentlie murdered hir riding from Melros to Seltrae. Whereupon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorable buried at Melroth, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare unto hir in hir life.)

Sumdrie maruellous things were sene in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crows, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrary to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the same yere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the rivers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of harvest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & towncs were bozne downe and destroyed. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as John Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that should succede in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the fonder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Stewart; but William earle of Douglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cummin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by iust title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Douglas purposed to vsurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine (which three were captiues of Dunbretton, Sterling, and Edinburgh) and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Stewart, assisting his side to their uttermost powers. The Douglas perceiuing hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarrell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the discussing.

When was Robert Stewart conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Moreover, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Douglas asforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in marriage to James sonne to the earle of Douglas asforesaid. & Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue inioied the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained vnto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Ross, by whome he had two sonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Murray in place of his wife, and had by hir three sonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to John Dunbar erle of Murray, and another to John Leon lord of Clames. The earledome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle John & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioieng of that earledome: for leaving a daughter behind him that was married to the Douglas, the same Douglas came by that means to the said earledome of Murray. King Robert after his coronation made sumdrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Glenelke was made earle of Crawford. His wife queene Eufemie deceased the third yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth Murray (or More, daughter to sir Adam Murray knight) his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Clifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they inioied in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Murray asforesaid, earle of Carrick: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Pentecost and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchanane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne Dauid, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Strathern. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto John his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yongest sonne Dauid the earle of Strathern, and to his heires generally either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemn manner.

About this time, the borderers, which are men eternally desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieflie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarrell picked, sue certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George soze offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to re-

Elizabeth
Murray king
Roberts
concubine.

How the
Douglas
came by the
earledome of
Murray.

Eufemie the
queene de-
ceased.

Fr. Thin.
Elizabeth the
Murray married
to king Ro-
bert.
Fr. Thin.

The prefer-
ment of the
kings sonnes
to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

In act for suc-
cession of the
crowne.

The border-
ers desirous
of warre.

Roxburgh
faire.

A. liij.

ccine

Dauid's
er built.
Fr. Thin.

Scala chron.
Of this man
Douglas
and his death
in France, the
English chro-
nicles do all
repeate.

William Douglas
made
earle.

Scala chron.
William Douglas
made earle
of Fife.

Strange
sumdrie.

How barren

Great raine.

John Duns.

The assemble
of the lords
by the election
of a new king.

William earle
of Douglas
claimed the
crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He resigneth
his right to
the Stewart.

Robert.
Robert Ste-
ward is crown-
ed king of
Scotland.
1370.

The death of
king Dauid.

1370

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The first com-
ing of the
Stewards to
the crowne.
Fr. Thin.

celue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more oportunitie of time might serue. In the yeres following, against the next faire to be holden at Norburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretlie together, and comming to the said towne, took it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Hereupon the Englishmen hostlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great bootie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a foye fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and uncerteine, that sir John Gordon was foye wounded, and the Scots were fuyne times that day had in chafe, and as oft got the like advantage of their enemies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelie discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the manner whereof John Maior condemneth and laith the fault of breach in earle Dowglas.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Perse earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with foyen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sewed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running by & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enemies) perceiving themselves set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgraue capteine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waie with the upper hand. [All which before vntill the death of Eufemie the queene] Buchanan appointeth to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the queene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignon to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time hapened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fift king of France sent ambassadoers into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to persuaade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordinglie.]

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, David Stewart was bozne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwike was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir John Leuen other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen inalie reioised at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and foye pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knotone to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, under the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and inuading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fuye hundred men, & stood in a street till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for half drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bootie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduenture, dailie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadoers vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do wisse) to renew the old leage & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the manner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadoers from king Robert vnto their master the said k. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like manner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelloz of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lilies, with the tresse in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancelloz, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attained to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finallie through earnest sute made to

1370.
Buchanan.
The truce
violated.

Norburgh
surprised by
the earle of
March.

The English
men inuade
Scotland.

The English
men discom-
fited.
Sir John
Lilborne
taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-
se earle of No-
rthumberland.

A policie to
afright horses

Tho. Mus-
graue capteine
of Berwike
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from
the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.
Buchanan.

1378.

Berwike ta-
ken by Sir

Recovered a-
gain out of
their hands.

1380.

The first
of Pennire.

The third
time that the
pestilence came
into Scot-
land.

1380.

Fr. Thin.

Jack Sh

1380.

Fr. Thin.

The English
men inuade
the Scottish
borders.

The truce
violated.

The year
of Robert
Anno reg
1381. Ic

Englishmen
slaine and
drowned.

1388

Ambassadors
sent to the
king.

The earl
of Rochn
renewed
the Sc

1381. Ic

Anno Reg. 11

The renewing
of the leage
betwixt Scot-
land and
France.

John Fe

The chan-
celloz of Scot-
land slaine.

1381. Ic

John Fe

Buchan

1381. Ic

The earle of
Crawford in
exile.

1378.

Barwick taken by Scots.

Recovered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The cause of Penmure.

The third time that the penitence came into Scotland.

1380.

Fr. Thun.

The English men invaded the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slain and drowned.

Embassadors to the French king.

1381. Lel. Anno Reg. 11. The renning of the league betwixt Scotland and France.

The chancellor of Scotland slain.

Ennise & Spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

Barwick taken by Scots.

Anno reg. 12. 1381.

English men slain and drowned.

1381.

Barwick taken.

Rebellion in England.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

1381.

Barwick taken.

to the king by the earles of Dologlas and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaur, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Saviour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whom were appointed James earle of Dologlas, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to indure for thre yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Strain and others to their captains, wherupon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conveyed by William earle of Dologlas, and Archembald Dologlas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edinburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their captains slain or taken, and put to execution.

As long as the truce was cripred, Archembald Dologlas lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daile harrie and rob the villages and countrie toymes of Galloway and Armandale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dologlas, and George of March, and therewith laid a strong siege unto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assalt to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house unto the Scots even the same day without more ado, upon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie overthow given to those that should come from Carleill, in manner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dologlas had got knowledge that the same castell was bitterlie impounded both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dologlas and Dunbar, who joining with him, inveigled the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Hereupon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters unto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to understand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should do his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to do as he should see cause. Hereupon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remove their siege, he would yeld the castell unto them, the lives and goods of them within saved. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assalts: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they received the castell into their possession, according to the covenant. And so the Scots having

thus wonne the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite downe to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had achieved this enterprise, appointed the baron of Crawford with a certaine number of men to go with vittels and munition unto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortreffe, and finding it impounded, they might peradventure bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his provision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to invade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster having the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giving order to them that should passe by sea that they should be entered himselfe by land, and wasting the countreies of March and Louthian, came to Edinburgh, and took the towne. But whereas his souldiers would have spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

His navie being as then arrived in the Forth, sailed behind, & first burning the abbey of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their captains landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse toymes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsey, and William Cunningham of Kilmorris, set upon them, and slew the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dologlas recovered all the strengths of Cumbdale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held ever since the battell of Durham unto those daies. This earle of Dologlas, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dologlas, shortly after he had achieved this enterprise, and was buried in the abbey of Melrose.

After his deceasse, his sonne James, as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earledome of Dologlas, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to have the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farr as Fleetcastell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came unto Perth, where he found the lord John de Harcourt, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 haggbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crobowes: the residue bare pikcs, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to serve them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swordes, & fiftie thousand franks, to be given among the nobles of Scotland, accordingly as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dologlas was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that joining with these

The baron of Crawford taken.

Anno reg. 15. 1382. J. M.

An armie by sea and another by land.

Prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The earle of Fife.
An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England.
Castles won.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglas, and March, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all together, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castles of Marke, Ford, and Cornwell. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwik and Bewcastle, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field néere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wonne, they left that enterprize. For the Frenchmen required that if they won it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, whereunto the Scots would not agree.

The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agree.

They invade Cumberland.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen withing to accomplish some other enterprize, went to the west borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sullway lands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carlisle, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rochelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next ensuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first coming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboard to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, passed through the Shers and Louthian, putting all the towne, countie, and houses vnto utter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere.

The Frenchmen returne into France.

King Richard inuadeth Scotland.

1387.

In the yeere next ensuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Stewart earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, coming so secretlie thorough the water of Sullway, that they came to Coker mouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of thre daies, got a rich bottie together, and returned with the same thorough the countie of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iourne, there was a charter found of certeine lands given by king Athelstane, in this forme: I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odham and Rodham, als guid aud als faire, also euery yare mine waire, and yarto wisse Mauld my wife. By tenure of which deed it may appere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few words barelie expessed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of perming, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their covenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

The forme of an old deed of gift.

The true meaning of men in old time.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bassard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble baliance, shewed as well in certeine approches made vnto Carlisle, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also hereupon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthy of some high advancement; and thereupon gaue him his daughter in marriage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beautie, as his match in those daies was not to be found: [with whom for his dowrie, he gaue the lands of Biddendale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after married to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not overcharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, byright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whomsoever he strooke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against thre thousand Englishmen, of whom two hundred he slue in the field, & brought slue hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

10

20

30

40

50

In the yeere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched aloat great botties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men together, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The towne men doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Stewart of Dunsdeer, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countie to fetch in some prey: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still aloofe the towne.

Neuerthelesse, the said Robert and William received the enemies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they toke thre score ships which they found in diuerse hauens and creeks there on that coast, and slaughtering fiftene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Shers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towers and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberdeen: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those iniuries done by the Englishmen. Hereupon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

William Dowglas
glas towers
for his high
prowesse.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

Cumber
mailed
for the
land inu

Cent
of the
men
of
glas.
The
of
Engl
as
fere

1388.

Irishmen
fetch prey
in
Galloway.
William Dowglas
mailed
Ireland
with
five hundred
men, as Iohn
Fourdon saith.
Carlingford
besieged.

The craftie
dealing of the
townsmen.

The Irishmen
obtain the
Scots in two
seuerall places.

The
Dowglas
men
run to
the
ships
before
they
could

The Irishmen
put to
flight.

Carlingford
towne
burnt
by
all.

From
where
they
flee

The Ile of
Man spoiled.

Englishmen
burne in the
Shers.

Dowglas
army
sent

Two armies
of Scottish
men
advised

of Fiffe, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Walscop. The other conteneing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindseie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Hare the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie [both which (saith Froissard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedburgh, the earle of Fiffe with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and waiking the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fiffe spared neither fier nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Helwcastle. Here the earle of Dowglas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men that could be found amongst all the numbers, with the which he went to Helwcastle, to trie if by any meane he might take the towne. There was gathered into Helwcastle before his coming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from Forke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reason of extreme age was not able to furre abroad (any thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe, verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often pricking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were any seruice to be done abroad.

The earle of Dowglas comming to Helwcastle, incamped with his people on that side the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earnestlie, which way he might best come to giue assault to win it. Henrie Persie desirous to shew some proofe of his singular manhood, wherein he greatly trusted, requied to fight with the earle of Dowglas man to man; which request the earle granting, together they ran, mounted on two great couriers with sharpe ground speares at the vfferance. The earle of Dowglas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he droue the Persie out of his saddle. The Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to the rescue, recouered him on foot, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie herupon, the earle of Dowglas caused the assault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with hate and sagots, came with ladders to the wals: but the Englishmen so well defended themselves, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter of their people.

Froissard making mention of this enterprize thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Persie should thus run together on horsebacke (as before is specified) but that in giuing assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Persie, and there by force plucked the Persies staffe from him, and in returning boisted it vp on height, saying, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Wetherborne, about twelue or fouretene miles from Helwcastle, pitched downe his tents there, that his soldiers might take some rest, & refresh themselves after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to any purpose, since their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was high: lie increased at Helwcastle, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Persie then perceiuing his number sufficient to fight with Dowglas, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue forth vpon the Scots, and to giue them an encounter: but when he understood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all speed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recouer the dishonour which he had sustained by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Helwcastle. Earle Dowglas aduertised that the enemies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euermlasting fame and honour, with safeguard to themselves and their countrie. The Persie likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fight manfullie in reuenge of their iniuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gaue the onset fiercelie.

Here both the armies joining together, a right terrible encounter ensued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to ioine, though want of light to see what was to do, they were seuered in sunder for that time; but remembering that the mone would shortly rise, they determined so soone as the began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As soone therefore as the mone began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and causing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Here with also came the earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The said Dowglas the younger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserable wounded also. At what time a priest (which by faithfullie assisted this Dowglas in all distresse) did (noting the bodie being faint and decayed) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Dowglas lieng in this estate, his next friends (John Lindseie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutly answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismayed) that he was verie well; for said he, I do not now die in my bed (by sluggish destinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue done. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Whereupon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowen; then they erected his standard, crying (as the manner is) A Dowglas A Dowglas. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a full assault vpon the enemy, that forthwith they drave them from the place of the battell. For at the very

The English power increased.

Henrie Persie followed the Scots.

The Dowglas exhorted his men to fight manfullie.

The Persie with comfortable words encouraged his men.

The onset is giuen.

They were seuered by coming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Hepborne reuentereth the Scots at point to be overcome. The battell of the earle of Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberdeen, as saith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lessius lib. 7. pa. 263. calling him William Lundie archdeacon of saint Andrewes, himselfe man to Dowglas. This Dowglas was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his breast, and in the thigh with several arrows, and had a deable blow on his head being vncovered. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 3.

name

William Dowglas honored for his high prowess.

Fr. Thin.

Thin.

Cumberland made. Northumberland was invaded.

Northumberland was chosen men with the earle of Dowglas. The assembly of the Englishmen at Helwcastle.

1388.

Irishmen fetch priests to Galloway. William Dowglas invaded Ireland with five hundred men, as John Fourdon saith. Carlisle was besieged.

The craftie dealing of the townsmen.

The Irishmen assault the Scots in several places.

The Irishmen put to flight.

Carlisle was wonne by assault.

The fire of Spanishe.

Englishmen burne in the ships.

Two armies of Scottishmen assembled.

name of Dowglas, not onlie the common people, but John earle of Marre (supposing that the same sive was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

The English men put to fight.

Kase and Henrie Perrie taken prisoners.

Fr. Thin.

Other persons taken.

The number of prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin. There were slain but five hundred Englishmen as Hector Boetius saith. The death of James earle of Dowglas.

See more of this matter in England.

Archibald Dowglas succeeded James the earle of Dowglas.

The first advancement of the Hepburns.

The earles of Bothwell.

1310.

12. kal. Aug.

1388.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan.

Finallie, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & bozne downe. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever scene, though the more part in deed were taken with their liues saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Kase Perrie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne.

[But Lesleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransom did build the castle of Powne, which his heirs to this day do inioy. There was also taken besides the two Perries, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Ilbozne, William Mauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Patrike Luell knights.

There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortie, and slaine what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) about an eightene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scottish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglas himselfe was thysle stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being bozne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthie a chiefe, than for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied unto Helros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbete church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cosine Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the daies of king David the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got upon a pong gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vnrule side, in fetching and dinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue unto this Hepburne certeine lands in Lothian, whose possertie increased after wards in such power of lands and surname, that the same intioed not onlie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right worthie fame and estimation. His battell of Otterborne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the first of August, in the yeare 1388.

Amongst those that fled to the battell, was that helo Kedman gouernor of Berwike, whom James Lindseie (supposing by the beaultie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did vehementlie follow by the space of thre miles. At the last, Kedman perceiving that he was not by flight able to escape (and deeming it better to hazard his life, than oisewise

to be slaine without aduenture) alighted from his horse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordingly; in the end after a long conflict betwene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the bozders, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betwene the inhabitants of those places.

But if anie doe not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set upon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of truce daies (to demand restitutions of things and injuries done by the one nation unto the other) they see that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth upon a long staffe or speare to be scene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the defersers thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not aske them god report or intertainment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiving a great number of armed men) made direale towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, until he had ridden so nere unto them, that he could not without himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Helroscastell (to ioin with Perrie at the battell of Otterborne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioine until the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he toke his iourne towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) understanding (by those that fled from Otterborne battell towards Helroscastell) that Perrie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Helroscastell, to consult what he should doe against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to seke the Scots. According whereunto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speed) he should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the success of battell, for the Scots (saith they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second battell. With which speeches they perswaded themselves of an easie conquest. Whereupon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Marre (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie together to consult what should be done with the prisoners, whom they could not in iustice now kill (hauing receiued them upon ranzone) but it would seme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies, and almost an equal number to themselves) it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should weare that they would not stirre whilst the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were ouercome, and they (being now their prisoners) rescued from them, that yet they should still remaine prisoners unto them as before, and so returne to them at a certeine day. These things thus done, they left the prisoners in

Lindseie had a helme, and a wooden buckler which he caried at his backe. Major. lib. 6. cap. 14. The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

Jo. Ma. saith if they break promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's tail, and beaten about the borders of the countrey.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Major saith, that some say they tied their prisoners fast to ropes, lib. 6. cap. 14.

The manner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a huge about their necks, and in the battell encourage themselves to fight with that. Jo. Ma. li. 2. cap. 14. The picture of him is tied to a horse's tail, and beaten about the borders of the countrey.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

Parliament at Perth.

Robert earle of Marre, who was taken prisoner at the battell of Otterborne, was sent to the Scots, and was kept in prison.

in the campe, with a small garrd which should execute a present sentence upon them, if they did at any time seeme to attempt any thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories lately obtained) fiercely descended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right side with the dead bodies of the former confid: at what time it was also commended that euerie one (as he did approach the enimie) should blow the horn he carried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as loud as he could: which found being of it selfe terrible, was in the earcho (by reflection of the hills) so multiplied, that it forced the enimie to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entered into the battell (as faith John Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March incouraged his soldiers with these words.

Woe haue this night (most noble Scots) suffered the thirde heat and force of the battell, we haue overcome the youth and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause why we (after such honor obtained against those valiant princes) should now feare this little priest. If there remaine any thing but two strokes, because the leader will die at the third, and all the flocke will follow, since the shepheards stroke, the shepe will be dispersed: But if they shall so long contend with vs, that (as God most righte forbe) we chance to be overcome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glorie which we before haue honorably gained by this night's trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on such valiant hearts (as the preservation of honor requireth) we shall easily reach this status, that if we haue more honor to bring forth to his grace, than we haue committed to their all, that he had remained at home, with those to whom we had committed our negligent soldiers, that with our naked swords and bare hands, we should be able to overcome the English.

While being spoken, and the English now come to the place to fight with the Scottish, the Scots began the battell with the hornes, whereupon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnderstanding to the English multitude) remembering that they had been in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and fathers lately slain (a spectacle to discourage their ballistie and somewhat affrighted at the terrible noise of the Scots) standing against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (I say) considering these things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and left the Scots to remaine without any other pursuit against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindsay (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in prison) chanced to be seen and knowne by Robert (as he yielded prisoner) he was most courteously (after congratulation of amitie betwene them) suffered to depart to Scotland.

In the yeere following, a parliament was holden at Perth, at the which demonstration was made by King Robert, that forasmuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through feebleness occasioned to attend to his office in gouernement of the realme: It was necessarie that some gouernor should be chosen; wherefore he required that his second sonne Robert earle of Gloucester might enjoy that office, considering his eldest sonne John earle of Carrick (by reason of a tripe which he had received on the leg by an horse of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might therefore stay at home abroad. The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Gloucester was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common con-

sent of all the lords of the realme (before which time (as faith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.) Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Percie prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scottish writers, that this earle should make stout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with any power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Stewart the Scottish gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, he withdrew into places of safeguard, and suffered the most part of the countrey to be harried and burned. In deed our English writers affirme, that the said earle, having with him but five hundred men of armes, was not able to accomplish any notable exploit available against the great multitude of his enimies.

In the same yeere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would so agree) being comprised therein. Whereupon there came ambassadors from of England, to vnderstand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was answered, that he would with good will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded. Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Stewart earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Dunfermline, the lantern and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, upon displeasure conceived against the bishop of the same place. Whereat his father the king took such indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was brought to his presence, he commanded him to be committed vnto strict prison, wherein he remained till after his fathers deceasse. The realme being in this manner brought to good tranquillitie, King Robert falling into great infirmite and feebleness, by reason of extreme age, without any manner of other accidentall sickness, deceased at his castell of Dundock, the 19 day of April, in the yeere after our redemption 1390, being as then about 75 yeeres of age, and having reigned the space of 19 yeeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

This Robert the second, though by reason of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himselfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happy successe by the conduct of his capitaine which he sent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of such constancie in promise, that he seldom spake the word which he performed not. Such an obseruer he was also of iustice, that when soeuer he removed from any place, he would cause proclamation to be made, that if any of his men or officers had taken by any thing unpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due should come in, and immediatlie he should be satisfied. He willinglie heard the complaints of the poore, and was no lesse diligent to see their wrongs redressed.

After the decease of king Robert the second, his son John Stewart earle of Carrick was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the assumption of our ladie. And forasmuch as John was thought to be an unfortunate name for kings, they changed the same, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. *But whether the same was so altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good successe of the two former Roberts (Wise and Stewart) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuersall happinesse in what they attempted:

Fr. Thin.

The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland (now called Northumberland).

A truce taken English ambassadors sent into Scotland. The king of Scots agreed to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Dunfermline burnt.

The earle of Buchquhane imprisoned.

The deceasse of king Robert the second.

2390.

His happy successe in warres.

The constancie of King Robert in word and promise.

His bright iustice.

His diligence to redresse poore mens wrongs.

Robert.

John Stewart earle of Carrick admitted to the crowne.

1390. Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Lindsay had a halberd, and a kienman a sword with a buckler which he carried at his backe. lo. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 14. The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

lo. Ma. faith if they break promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's tail and drawn about the borders of the countrey.

The bishop of Durham goes towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindsay and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goes against the Scots.

John Maior writeth, that some say they tied their prisoners fast with ropes. li. c. c.

I will leane vncertaine, having no certeintie deli-
vered thereof unto me. This Robert the third rather
lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraor-
dinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in
name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one
upon whome the whole gouernement did depend.
The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daugh-
ter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his
bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the honor
of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow
to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the
beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene
England and Scotland, for the space of thre yeres,
which shortly after was proroged to the terme of
four yeres.)

About the same time William Dologlasse of
Piddisdale was chosen by the lords of Putzen, to
be admerall of a nauie, conteining two hundred and
fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed
to set forth against the miscreant people of the
northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clif-
ford an Englishman (who was there likewise to
serue with the foresaid lords in that iournie) to fight
with him in a singular combat: before the day
came appointed for them to make triall of the
battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dolo-
glasse, and upon the hydge of Danzke met with
him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and
fay of the whole iournie. Whereouer, shortly after the
coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came
that Duncane [whom some call Daiech Steward]
sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother a-
fore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great
number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thiriffe of
the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist
him from spoiling the people, whom he miserable af-
flicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not
long unpunished. For the earle of Crawford being
sent against him with an armie, caused him to dis-
perse his companie, and to flee his waies; but being
apprehended with the most part of his said com-
panie, they were punished according to their de-
merits.

The north
parts of Scot-
land were dis-
quieted by
two clans.

With Scots
called Rater-
ans.
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.

A desperate
fight.

At this time also the most part of the north coun-
trie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans
of those Irish Scots, called Raterans, which inha-
bit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankates
and the other Clankuhattans. These two being ab-
deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with
continual slaughter and reffe. At length it was ac-
corded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls
of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the
one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, a-
gainst thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe
swords to the utterance, without anie kind of armor
or harness, in triall and decision of the quarrell, for
the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both
these clans right iofull of this appointment, came to
Perth with their number, where, in a place called the
North inch, a little beside the towne, in presence of the
king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought
according as it was agreed, and that with such rage
and desperate furie, that all those of Clankates part
were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life,
after he saw all his fellowes slaine, leapt into the wa-
ter of Tate, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There
was 11 of Clankuhattans side that escaped with
life, but not one of them vntwounded and that verte
sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they
should fight the battell, one of the clans wan-
ted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld
haue supplied it, was priuile stolen awaie, not wil-
ling to be partaker of so deare a bargain. But there
was a countrie-felot among the beholders, who be-

ing soze that so notable a fight should be passed ouer,
offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill
vp the number, though the matter appertained no-
thing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man
(as saith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker,
who for halfe a French crowne, and his diet during
his life (if he were victor) took the matter in hand, in
which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than
he, on whose part the said. eleven did suruiue, him-
selfe making vp the number.] This battell was
fought thus betwene the two clans, in maner as
is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second
yere after, a parliament was holden at Perth, wher-
in, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinaunces en-
acted for the aduancement of the common-wealth,
the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that
was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of
Rothesay, and his brother Robert (that was earle of
Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue
heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the
first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for
till those daies there was neuer anie within the
realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin
title (saith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer god
successe to the maisters]. During the time that the
peace continued betwixt the two realmes of Eng-
land and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and
combats put in vze, and exercised betwixt Scots and
Englishmen, for proufe of their valiant activitie in
seats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But
amongst the rest, that was most notable, which
chanced betwixt Dauid earle of Crawford Scottish,
and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men, to
run certaine courses on horsebacke, with speares
sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed
for these iusts was London bridge, and the day the
thirte, and twentieth of April, being the feast of saint
George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came
redie to furnish their enterprize, and being mounted
on their mightie couriers, they ran togither right
euerlie. At the first course, though they affeinted,
yet kept they their saddles without anie payn of fal-
ling. The people beholding how stiffeleasle Da-
uid sat without moving, cried that the Scottishman
was locked in his saddle, he hearing this, leapt be-
side his harte, and being nimble mounted by a
gainie into the saddle, as he was, to the great
wonder of the beholders. This done, he took ano-
ther harte, & so togither they ran againe right fier-
lie the second time; and yet without anie great hurt
on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles
was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the
griuous fall.

And for because the earle of Crawford thus bay-
quithed his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he
founded a chanterie of seven priests to sing in our
ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of St. George,
which they did vnto our time, not without singular
commendation of the said earle. After this, he re-
mained thre moneths in England, in sporting and
feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into
Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his no-
ble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst
them. Not long after, one sir Robert Douglas an
Englishman, came into Scotland, to trie his man-
hood in singular battell, with whome speuer would
come against him: he banquithed one Archibald
Edmounston, and Hugh Wallace: but at length he
was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Berwickhe,
and died shortly after upon displeasure thereof
conceiued.

In the same yere, Richard king of England,
married

Fr. Thin.

1396.

1398.

The first
dukes that
were created
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

1400.

The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Wel-
les of England
fought for life
and death.

The lord
Welles borne
out of his
saddle.

Fr. Thin.

Pointe of the
earle of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Douglas.

Richard
king of England
married into
Ireland.

Richard
king of England
married into
Ireland.

Richard
king of England
married into
Ireland.

Richard
king of England
married into
Ireland.

Richard
king of England
married into
Ireland.

The earle of
Murray
married into
England.

The earle of
Murray
married into
England.

Pointe of the
earle of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Douglas.

married Isabel daughter to the French king, and some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lordes at home rebelled against him, and determined to depose him from the crowne, so that vpon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after constrained to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came into Galloway, where he fell in seruice with a Scottish man named Pakdonald. But at the last, being betrayed and knownen what he was, and thereupon brought to king Robert, he was right honorable by him interteined: neuertheless, knowing himselfe deposed from his roiall estate, he gaue himselfe wholly to contemplation, till finally he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the same towne, as the same Scottish chronicles vnturly do report. But to the matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, sometime duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard was deposed, was crowned king of England at Westminster, the thirtenth day of October, in the yere 1399.

In the yere next ensuing, that is to say, 1400, king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted covenants of marriage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March should be preferred before him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a counsell to be called, in the which he found meanes to assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie (as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie, & with all speed went about to consummate the marriage betwixt them, so put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleasure, if he minded to performe the covenants concluded, concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was already done to the breach thereof; and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth per it were long. Shortly after he fled into England, leauing his castell of Dunbar well stocked of all things necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters sonne named Robert Spaitland. But when Archembald Dowglas came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the castell rendered into his hands, this Robert Spaitland obeyed the kings commandement, and deliuered the house to the said Dowglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procured all his friends to conuene themselves into England, and determined with himselfe to do all the displeasure and mischief he might inuent against his owne native countrie. King Robert fore seeing, least by this earles procurement some trouble might hap to follow amongst his subiects [did first confis- cating his goods] send an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offenses committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniuries which he had anie waies forth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the earle of March refused this offer, the same herald according to instructions giuen him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatly to Henrie king of England with other letters, earnestly desir-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be violated, which as yet remained betwixt the two kingdoms.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake betwixt them and their subiects, without anie further trading of time. For shortly after, Henrie Percie, surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got together a great botie of goods and cattell [in Northian about Hadington, at what time they did in vaine besiege the castell of Pais or Hais, who being at Lintone were come vpon by the Scots, for to haue returne of the booties taken] Archembald earle of Dowglas] hauing assembled a power of men, came with the same towards the enemies, immediatly whereupon they fled to Berwikke, and left all their botie behind them, which being recovered by the said earle of Dowglas and his companie, he returned backe vnto Edinburgh, where he shortly after being taken with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for his high promise and noble valancie shewed in manie and sundrie enterprizes, by him luckilie achieved for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull loke, The grim Dowglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was ealled likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dowglas, for his eldest sonne William Dowglas died in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without doing anie great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept anie castles or strengths, but onelie to put forth a banner of his armes as he passed by. At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the nurrie there, & shewed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of thing to be done preiudiciall to the same. The like gentlenesse he shewed towards them of the Holie rood house, at his comming to Edinburgh, wherein he likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Iacke Straw and his complices, he shewed such fauour towards them at this present. To be brieue, it should appere, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were enforced, more thorough counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in returning backe againe, without doing them anie further iniurie.

[In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter Trailie bishop of saint Andrewes, and the] Scottish quene Annabell Drommond, after whose deceasse hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir government had bene well and vertuously brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defile widues, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his sonnes youthfull nature to rage after that manner in vnbridled lust, beyond the bounds of all measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his custody, and to see him so chastised for his wanton behaviour, as he might learne to amend the same. Here is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long

sent letters also vnto the king of England.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March enter into Scotland. Fr. Thyn.

The deceasse of Archembald earle of Dowglas.

Henrie king of England inuadeth Scotland.

Fr. Thyn. The death of quene Annabell.

The insolent outrage of the duke of Rothsaie.

humaniter and support at this time.

While traitt it is not unknown to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne David is slaine miserablie in prison be our brother the Duke of Albanie, quhome we chest to be governour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our suddittes and realme, besekand thy hienes thairfore to be so favorable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to lise vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knawand the vnstable condition of mans life so sodanlie altered: now flourishand, and suddenly falling to vtter consumption. For thir beliese well, quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair awin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the mind of common people, at euer flourishand and mair inconstant than wind. Zit quen princes ar roborat be amitie of othir vnknown kings thair brethir and nighbouris, na aduersitie may occurre to elect thaim fra thair dignitie fall. For thir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbid) to obtemper to thir owne desires. Zit we request ane thing quhilk was ratifit in our last trewes and condition of peace, that the supplication made be ony of the two kings of England and Scotland fall stand in manner of fauseconduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gracious God conserue thee maist noble prince.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to state this James prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreover, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than ante othir foolishlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructors to teach him, as well the vnderstanding of tonges as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be used of such a personage, whereunto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of activitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be briefe, it appeared in all his behauiour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had bene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, sore lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in marriage with a woman of so meane degree (to the disparagement of his blood) as was queene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why as well foraine princes as his owne subiects had him thus in con-

tempt. He toke this matter so sore to hart, that with in three daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, not increased by melancholie, which had bereed him a long time before. He died at Rothsay in the sixteenth yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Basle, with his wife queene Annabell before rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie liberall and gentle, so that if he had not bene maimed with a horse, and thereby grew lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder ante of his predecessors.

The gouernour Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by new election chosen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernour, which he exercised more vprightlie, & with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. For (as saith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other good parts working to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he was the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not sucke the commons drye by exactions. In the meane time, the castell of Jedworth (which the Englishmen had held euer since the battell of Durham) was taken by Liuidalemen, and rased downe to the earth. Archibald earle of Douglas, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agree for his rancome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a councell called, where in was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and blood. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scottishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Arnerdale, and Lochmaben, which should for euer remaine to the Douglasse, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should intoy as in his former right & estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offences committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends. * Perie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteously receiued, intertained, & nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he solicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Rokhrie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scottish & English (through whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patri monie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was thirrie of Forckshire. This man, after he had intised Perie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but saith (as I suppose

James the prince of Scotland staid as prisoner in England. His bringing vp.

In happy captiuitie. His instructors in the tonges.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father king Robert.

The death of king Robert the third.

1408. Buchanan.

His stature and qualitie.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernour of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Donald subduged.

Fr. Thin. Lellus lib. 7. cap. 168.

Betweene the castell taken.

The earle of Douglas released and returneth into Scotland.

The earlhome of Rafe trans-

ferred from the line of water Roke to the Strathwicks.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of March returned home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

1409.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of March.

The battell of Harlow.

Donbhall house.

The number same.

say did him too ear dec owo his in an fir eff dit

Rebellion mo- and by Do- nald of the Jps.

Donald sub- duged.

Fr. Thin. Lellus lib. 7. cap. 168.

The earlhome of Rafe trans-

ferred from the line of water Roke to the Strathwicks.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of March returned home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

1409.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of March.

The battell of Harlow.

Donbhall house.

The number same.

The death of
king Robert
the third.

1406, Buch.
1408.
His buriall.

His stature
and qualities.

The duke of
Albanie con-
firmed govern-
or of the
realme.

Fr.Thin.

Jedworth cas-
tell taken.

The earle of
Dowglas
released and
returneth in-
to Scotland.

A motion
made for the
restoring of
the earle of
March to his
countrie.

The earle of
March rest-
red home.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan,
1409.

Rebellion mo-
ved by Do-
nald of the
Fles.

Donald sub-
dued Ross.
Fr.Thin.
Calus lib.7.
cap.68.

The earldome
of Ross trans-
ferr'd from
the line of
Robert Ross
to the Stu-
arts.

The earle of
Mar.

The battell of
Barrow.

Doniball
battell.

The number
of men.

suppose, saith Buchanan; for when the elder Perrie did offer and importunatie require to talke with him, he could neuer be perswaded by anie mens words to come, or enter speeche to, or with the said earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) least his deceit would be understood by him, which knew his stowe and true king verie well. This counterfeit king yet boasting him to be of the princelie blood, was honozed accordingly; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himselfe to be far from all be-
10 fire of gouernement, to the end he might worke his effect the more safelie) he died and was buried in the church of the frier Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.)

About the same time, there rose great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Fles, who claiming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Ross, was defeated of the same, by the practise of the gouernor, hauing by subtil conuel-
20 ance, assured the said earldome vnto his second son the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foresaid Donald, by way of supplication, besought the gouernor to doe him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were froward speeche, wherewith he took such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Fles he came into Ross, and subdued the same at his pleasure. * The which to make the matter more
30 plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lesleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honoz of his owne house) I will set the same downe in this maner. Walter Lesle a noble man, after singular proweesse shewed by him (in externall battell) under the Ro-
mans, returned with honoz into Scotland, where he married the daughter of William earle of Ross, (saine at the battell of Haldon) and with hir ob-
tained the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of
40 Ross; and one daughter giuen in mariage to Donald of the Fles. This Alexander joined himselfe in mariage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire christened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender
50 maid and vnpactised in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Ross vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortly after died. Wherevpon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lesle (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the
60 erldome of Ross by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Ross, and brought it to his sub-
jection. But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Murray, Boghtuall, and other boundes thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purposing to burne Aberdeen.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Barrow, & in-
continentlie not staid for more aid that was com-
70 ming towards him, set on the enemies more rash-
lie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discret-
lie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed ar-
rate of battell, as had bene requisit. By reason
whereof, great slaughter was made on either part,
the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both
parts were faine to withdraue out of the field, and
flee to the next mounteins, as glad to be feared the
one from the other. There was saine on Donalds
part nine hundred men, with Maklane, and Ma-
kinthos. On the earle of Marres side, there died A-
lexander Ogilvie thirrist of Angus, with seuen
knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with
commons, to the number of six hundred. This bat-

tell was striken on saint James euen, in the yeare
1411. Donald of the Fles, after this bickering
wholie granted the victorie to his enemies, in fleeing
all the night long after the battell towards Ross,
and from thence with like speed he passed ouer into
the Fles.

In the yeere next following, the gouernor pre-
pared to make a iourne into the Fles, to chastise the
foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further da-
mage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to
procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come.
Not long after the battell of Barlow, Patrike
Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with
one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one mo-
ning somewhat before the breake of the day to Fast
castell, and wan the same, taking the captaine pris-
ner, whose name was Thomas Haldon. At the same
time was the bridge of Korburch broken downe,
and the towne burnt by William Dowglas of
Dumlanerik, Galwan Dunbar another of the erle
of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same
yeere (or rather in the yeere before) the vniuersitie of
saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards
was furnished with diuerse notable learned men
brought in and placed there by James the first, to
the end that by their instructions his people might
increase in learning, to the further advancement of
vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill cu-
stomes. Amongest sundrie other expert men in all
sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were
18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

* From this time by the space of ten yeeres
(saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing done
worthie of memorie, betwene the Scots and the
English, either because the truce occasioned it (which
yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for
that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being
dead, and his sonne Henrie the fift reigning in his
place, and being all the time of his gouernement
busied in the warres of France, the English ceased
to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the goner-
nor of the Scots durst not moue anie thing against
the English, fearing least the k. of England would
then retorne home the right and true heire of Scot-
land, who (he was most assured should find fauour a-
gainst him) in the hearts of his owne people, that
would tenderlie pittie the misfortune of his im-
prisonment, and seeke to establissh him in the kingdome.
Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that
meane time, they were but some few and small ex-
cursions within the realme, which more aptlie might
be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars.
For as Penmure in England was burned by Ar-
chibald Dowglas, so to (answer the same) Dun-
freis in Scotland was in the like order destroyed by
the English. Besides which there was a certeine ex-
change of prisoners of the one nation with the other:
for Morbac the sonne of the gouernor (taken at Ha-
ldon) was returned into Scotland, and Perrie (who
was brought out of England by his grandfather in-
to Scotland, and left under the protection of the go-
uernor) was deliuered to the English, and after by
the new king of England was restored to the title
& lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland,
& This man (though by the lawes of armes he was
no captiue) yet the vnjust detaining of James the
sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the
English, that they could not complaine of anie ini-
rie done in detaining him. The doing whereof so little
offended this Perrie, that while he liued, he did (with
all kind of courtesie) giue witness of the humanitie
shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different
from this time, came two ambassadors into Scot-
land, the one from the counsell of Constance (wherof
13 b. liij. the

1411.
Donald of the
Fles saith.

1412.
Donald of the
Fles submit-
teth himselfe.

Fast castell
wonne.
1410. Buc.
The bridge of
Korburch
broken downe

1411
The first be-
ginning of the
vniuersitie of
S. Andrews.

Doctors of di-
uinitie, and of
the canon law.
Fr.Thin.

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did stillie reteine and defend the papacie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and persuation of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had d'awne the gouernoz of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffelie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Hartine the first to the papacie.

The earle of Strathernne Name.

warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the welshmen the subdueth them.

The castell of warke swaine.

It is againe recovered.

1419.

The decesse of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors from the French king.

In thine Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

Such what about the same time, John Drummond due Patrike Graham earle of Strathernne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sailed, was d'riuen on the coast of Scotland, where he was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie decessed. ¶ We find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning south of France, after his first iourne thither (hauing in the same towne the towne of Harfleur, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and encountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilist things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wane the castell of Marke, and due all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to avoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes; by reason whereof they easilie recovered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wane it, they likewise due all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had bene gouernoz of Scotland for the space of fiftene yeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yere 1420, being the fiftieth yere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his decesse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandosme, and chancelloz of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then fore invaded his realme. Whereupon shortly after by decre of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Stewart earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archembald Motoglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to invade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumoz being spread ouer all the bounds of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgonie, vnder certeine conditions and covenants of agrement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agrement, it was concluded, that after the decesse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindseie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioicing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

¶ Shortly after they were imploied in the battell of Baugé. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was coming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugé, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie take vnto their estate than wisdom would they shuld haue done. The which when Clarence vnderstood (either by Andreu Fregose an Italian, or by the Scottish foragers intercepted by his ho'stlemen) he reioiced that he had so good occasion offered worthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his ho'stlemen to arme themselves, with whom he went directly towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richly adorne with goodlie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were nere vnto them in a village called little Baugé (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defence in flight; and for safegard entered the steeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilist these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilist the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe ouer, where (encountering with the English enimie) Hugh Kennedy came vnto them out of the next church (in which he lodged) with a hundred of his companie ha'st armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits: where

The king of England marries the daughter of the French king. The articles of agrement.

The Dolphin of France mainteines warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arriving in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N.G.

The battell of Baugé.

Rector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Buchan. lib. 10.

The earle of Buchquhane recovered the castle of France. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

with their arrowes so streitlie kept this streit, that the horsemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake his horse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilst Clarence taketh his horse againe, and some of the rest scatteringlie do passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane cometh upon them, & forthwith (desirous to make trial of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioice, that they had now obtained cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arrivall in France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse those ratons which the Frenchmen laid upon them, obiecting that the greedinesse of wine & bittels had brought them over into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to upbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honor, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdainning both at home and abroad, to be so infested with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the richnesse of his armor) came John Swinton, which greivoulie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite overthrow to the ground. Which done, the English fled, and were greivoulie slaine, because the same continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eve, a little after the equinoxiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Kildesdale, otherwise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meane sort. All which, as we have here set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Plucart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Spacell, a knight of Lenox, which toke from him the coronet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John Stewart of Wernill; for a thousand angels, which he after laied to payne to Robert Huskone, to whom he bought five thousand angels; & this saith that booke was the most common report at those daies. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, even by the testimonie of the envious adversaries, as the writer of this storie saith upon his credit. At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongst whome (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntingdon, & the earle of Sumnerlet, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king James the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiance of the Scottishmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gave him sundrie townes, castles, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his estate.

King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deputie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortly after come thither himselfe with an armie of foure thousand horse, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordingly) for both all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottish king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye have heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James over with him at that present into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottishmen that were in service with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter unto the said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his ransom, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James answered hereto, that he marvelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie over the Scots so long as he was holden in captivitie, and as yet had not received the crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had received the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wise performe.

King Henrie marveling at the high wisdom which appeared to be planted in the head of that young prince, left off to travell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were beseged, wonne, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion served. But the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer needed to freine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practice against their enemies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Speldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a greivous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physicke or other waies might be ministred unto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the first of that name, deceased; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the seventh, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, upon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and shortly after was an armie levied, and siege laied both to Rocksburch, and to Berwik, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this journey in derision was called *The dartie rode*, or (as the Scots terme it) *The dirtie rade*.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall understand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albany, his sonne Moris Stewart earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yeeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre distant thereto, differing much from the wisdom and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable, and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so list he in careless insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland over with him into France.

The answer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie toke it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England,

1422. The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburch and Berwik besieged.

The dirtie rade.

Moris Stewart earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland. The repugnant vices reigning in Moris Stewart.

The king of England marieth the daughter of French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arriveth in France.

Chatelein Couronne delivered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N. G.

The battell of Baugy.

John Boet.

John Lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

John Lib. 10.

Articles of agreement betwixt the king of France and the king of Scotland.

whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offenders through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuerer & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

Thus was he still in extremitie, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his doings. Whereunto was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, played manie outrageous parts, to the soze offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking him beside his fist, wounding his necke from his bodie & then presentlie before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindeled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home per it be long, that shall chastise both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redeeming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in deede, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hay of all the Scottish nation. For calling together a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willingly agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothsomnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdeen, Archembald Dowglas (the third earle of that name, and fist of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, duke of Touraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Cornall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarraine a Dum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seventh, being soze vexed with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scottishmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to perswade Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fife thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, tooke the seas, and arrived with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and comming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassador, Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisdom, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancelorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seventh, then king of France, and to assertheine him, that not onlie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Whereupon the earle of Dowglas was by the king for his further advancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was some diminished (as saith Lesleus)

by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Verneuil. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindseie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Stewart, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appere.

And here a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan girdeth at the English (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter satiries) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leane in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeeres (as it appereth) before he toke the later penne in hand (after the ouerleuing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liars, vntrudeled, malicious, backbiters, enill tongued; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disproue men, but with such bitter satiries, when they but onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in ouerlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs claquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inuere against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantlie (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Ross (secretlie misliking Boetius) haue in silence passed over a great manie imperfections in the storie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whom himselfe condemneth, & of whom he saith that *In descriptione Scotie quadam spiritum vere prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*; and whom for manie faults (by Boetius escaped), he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the hart the tongue and hand do speake and write, I can not see but that by his dissemperat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a Romachyng inuestiue. And yet such as it is, they must of necessity follow that intreat of the historie of his nation, as he will exclaim against them (as he doth in this place

This negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

The sword of duke Edward to his son.

Duke Edward trauelled for the redeeming of James the first.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 10.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 272.

The earle of Buchquhane, returned into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglas made duke of Touraine.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.
1424 N.C.

A digression against Buchanan.

Conte
Hind.

Robert
Blacke
time of
of the
France

Robert
Blacke
Le petit
Calcoyn
Fr. Thin.

Deus lib. 7.
3.270.
24.N.C.

digression
ainst Bu-
anan.

place of the battell of Veruiole) that they maliciously obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to talunt and disgrace vs by his choicelike pen, he will seeke a knot in a rush, and make a mountaine of a molehill, in so beherment inuairing against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honoz as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much aboze out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (may greater) faults against vs: as tralie, and that I suppose will be well proued at an other time, in an other treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I praye the gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not seeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so lone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Veruiole) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter wordes to talunt Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These tralie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince while he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbitet*, and will be no seuerer censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other worke) (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chaunced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chiefeins. For the duke of Alanson enuiling that the Scots should daillie rise in honoz within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were overthowen and brought to vtter destruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish legber, the one vnbairning to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloodshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came daillie newes of diuerse great overthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie captiues repaired into France: as amongst other, one Robert Parillocke of Dundee with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seventh aforesaid, shewing such proefe of his singular manhood and valiancie in those wars, as in recouerte of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable stead. Whiche his diligence and proesse well appeared, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne into the French subietion, which had remainted a great number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

* But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We

say, that the French reioicing of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not seme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Parillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to vse in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Parillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish hostemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trap of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Stewart (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennox) who was honozed by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Stewart, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the worthy young gentleman (the sonne of the said John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadoz sent (as before is shewed) into England for King James, behaued themselves so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that king James should be set at libertie, and also pay for his ransome the sum of 100000 markes sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Sumnermerfet. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quene their niece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king James and to the quene his wife, besides a capbord of masie plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & value.

King James then departed on this wife from his wiues brethren, and other such his deere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixtene or eightene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edinburgh on Care sundefate, otherwise called Passlon sundefate in Lent, where he was receiued with all honoz, loy, and triumph that might be deuised. At what time as the nobles came to giue him their deuotfull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernours) had bene molested with diuers kindes of iniuries; wherevpon, vnto the son of Spordar, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Boyd being grauntee accused, were (to pacifie the reclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parlement, which was appointed the first kalends of June following: where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appere, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

The ransome
of King James.

Jane daughter
to the earle
of Sumner-
merfet married
to King James
the first.

Gifts giuen
to King James
by his wiues
friends.

King James
commeth to
Edinburgh.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

Robert Parillocke cap-
taine of a power
of Scottish
men sent into
France.

Robert Parillocke
called
le petit roy de
Gascoigne.

James.

He is crowned at Scone together with his wife.

1423, Buch.
1424, Leil.*Andrew Graie.*

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King James keepeth an audit.

A parliament at Edinburgh.

A tax levied.

The commons grudge at payments.

Bills of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Morzdo.

Walter Stewart put in prison.

The oath of James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as sone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quene, by duke Morzdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of Aprill, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining ever after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuinges in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and god furtherance, got in marriage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis into the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuessed with great lands and dignities, both in Gouerie and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Morzdo, namely the chancellor, the treasurer, the clerks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receivers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining into the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, unto their friends and fauours, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed over his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduiseable perused all endences, rolls, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and shortly thereupon called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a general tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cot, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was levied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & toke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, untill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put by in this parlement, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions used and done by the sons of duke Morzdo, and other great peres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Stewart, one of the sons of the said duke Morzdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a roche within the sea called the Balles, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernall, and Thomas Woid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiven of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parlement also, James take a solemne oath, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oath by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parlement was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morzdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Douglas, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of Mar, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castles and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morzdo was sent to Carlarocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, James Stewart the third sonne of duke Morzdo moued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbarton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Stewart of Dondonalb, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne; but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercely, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, his two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthur the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third aduanced to great honors. In the next yeare ensuing, James called a parlement at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Stewart with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morzdo himselfe, and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox were committed of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant saie (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & child, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it fustke happened) by dissemperance of griefe discover the secrets of his mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grievous and unlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them; the king hath done but right and iustice unto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morzdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Perth, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were soe afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had bene executed on duke Morzdo and his sonnes; notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings favor, on promise of shew loiall demeanour & dutifull obedience ever after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

The parlement being ended, John Mounthemerie, & Humphrie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Bouchlentine, which was kept against him by the vintager James Stewart, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Stewart of Bernlie (who was master of the Scottish garrison of hostemen in France, the rest of the former captains being continued) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassado; in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament holden at Perth. Duke Morzdo with his sonne Alexander, and diuerse other peres of the realme arrested.

1426.

1428.

1429.

The towne of Dunbarton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 10.

A parliament holden at Sterling.

1426.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Morzdo beheaded.

Duke Morzdo and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox beheaded.

Fr. Thin.

1427.

Alexander the third of the Isles arrested.

He is set at libertie.

He rebellet.

The towne of Inverness burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 10.

Alexander the third cometh to the king and all his pardon.

nt
al-
o,
m,
of
in-
of
nd,
und
ike
the

ie,
ard
eat
i in
e of
cha
her
but
at
vas
de-
one
offy
nes
Be-
hal-
with
ing
d to
nes
: fit-
e of
Sterling.
Her-
were
be-
and
feted
ll in
ally
lace,
id, &
ane,
(as
dis-
Jan-
les)
ids,
id as
d fu-
mie
pen-
the
then
foke
had
not
vere
tion,
de-
trall

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

A parliament
holden at
Sterling.
1426.
Walter and
Alexander the
sonnes of
duke Moray
beheaded.
Duke Moray
and Duncan
Stewart
earle of Len-
nox beheaded.
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

1426.

1428.

1427.

1428.

1429.

1430.

1431.

1432.

new the old league betwene the two nations, and
to conclude matrimonie betwene Letwes the sonne
of the said Charles the seventh, and Margaret the
daughter of R. James, both being yet verie young.
Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being
the 1426 he determined (having pacified all Scot-
land betwene the mounteins of Granzeben) to sub-
due the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to
begin the same, he commanded the castell of In-
verness (set in a convenient place in the furthest
borders of Murray) to be repaired. Whither when
he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement up-
on misdeemeanors of the inhabitants, and to sup-
presse their robberies, he called before him the chiefe
of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such
as being accompanied with great traines, were
wont to fetch prizes from their next borders, did set
tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the com-
mon people to minister sustentance to those idle loi-
terers; of which captives; some had a thousand, some
two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their
call to obeie their comandement: with which they
ceased not to keepe the good in danger unto them for
feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongest whome
they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to
commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons
when the king had gotten in, and daven to come
before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by
threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders
to severall prisons: whose euill being throughlie
known, he hanged two notable fellows amongst
them, called Alexander Macroz and John Macarc-
ture; at what time also he beheded James Campbell
(for the murder of John of the Isles) a man devalie
beloued of his people. The rest which remained
(being of the common sort) they likewise disper-
sed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after
executed, and some were permitted frelie to de-
part to their owne. The captives of the factions
thus slaine (or for the most part restrained in prison)
the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being
desstitute of leaders. Whereupon the king calling
them before him, did giue them a long admonition
to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or
certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the in-
nocencie of life, the which if they would determine
to do, they should alwaies find him readie to hono-
r and reward them; if not, they might learne by the
examplis of others what they should hope to receiue
themselves.)

In the yeare next following, which was after the
incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Isles was
arrested by the king at Inverness, for that he was ac-
cused to be a succozor & maintainer of theues & rob-
bers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised
in time comming to reforme his former misdeemea-
nors, he was pardoned and set at libertie; wherof in-
sued great trouble immediatlie after. For thortlie
by his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked
scapethifts, and with the same comming into In-
verness, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, in-
forcing with all diligence to win the same, till he
was aduertised that the king was comming to-
wards him with a great power, whereupon he fled
incontinentlie to the Isles. Finallie having know-
ledge that a great number of people lay daile in
wait to take him, that they might present him to
the kings hands, he came disguised in poxe arait to
the holie rood house, and there finding the king on
Caster daie deuoutlie in the church at his praiers,
he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought
him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from
death unto life.

At request of the queene, the king pardoned him

of life; but he appointed William Dowglas earle
of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that with-
in the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should
rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Cufmie
daughter to Walter sometime earle of Rosse, was
also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; be-
cause it was knowne that she solicited hir sonne to
rebell (in maner as is afore said) against the king.
Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said
lord Alexander of the Isles, came with a great power
of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and
Cathnes came with such number of their people as
they could raise, to defend the countrie against the
invasion of those Islandmen, and fought with the said
Donald at Innerlochtie, where the erle of Cathnes
was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Here-
with did Donald returne with victorie, and a great
preie of goods and riches into the Isles. The king fore-
moued with the newes hereof, came with a great
armie unto Dunstaffage, purposing with all speed to
passe into the Isles. The clans and other chiefe men
of the said Isles aduertised hereof, came to Dunsta-
fage, and submitted themselves unto the king, crui-
sing their offense, for that (as they alledged) the said
Donald had constrained them against their willes,
to passe with him in the last iourne. All those
clans upon this their excuse, were admitted to the
kings fauour, and sworne to pursue the said Do-
nald unto death.

Shortlie hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland,
where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Mdo
a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lur-
ked) as a present to the king that laie as then at
Sterling. There were also thre hundred of his ad-
herents taken, and by the kings comandement
hanged for their offenses within thre weekes space,
after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble be-
ing thus quieted, king James passed through all the
bounds of his realme, to punish all offenders and
misdeued persons, which in anie wise wronged and
oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon
granted afore by the gouernoz, alledging the same
to be eriped by his death. For he thought indeed it
stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of
the realme, that so manie slaughters, reiffes, and op-
pressions, as had bene done afore in the countrie,
should remaine unpunished through fault of iustice.
It is said that within the first two yeeres of his
reigne, there were thre thousand persons executed
by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

And though such extreme iustice might haue bene
thought sufficient to giue example to other to re-
forme their naughtie blages, yet one Angus Duffe
of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a
companie of theues and robbers, and toke a great
preie of goods out of the countrie of Murray and
Cathnes: for recouerie wherof, one Angus Murray
followed with a great power, and overtaking the
said Angus Duffe nere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie
assailed him. Who with like manhod made stout re-
sistance by reason wherof there insued such a cruell
fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the
end but euell twelve persons aliue, & those so wound-
ed, that they were scarce able to returne home to
their houses, and lived but a few daies after. About
the same time, there was also another notable thefe
named Makdonald Koffe, which grew with spoiles
and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor
thod a woman with holie shoes, because the said the
would go to the king, and reueale his wicked do-
ings. As sone as the was whole, and recovered of
hir wounds, she went unto the king, and declared the
cruelties done unto hir by that vngenerous person
Makdonald. *The king (who before had heard the

Donald Bal-
loch inuadeth
Lochquhaber.

The earle of
Cathnes slaine
Donald Bal-
loch returne
with victorie
into the Isles.

The clans of
the Isles sub-
mit themselves
to the king.

Donald fled
into Ireland.
His head is
sent as a pre-
sent to the
king.
Three hun-
dred of Do-
nalds compli-
ces hanged.

Pardons
granted by
the gouernoz
are void.

That thou-
sand offenders
put to death
within two
yeeres space.

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald
Koffe a notable
robber.

He thod a
widow.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Lellius.

1430.

The quene
deliuered of
two sonnes
at one birth.Fiftie
knights
dubbed.Archembald
earle of Dow-
glas arrested
and put in
prison.

Fr.Thin.

King James
delirious to
purge his
realme of vn-
ruly persons.Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 10.An ordinance
for measures.Castles re-
paired and
manned.

same of others, and had gotten **Spakdonald** in pri-
son, determining to see due punishment for that wic-
ked fact) comforted the sillie woman, promising hir
hoztile to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Whereupon
Spakdonald being brought out of prison with
twelue of his companions, the king commanded
that they (by the talion law of **Moses** that yeldeth
an eie for an eie, and a toth for a toth, and by the ex-
ample of **Phalaris**, who burnt him first in the bull
that was the autho^r thereof for others) should like-
wise be shod with iron hoztelshoes, in that sort as
they before had serued the woman, and then to be
caried thre daies together about the citie for a spec-
tacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraor-
dinarie wickednesse; in king proclamation that e-
uerie one might see this new kind of punishment.
After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would
not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the
same) he chopped off **Spakdonalds** head, & caused his
twelue fellows and partakers to be hanged in the
high waies.)

In the thirde yeere after, which was from the in-
carnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October,
Jane the quene of Scots was deliuered of two
sonnes at one birth, **Alexander** and **James**. The first
deceased in his infancie. The other succeeded after
his fathers deceasse in the kingdome, & was named
James the second. At the baptisme of these two in-
fants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the
which, and first of all other, was **William** the sonne
of **Archembald** **Douglas**, that succeeded his father
in the earldome of **Douglas**. His father the said
Archembald **Douglas**, somewhat before this time,
or (as other autho^rs say) in the yeere next insuing,
was arrested by the kings commandement, and put
in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by
supplication of the quene, and other p^{er}es of the
realme, the king pardoned him (with **John** **Kenne-**
die) of all offenses, and set both them **And** **Alexan-**
der earle of **Rosse** at libertie. King **James** in this
sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of **Scot-**
land in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the
same of all offenders, and such as liued by reiffe and
robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell
without dread of anie euill disposed persons to mole-
st them.

Having thus with diligence suppressed the rob-
beries (practised through all parts of his realme) he
forgot not to looke into small offenses which were se-
cretlie done, and of lesse danger; determining to
take awaie all euill customes which had continued
in the realme. For custome, being an other nature
both bring to passe, that a common erro^r (by manie
ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore
(because the inferio^r iudges would the better admi-
nister iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie
that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth
speciall persons of the better sort (commended for
their wisdom, grauntie, and holinesse of life) and
made them iustices, whome he sent ouer all the
realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and de-
termine all quarels and sutes (if anie were brought
vnto them) wherof the ordinarie iudges either (for
feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or
(for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect
iudgement.)

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of god-
townes, to see that iust measures were used by all
manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occu-
pied, but such as were signed with the note & marke
of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreover, he repa-
red and fortified the castles and fortresses of his
realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and
munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the uni-
uersitie of **Saint Andrews**, to the high aduancement
thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at
their disputations, taking great pleasure therein.
Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were
presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to
great benefices and other ecclesiasticall livings, till
as the same chanced to be vacant. [Wanting for that
cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none
should intoe the come of a canon in anie cathedrall
church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at
least of the canon law.] By which means all maner
of vertue and good learning increased daile through
the realme during his time, and namelie musike
was had in great price, which he appointed to be used
in churches with organs, the which before his time
were not much knowne amongst the **Scotishmen**.

Much what about the same time, there was a par-
lement holden at **Berth**, in the which **Henric** **War-**
law bishop of **S. Andrews**, in name of all the thre
estates there assembled, made a long and right pithe
oration to this effect; that Where by the high policie
and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there
present iustice, and all due administration of lawes
and good ordinances were so reuined, that nothing
seemed to be ouerpasse, that might aduance to the
profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet
was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increa-
sing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in
time, all those commoditties brought into the realme
by his comming, should be of small auail, and that
was, such superfluous riot in banketting chere, and
numbers of coslie dishes, as were then taken by
and used after the English fashion, both to the great
hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofi-
table waisting of their goods and substance. If the
laudable temperance used amongst the **Scotish**
men in old time were well considered, nothing
might appeare more contrarie and repugnant there-
to, than that new kind of gluttonie then used, by re-
ceiuing more exccesse of meates and drinks than suffi-
ceth to the nourishment of nature, through pronoca-
tion of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned
sauces, and deuised potions, as were now brought
in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king
had brought with him forth of **England**, they were
worthy in deed to be cherished and had in high fa-
uor; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie impu-
ted vnto them, considering it was appropriate to
their nation. But the **Scotishmen** themselves were
chiefly to be blamed, that had so quicklie yelved to
so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof
appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the
same, as exccesse, sensuall lust, sloth, reiffe, and wa-
sting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher
of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say,
intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of
all vice. If it might therefore please the kings high-
nesse, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prou-
dence in repressing this abuse of coslie fare, so much
damnable to his people, he should do the thing that
was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable
and necessarie for the publike weale of all his sub-
iects.

By these and manie other the like persuasions,
bishop **Warlaw** used to dissuade the king and his
people from all superfluous courses of delicate di-
shes and sursetting banketts. Insomuch that cuen
then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and
more spare diet should be used through the realme,
licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiual
daies, to be serued with pies, the use of them not be-
ing knowne in **Scotland** till that season. After the
lesse, such intemperance is risen in proceesse of time
following.

The gradic
appetite of
vicious men
not satisfied.Priuileges
granted to the
vniuersitie of
S. AndrewsFr. Thin.
Lellius li. 10.
pag. 474.A terrible
scape.Organs
brought into
Scotland.Kerburgh
designed.A parliament
at Berth.A huge
armie.Bishop used
law iustitice
against super-
fluous fare.Men of pe-
culiar brou-
t into **Scot-**
land: t
Scotisme
exercise.Politicke
eat of all
mischiefe.Henric
Warlaw.

John For

Fr. Thin.
Lellius li.
pag. 475.The abbi-
Charter-
man's b
kisses &
by M. JanThe top
scape
belladon
ScotianThe offe
the Eng
men to
the & co
time for
them inOrder taken
for suppressing
of coslie fare.
Use of bank-
meates in
Scotland
when it began

he bnt
ement
ent at
herein
d were
red to
ge, still
for that
it none
hed: all
ie, or at
maner
hrough
mufike
is blef
is time
men.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 7.
pag. 174.

Digans
brought into
Scotland.

A parliament
at Perth.

Withop ward
law inueterly
againft fup
uous fare.

the
th; yet
increa
had in
realme
and that
ere, and
aken by
be great
bnpofit.

If the
Scottifh
nothing
nt there
d, by re
an fuffi
promoca
fationed
brought
the king
ey were
high fa
ie impu
iate to
ies were
eldest to
whereof

d of the
and wa
ourifher
s to fay
uoker of
gs high
d prout
fo much
ing that
reffitable
his fub

uations,
and his
licate ob
at cuen
thes and
realme,
feffuall
not be
uerthe
of time
flowing.

Order taken
for fuppreffing
of collie fare.
Alle of baked
meates in
Scotland
when it began

the lord
George am
bassadors into
Scotland.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

the lord
George am
bassadors into
Scotland.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

The offer of
the English
was to have
the Scots to
make with
them in league.

the gradie
apetite of
gluttons ne
is fatisfied.

Perth
eclipe.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

Edinburgh
fifted.

following, that the gradie appetite of gluttons in this age may be fatisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gourmandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, through which their noifome fuffetting, they fall daile into fundrie strange and lofesome kinds of difeales, being oftentimes killed by the fame in their flourishing youth, as by daile experience plainlie appeareth.

In the fame yere the feuenteenth day of June, 1540 was a terrible eclipe of the funne, at thre of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammis, the king raised an armie, & came with the fame to Forburgh, befieging the caftell for the space of fixtene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cariage men & all other fuch as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wafted his powder and other munition, before he could doe ante great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raife his field, and leaue the caftell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuall occupations was decayed in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the thirde, to the further abatement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occafion to auoid flouth and idlenesse (the root of all mifchiefe) he brought a great number of cunning craftfmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Crato a Bohemian boyne, was burnt at faint Andriewes, for preaching and fetting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wickliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Helroffe. [After which, the said king James began to take vpon him the person of a priuate man, fundrie times associating himfelfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the ftate of fuch perfons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did fay and iudge of him, and fo vnderftand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the fame time was the abbey of Charturay monks founded besides Perth, by king James, with great cost and magnificence.

Also the lord Scrope and other associates with him, came in ambaffage from Henrie the firft, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen diffolued, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in league with the Englishmen: that both the towne and caftell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twed and the Merrowe (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottifmens hands. King James hauing small credit in fuch faire promises, perceiued the fame to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once cleaerlie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should ferue their turne. This matter therefore being proponed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wife the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be diffolued, and fo thereupon the English ambaffadors were difpatched without moore talke concerning that matter.

In the fame yere, that is to fay, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled againft his father king Robert the thirde, to be arrested and put in faft keeping within the caftell of Edinburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chanceflor William Creighton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the caftell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters figned with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said caftell, that they shuld deliuer by the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the fame. The keepers durst not difobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. With in twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was difherited of all his lands and linings for his fathers offense committed againft king Robert the thirde. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the fame had flourished so manie yeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that fide, againft both ciuill and foeraine enemies.

The king yet moued with fome pittie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceaffe, the lords of the counsell thinking the fame to little, assigned forth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yerelie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to inioy the fame till James the second came to full age. In the yere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of March departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the fomes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right fingular promise, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgonie at the ferge of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himfelfe so manfullie, that few wan the like honoz at that iournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in marriage the ladie Iacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of fuch lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought faue a froward answer, hee provided him of fhips, and made foz warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worfe, but at length he toke a number of their fhips laden with merchandize, as they were returning homeward from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the fhips burnt. Although which losse the Hollanders being foz abashed, fell to a composition with him, and toke truce with the Scots for an hundred yeres. This earle of March so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland under king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprifes, as in ciuill administration. Hee brought forth of Hungarie fundrie great hoxses and mares for generation, that by fuch meanes the countrie might be provided of great hoxses of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, moze meet to ferue for iournieng hacknies, than for ante feruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambaffage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make paiement of fuch yerelie tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norway for the wefterne Isles, according

George eric of
March arre-
sted and put
in ward.

A parliament
at Perth.

The earle of
March dis-
herited.

The earldome
of Buch-
quhan giuen
to George
Dunbar.

1435.
The death of
Alexander
Steward erle
of March.

Leodium.

warres be-
twixt the earle
of March & the
Hollanders.

Truce twixt
the Scots &
Hollanders
for tearme of
100 yeres.

God mares
brought out
of Hungarie
into Scotland
for breed.

Ambaffadors
out of Den-
marke.
Their request

Sir William
 Creighton
 sent into Den-
 marke.
 Peace and a-
 mitie betwixt
 Scotland and
 Denmarke.
 Ambassadors
 forth of
 France.
 The old
 league renew-
 ed betwixt
 France and
 Scotland.
 The Dolphin
 marieth Mar-
 garet daugh-
 ter to king
 James.

Englishmen
lie in wait
for the Sco-
tish fleet.

The Englishmen encounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall
of the lazie
Margaret of
Scotland in
france.

Henrie Per
sie inuadeth
Scotland.

The battell of
Diperden
fought be-
twixt Henrie
Perrie and
the earle of
Angus.
The Scots
get the victo-
rie.
The number
of English-
men slaine.
Prisoners ta-
ken.

Rockburgh besieged.

coyding to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, vnto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norwaye. The ambassado:rs that came with this messlage were honozable received, and in like sort interteined by king James, who at their departure gaue to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Crichton to go with them into Denmarke, ambassado: frō him, to the king there, who vsed himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, speedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more about therof ensued. Much about the same time, there came ambassado:rs from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in marriage vnto Lewis the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Spanie great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiſance of hir into France, and great prouiſion of ſhips made for that voiage, becauſe the king was aduertized that the Engliſhmen had a fleet abroad on the ſeas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the ſame time, as the ſcotiſh ſhips ſhould paſſe, there appeared on the coaſt of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Engliſhmen ſuppoſing to be the ſcots, they came vpon them with foure ſcore veſſels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wiſhed preie, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a ſtoyme as they brought, they quicklie underſtood how they were in a wrong bor, and ſo they wolie amazed (as Hector Boetius ſaith) they ſuſtained great loſſe both in men and ſhips, and in the meane time the ſcotiſh nauie paſſed by quietlie without damage, incounteriſg not one ſhip by the waie that ſought to impeach their paſſage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen forth of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongest which number there were ſiue of hir owne liſſers.

In the meane time, whilst such things were a doing, Henrie Perſie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with ſoure thouſand men, not being known whether he had commiſſion ſo to doe from the king of England, or that he made that enterpriſe of himſelfe. William Douglasſe earle of Angus, to reſiſt this inuaſion, gathered a power of choſen men, amongeſt whome were Adam Hepburne of Hales, Alexander Ramſeie of Dalchouſe, and Alexander Elphingſton, with others. The earle of Angus being thus ſollicit, met the Perſie at Piperton, where a ſore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were ſlaine together with Alexander Elphingſton, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the Engliſh part there died Henrie of Cuddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Perſie, with ſixtane hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortye were knights. There were taken alſo and brought home by the Scots as priſoners, to the number of ſoure hundred.

Shortlie hereupon, king James raised a mightie
armie, and besieged the castell of Rochburgh, but
when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to
passe, that those within began to fall to communica-
tion, for the rendering of the place, the quene came
to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that
there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he took not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to provide the better for his own safety, but that prevailed little : for Walter Steward earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending ever a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreant by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephew Robert Steward, and his cosine Robert Graham, to flea the king by one means or other, which finally they accomplished in this wife. This Robert Graham, for diverse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was by law an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadly. And though by the quenes diligence both he and other of the conspirators purposes were notwithstanding disappointed, having continued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburgh; yet forasmuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchieve their detestable intention, (sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Whereupon the said Stetward and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered vp into the gallerie before the kings chamber doore, minding to haue staid there till one of the kings seruants that was priuie to their danielly purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Iudas-like traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Stratoun came forth of the chamber doore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doore, either of them hauing a long sword gired to him, he slept backe, and cried, A reason: but per he could get withiin the doore to haue made it fast, they leapt into him, and slue him there outright.

While this was a doing, not without great noise & rumbling, a yong virgin named Batharine Downglasse (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Wolunnie) got to the dore, and shut it: but because the barre was awaie thar thowld haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar thould haue passed: she was but yong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was some crastht in lunder, and the dore broken op by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they flue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 feuerall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrike Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of Arghay, was left for dead on the dore, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his vttermoost deuotoie to haue preferred him from the murderers hands. This was James the first murdered the 21 day of Februarie, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth whiche he founded in his life time, but had not as yet thoughtlie finished.

✥ Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, having the other parts also answering thereunto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but carried the manifestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformation of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared as of even proportion.

The king informed of a
conspiracie
made against
him, raiseth
his siege.
The earle of
Shooll heard
of the conspi-
racie.

Robert Graham,

Robert Howard and Robert Graham
murderers of the king.

02E Walter Str
Ted con is Aine

Ms. Katherine
Dowd

The mar-
rers enter
kings char-
ber, and fle
the king.
(The quest
hurt.
Patricke
bar wound
and left for
dead in the
kings de
James the
first mar-
red.

red.
1 437.B
1447.1.
1326.1.
This statu
and forme
bodie.
Fr. Thin.
Lefleus li
cap. 271.

Suchan, also
with he wrote
Latine verses
with such good
grace, as the
rudenesse of
that age per-
mitted.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square do answer each other, so that nature seemeth not to have framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kingly maiestie. He did manie times embrace iustice more strictlie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealthe. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said within the space of three yeres) to have executed three thousand persons for their committed offences. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded upon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of any of our princes that did more reuerentlie embrace peace at home among his subjects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did come in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues, although he obtained part by the benefit of nature, he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at that time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie activitie, with the diligence of good schoolmasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best understood: for, beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaing on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him in Scottish meter with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpnesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to any: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anye shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indues: for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handicraft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kingly maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledge, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein: for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough manners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweet condition of life & manners. Wherefore I may well say, a most happie common-wealthe which was gouerned by so worthy a prince: & may iustlie exclaime; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honor, deauntie, and pillar of the common-wealthe. Note, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in providing for his people to live at quiet within doores; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the inuention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before; he caused certaine peeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifying the antiquitie in like manner of the same:

*Ille tri Jacobo Scottorum principi dignus,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reuoluit,
Faciunt hominibus subito, nuncupet ergo Leo.*

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenburgh, where they were executed on this manner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onlie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of David the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put Duke Spado to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length attaine to the crowne without anye obstacle. This earle I say was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onlie his shirt: and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the dialler of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towtne, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a stoate downe upon the pavement.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned with penite in sight of the people. Thorough whose illusion being deceived, he lived under vaine hope to attaine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he torured on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn with his complices laid on hurdles, round about the towtne at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and thowne into the fire sticking before his eyes, & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and thowne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie divided into foure quarters.

His nephew Robert Stewart was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he lured the king with his olone hands, was put into a cart, the harts that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised by in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighs, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towtne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Claton also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shamefull kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserved, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and the

John Maior lib. 6. cap. 13.

The search made for the traitors.

The execution of the earle of Atholl.

The prophesie of a witch.

Robert Stewart executed.

The ordering of Robert Grams execution.

Christopher Claton.

Fr. Thim: the

The king in the
formed of a
conspiracie
made against
him, raiseth
it his siege.
The earle of
Atholl heard
of the conspi-
racie.

Robert Gra-
ham.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

The historie of Scotland.

Strange
sights.
Dogs with
heads like to
Dogs.
A calfe with
a head like a
colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight
A sword scene
in the aire.

James the
second.
1436

Buchan. 103.

The daugh-
ter of the duke
of Gelderland
married to
James the
second.

Sir Alexan-
der Leving-
ston governoz.
Sir William
Creighton L.
chancelloz..

Disobedience
in the Dow-
glaste.

1437.

A policie
brought by
the queene.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-
uius (being then ambassadoz in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-
sidering the cruelnesse of such a wicked fact, with the
speedie reuenge, therefore executed by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reueng-
ed the kings death, than by sharper sentence pun-
ish those that had committed such parricide.] In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A cow also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the haruest before the kings death, a blasing star
was scene with long streaming beames. And in the
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was scene gliding
up and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitorous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is specifi-
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the
crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from Fergus the first.
He was surnamed James with the stierie face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his
cheekes. This James at his comming to mans state
proued a stout prince, and married the daughter of
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglaste, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Levingston of Calender knight, gover-
noz of the king and realme, and sir William Creigh-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the king being committed
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eden-
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countreies of Dowglas & Annardale, and would
neither obeie gouernoz nor chancelloz, wherby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short time also, the gouernoz and chancelloz were di-
uided. The gouernoz with the queene remained at
Striueling, but the chancelloz had the king still with
him in the castell of Edinburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbade: whereby
neither of them was obeyed, nor any execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing
such mischief to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernozs
side, and hereupon with a small companie repai-
red to Edinburgh, where she to bzing hir purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancelloz to suffer hir to enter the ca-
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within thre
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirk, and caused the king
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunk, as
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed up, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horse vnto Leth, from whence

he was conueied by hote vnto Striueling, where, of
the gouernoz he was iustlie receiued, commen-
ding the queene highlie for hir politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancelloz was. Then
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancelloz in the castell of E-
denburgh.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood
through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene
and gouernoz. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole gouern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancelloz
then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made
agreement with the gouernoz, vnder certeine condi-
tions, that he should retaine still the castell of Eden-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancelloz. Shortlie after the earle
of Dowglaste deceased at Lethelricke, in the yeare
1439, against whome aswell the gouernoz as chan-
celloz had conceiued great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawford's daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourteene yeares of
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglaste, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
waxed wild and insolent.

About this season, James Steward sonne to the
lord of Lozne, married the queene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglaste in his vnrulie demean-
or: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the queene, were committed to
pyslon in the castell of Striueling by the gouernozs
appointment; but shortlie after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancelloz, sir William Cre-
ighton, and Alexander Seton of Curdon, who be-
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great
sequestration of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather somewhat before, Alane Steward lord of
Dernlie was slaine at Palmatis thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Steward of
Holmet and his sonnes; where through there rose,
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglaste sent Malcolm Fleming
of Cunnernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles
the seventh, king of France, to obtaine of him the
ducie of Bourbonne, which was giuen to Archem-
bald Dowglaste at the battell of Veruill in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
intoied the same all his life time, whereupon that
sute was the sooner obtainted: which made the yong
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the
court, that it should seme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe inough in main-
teining the like state and port, or rather greater than
euer his father at ante time had maintained before
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand
horse, of the which number there were diuers errant
thieves and robbers, that were borne out in their
vniawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine captiues of the Isles, as Lachlane, Bala-
laine, and Mordac Gipsion, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Isles, haried, spoiled,
and burnt the countrie of Lenox, and slue John Col-
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and childzen, without respect to age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe,

The king
conceiued vnto
Striueling.

An agreement
made.

The earle of
Dowglaste
departed this
life at Leth-
ricke.
1439.

The queene
supplused.

Alane Ste-
ward is slaine

The great
port of the earle
of Dowglaste

Lenox is be-
ried.
John Col-
quhoun, or
Coughoun
slaine.

A dearth.
Pestilence.
reiffe.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 11.

The king
sent south
the chancelloz
to Eden-
burgh.

The gouernoz
and chancel-
loz are made
himos.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 294.
Buchan. lib. 11.

reale oppression, dearth, and death of people. This year also the gouernor took the whole administration upon him, wherewith the chancelor was displeased, and leaving the king and him in Strueling, repaired to Edinburgh, where he devised the way how to recover the king from the gouernor, and so on a morning took foure and twentie men with him and rode to the park of Strueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor absent at Perth.

At what time the chancelor with great courtelie drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in some feare to see such companie come vnto him, having so few in his traine. Which when the chancelor perceived, he praised the king to be of good comfort, and in few words fit for that time, exhorted him that he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and deliver himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander the gouernor, living free from henceforth after a haughe manner; that he should not accustom himselfe to obey the pleasure and courtlines of others, that he should use to command his subiects in all iust and lawfull causes; and that he should deliver his people from these evils which increased upon them, by the ambition and courtlinesse of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or resist, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to do, he had without all danger or trouble provided a meane. For he had in a readinesse sufficient number therefore, which should attend upon the king where so ever he would go, or to use any other matter as need should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancelor, did fallie approve, and went with his small unarmed companie and the chancelor toward Edinburgh.

The chancelor, as Hector Boetius saith, had caused the number of foure thousand hoisemen of his seruants, tenants, and friends, secretlie to be readie that morning about the towne of Strueling, to resist his aduersaries if they should haue used any force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancelor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safelie and without further trouble vnto Edinburgh, where he was iustlie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertised hereof, was grievouslie displeased; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edinburgh, and there got John Junes bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancelor: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancelor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

During which turmoiles, William Douglas (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor, & disdaining to ioyne in societie of the chancelor) did bew the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they sake by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the doing whereof (to the end it might be performed without any tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edinburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almost the whole countreies came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Whereupon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle hearts, to see the afflicted) there arose great crinie against the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such spoile, whose evils were now growne to such excess, as by no means they might be suffered; whose factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as did yeld themselves to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the weak could not well find any helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Thereupon it liked the wisest sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be secured) to sike to policie and leane strength, not daring openlie to call the earle Douglas by that name of captiue of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and fante of those people. Therefore the gouernor and the chancelor (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Douglas) persuaded the whole parliament, that it were more convenient with faire speeches to pacifie Douglas, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood against them, might hinder all the decrees of the parliament: but if he ioyned with the nobilitie, there might be easie remedie found to salue all these present evils. Through which wise and subtill persuasion of Alexander the gouernor, it was decreed amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his worthie ancestors, by whom the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie singular benefits) he should repaire to the parliament, which well could not, and willingly would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemblie, if he would complaine of any wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, he should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfully.

And if he or any of his friends or familie had committed any disordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie remit the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the deeds done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than vnto him, of whom there was conceiued a singular hope of great towardnesse, for the advancement of his name and benefit of his countreie. Therefore if he would come and ioyne with them, he should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleased him, to the end that as in times past, their countreie had bene manie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Douglasses, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe advanced and strengthened from and against those intestine evils wherewithall it now fainted. The young man (by nature and age graue of glorie) being moued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himselfe) they now deemed it best (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commodities, and with that resolution took their iournie to come to the parlement.

The chancelor when he vnderstood they were on their way, rode south of Edinburgh manie miles to meet the Douglas, and courteously invited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his

the king
was vnto
trueling.

agreement
ide.

the earle of
Douglas
parteth this
at Perth.
1439.

he quene
prisoned.

The king
was vnto
the chancelor
in Edinburgh.

the king
was vnto
the chancelor
in Edinburgh.

The gouernor
and chancelor
were made
friends.

the great
part of the earle
Douglas.

The earle
Douglas
was vnto
the chancelor
in Edinburgh.

enor is
by
ohn Colquhoun,
men, or
oguhoun
line.

dearth.

reliance.

waie as he should ride, 'at which place he was most honourable interteined by the chancelloz. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancelloz (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would vterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had antie nidsike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembzring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parli-
ment had aduanced to the gouernement and admi-
nistratiō of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their deēds) not onelie from the filthie spot of trea-
son, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would restraime himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the re-
pentance of his yong yēres might be taken for prooue of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a wel-
willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Eden-
burgh with David his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then besmeared the place which he pos-
sessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernoz (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a deēpe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to
Edenburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Whereupon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglass, that some of them did
boldlie and liberalie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to staie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to
send home his brother David, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the for-
tune of one stroke, as his father had before admoni-
shed him when he died. Whereat the vnabused youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as
it were by one that should make proclamation ther-
fore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongest the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficient-
lie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about
them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it
maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicause they would not be restrained within the bounds of peace-
full lawes are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wan-
der abroad to satisfie their euill humoz: whose spea-
ches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approued wisdom of the chancel-
loz and the gouernoz, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horse, and hastned his iourneie more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certaine destinie) casting himselfe he along into the snares of his enemies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernoz (according to his promise) was ready there to meet him, to the end the matter might seeme to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglass being honorable and friend-
lie by the gouernoz receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst of this sweet meat (sower saluice being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, in-
wardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the ca-
stell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbydeled youth) beheaded, with his brother Da-
uid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yēres (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with
teares to lament, which the chancelloz (griewing to see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vnfinckie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hee) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vnckle James Dowglass baron of Abircoyne that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but thre yēres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglass, sonne to this earle James before his deceasse, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the carledome of Dowglass was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale; and Dumont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceasse of his father earle James, began to wax vnruilie, and to follow the vn-
toward maners of the other William Dowglass latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by
support manie disobedient persons would not obeye the gouernoz and chancelloz, wherupon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

* Againe (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnruilie behaviour) aduance himselfe in pride, whereof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he in-
countering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those
oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said
earle was priue of these midemeanor. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John
Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of
robberie) did set vpon William Ruthene (hiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had
led a thre of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than theues) the
hiriffe recovered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the
rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yere 1443, not manie daies after, the ca-
stell of Dunbretton (which is not by strength to be sub-
dued) was twise taken within a few daies: for Ro-
bert Semplier that was capteine of the iusticio: ca-
stell,

stell.
stell
stell
had
part
(as
and
the
kin
low
Do
han
par
nag
requ
thei
of t
bfe
star
per
stut
poz
ery
thi
shu
sell

1444.
The king wot
nile himselfe.

pē
me
ear
at
me
hin
mi
nie
the
Ci
so
nil
ne
ful
the
gr
thi
toi
gr
an
of

1445. Lefle.

ki
re
do
D
ea
in
ne
th
In
qi
ge
td
to
C
to
bi
di
fi
fr
A
C
C
i
t

Fr. Thin

Buchanan,
lib. 11.

1443.

Well, and Patrike Galbith capteine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie happeneth in the minoritie of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowlaglas, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue simplie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligently kept, than due to the state of the time required, found opportunity to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be carried out of the same, conuertyng the said castell to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike understanding thereof, and comming with foure unarmed persons (to fetch awaie his furniture and household-stuffe) entered into the castell; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armour, expelled the others out of the higher castell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

The king, after he came to the age of sonnetene yeeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but toke the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowlaglas informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his spectall friends and priuie counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Levingston, & William Creighton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the counsell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appeere before the king: which because they refused to do, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowlaglas then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, sir William Creighton spoiled the earle of Dowlaglas his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blacknesse were burnt and destroyed.

The earle of Dowlaglas ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his brother earle of Murray, by ioining him in marriage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Porouner, Hugh Dowlaglas was made earle of Dumont. Thus the earle of Dowlaglas aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross, to the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowlaglas, toke a great prete of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntly with the Dgillies on the other, met at Arbroth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Berdie. On the earle of Huntleys side were slaine, John Forbes of Pettsiege, Alexander Berkleie of Gartlie, Robert Marwell of Teline, William Gurdun of Burroisfield, sir John Oliphant of Aberdacie, and fine hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius saith.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawfords eldest sonne Alexander Lindseie, and Alexander Dgillie or Dgillie (as some write him) about the office of the bailiff-wike of Arbroth, the which the maister of Crawford inueng, was displaced and put out by the said Dgillie. Whereupon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbey, and Dgillie with helpe of the earle of Huntly, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth, at the vertie instant when the battells were ready toaine, caused first his sonne to stae; and after calling forth sir Alexander Dgillie to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demerment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presentlie died in the place: whereupon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as be fore ye haue heard. The earle of Huntly escaped by flight: but Alexander Dgillie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yeere of our Lord 1445.

The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowlaglasses, the earle Dowlaglas sent to sir William Creighton knight, to deliuer by the castell of Edenburgh. But Creighton (saing that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to do therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods forthwith confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creighton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creighton, they gaue out the same edict (as a veile of their malice and crueltie) which Creighton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoener did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Whereupon the Dowlaglas (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creighton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creighton was reiuersed with the honoz of the chancellorschip, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblowne) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Steward a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Birkepatrick, two miles from Dunbretton, by Alexander Lindseie, and Robert Boyd, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his blood, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) with in their danger. For the performance wherof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distress she now re-

1444.
The king shut
himselfe.

30

40

50

60

Fr. Thia.

1445. I. Ma.
1446. L. S.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 279.

1446. L. S.

Buchanan lib. 11.

anan.
1.

442.

sted, and that there was no meanes to relieue hir selfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by boote to Robert Woid at Dunbretton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to hir owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Woid was present at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardross, into the Dunbretton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceit of hir enemies, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (together with hir sonne) died there within few houres after. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Hales) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quene with him, to whom she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Hales the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by slaueing of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglas, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

Sir James Steward surnamed the Blakke knight, husband to the quene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglas. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The quene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fiftieth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. Her name was Jane Summerfet, daughter to the earle of Summerfet. James the first married hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honozable married: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Berneer in Zealand: the fourth, to the duke of Austria: the fift, to the earle of Huntley: and the sirt, to the earle of Moray. And by James Steward hir second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew bishop of Murray.

After the death of the quene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being emptie, and without companie. In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Loathene John Leontas, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had bene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kindred. Some after, sir William Creichton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Dierburne a canon of Glasgow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in marriage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noble accompanied with diuerse lords both spirituall and tempozall. At hir arriuall she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the marriage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, iollfull mirth, and all pleasant intertainment of those strangers that might be.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edinburgh, in the which sir Alexander Levingston of Kalendar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the pursute of the earle of Dowglas were forsakten and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbretton, and James Levingston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

suror, and David Levingston knights, lost their heads. James before his execution made a verie wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof, with enuie neuer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creichton was also forsakten for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creichton to the kings herald, who charged them so to do. This forsalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancelor) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

The yeere next ensuing were fundrie incurSIONS made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwick in England: but shortly after a truce was concluded for seven yeeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars cease on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. This yeere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for brideling the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoiling of other men; wherevpon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chiefie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglas, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntley, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisdome and valure.)

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great botie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots invading England, wasted the countrie, burnt colones and villages, slew the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Wherewith followed daile robes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast: for on that side the Scots chiefie made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischief might seme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands counsell, an armie was appointed forthwith to invade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had bene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scoone and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglas earle of Dumont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enemies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarr, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on eich side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the campe

James Le-
uington made
an oration.

Sir John
Percinnet

William Creichton
condemned.

Wallace of
Craigie.

IncurSIONS
made.
1448.

The earle
Dumont
hatheth his
armie.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 2,
pag. 300.

The batt
began.

1446.

Englishmen
fetch boties
out of Scot-
land.
1450.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

Magnus
surnamed
Redberd.

A knight
named Magnus

The
men put
fight.

The earle of
Dumont ge-
nerall of the
Scottish armie

The English
armie passing
ouer
the riuer of
Sarr.

The
armie.

William
Dundas.

Buchan, lib. II.

James Steward
is banished
the realme.

He died.
The quene
died.

1446.

Fr. Thin.

1448. Lesle.

King James
married a
daughter of
the duke of
Gelderland.

1447.
1448. Lesle.

campe by found of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skillfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell of middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselte ruled.

The earle of Dumont on the other side ordered his battells in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallace of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to incounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Sparwell, and lord Johnston, with a cholen companie of lustie Scottisshmen, and commanding himselte in the battell of middle ward, had scarce set his people in a raie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to do valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue god hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the upper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force inough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with bitter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallace perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice reprimanded their cowardise, and with most pittie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue fullie vowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots heerewith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerresse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they braue the Englishmen to breake arate and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appere, pressed forward vpon Wallace with great violence, and seeking to approch vnto him that he might haue woken his grieue vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottissh troopes, andaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottisshmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chace verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chace; for the tide being come in, flattered manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of Englishmen, to the number nere hand of three thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat aboue six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Perrie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who helpe his father to horsebacke,

whereby he escaped by flight: & besides these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dumont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king iustlicie receiued, honorable feasted, and highlie rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue bene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that shortly after followed, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forein enemies; they such to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglaſſe, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Grate, Salton, Seton, and Diphant; also, Calder, Arghart, Cambell, Fraser, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Iugh earle of Dumont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Seneclare earle of Orkades at that time chancelor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglaſſe, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vie) the revenues of the Dowglaſſe. But when Seneclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he hoped, because some of the most part resisted (though others embraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherevnto the king greatly aued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglaſſes into law, and declared them publicke enemies and detractors of his gouernement. And thereupon (providing an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway; where, at thole first coming (since their captains were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed) retired to rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselves, turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended, in that such wandering theues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor, took the castle of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglaſſe (with extreme labor of his souldiers) to his subiection, at what time he beloued; the castle thereof equall with the ground.

The earle advertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England, and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Angusdale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also restored into fauor the kings lieutenant; but shortly after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recovery of losses suffered by the Englishmen by certaine incursions (as he alleged) the king took the matter in verie euill part; for that he should dare so to be haue in contempt of the king: and that he should be misliking also, that there were some secret practices in hand to the prejudice of him, and his realme: so that he was deemed not a little to offend the king. Who being thereof advertised, came

The earle of Northumberland escaped by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Lefl. A truce for three yeares betweene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglaſſe goeth into Italie.

Fr. This.

Buchan.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

The earle of
Dowglas
sueth for
pardon.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him; al-
10 rring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer
commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties
displeasure.

The enuie
those that
bare rule a-
bout the king.

He seeketh to
destroye the
L. Chancellor.

The Dow-
glasse con-
strained to
ste out of
Edenburgh.
He maketh a
part.

The earle of
Dowglas
presumeth of
assistance at
the hands of
his friends.
The Lord
Berres his
lands spoiled

The Lord
Berres han-
ged.

The confeder-
acie mis-
trasted.

The king
sueth for
the
earle of Dow-
glas.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men
made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that
in the end he was deceived againe into fauor, but
yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which
pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries
William Cheynton lord chancellor, and the earle of
Dhaneie seemed to beare all the rule about the king)
that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring
certeine of his servants and friends to assault him
on a morning as he was comming forth of Eden-
burgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Cheynton,
although wounded in dead right soe, and with
in few daies after, gathering a power of his kins-
men, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Eden-
burgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle
of Dowglas at that present, if he had not stifted
away the more speedlie, who being thus to his great
griefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Eden-
burgh, denieth which way he might best be reuenged;
and for the more easie accomplishment of his pur-
pose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Ross
to ioin with him in that quarrell against Cheynton
and other his accomplices, by force of which confeder-
acie they covenanted to assist one another against the
malice of the said Cheynton, and all other their
aduersaries.

The earle of Dowglas having concluded this bond
of confederacie, bare himselfe vertie high, in pre-
suming further thereof than stood with reason; and this
was one great cause of the kings displeasure now
passingly increased against the said earle. An other
cause was this: a sort of thieues and robbers brake
into the lands of the lord John Berres, a noble man,
and one that had continued ever faithfull to the king,
taking with them out of the said lands a great bo-
ard of castell. And whereas the said lord Berres com-
plained unto the earle of Dowglas of that wrong,
because the offenders were inhabiting within his
countie; and yet could haue no redress; he attempt-
ed to fetch out of Annandale some prey, wherewith
to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered
him by those thieues and robbers. But such was
his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue,
and committed to prison; and shortly after by com-
mandement of the earle of Dowglas he was han-
ged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an
herald confirmed the contrarie.

The king being soe offended here with (as he had
no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with
silence; till he sawe time and opportunitie to reuenge
the same; and in the meane season manie an honest
man bought the bargaine right deere, being spo-
iled of that he had, and other wise euill treated, and
yet durst not the meane sort once complaine for
feare of further indignitie: where the higher powers
also lamented the great disorders daily increas-
ing; and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme
the same, inso much as it was greatly doubted, least
the earles of Dowglas, Crawford, Ross, and
Berres, and other of that faction might put the king
beside his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings
head, bying him into no small perplexitie, he
upon by courtieous messages he sent for the earles
of Dowglas, willing him to repair to his person;
promising him in secret meeting castell, which he de-
sired to haue for assurance vnder the kings great
state for his safe comming and going (as some haue
said). And then about such time as the year 1451
he came to the countie of Strathclyde, where the king

toke him aside, & in secret talke moued and reque-
sted him to forsake the league and bond of friendship
betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other
such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a num-
ber, that this earle of Dowglas purposed to make
a profe on a day to get the garland beside the kings
head. In deed by reason of his kinsmen and allies,
he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it
was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings es-
tate, vnlesse he were the more faithfull. He had at
the same time two brethren that were also earles, as
Archibald earle of Murray, and Hugh, or (as o-
ther haue) George earle of Dumont, beside the earle
of Angus, and the earle of Morfoune, that were of
his surname and blood, with a great number of o-
ther lords, knights, and men of great possessions
and linings, all of the same surname, and linched in
friendship and alliance with other the chiefe lin-
ages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had
bene so manie valliant men and worthie captains
of the Dowglases one after another, as it had bene
by succession) the people and commons of Scotland
bare such good will and fauour towards that name,
that they were ready to rise and go with them, they
cared not whither, nor against whom. It is said, that
the earles of Dowglases might haue raised thirtie
or forty thousand warlike persons ready at their
commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to
call. In deed the Dowglases had enen the gouern-
ment of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of
the realme, so that the men of war had them still in
all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference
had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of
Dowglas: it chanced in the end (vpon what occa-
sion I know not) that the earle answered the king
somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke
such indignation, that the earle here vpon was slaine
by him, and such other as were there about him, on
that euil day. Then after the earle was thus made
away, his brethren made open warre against the
king, and due all such of his friends and seruants, as
they might incounter with: inso much that those
which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to
confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the
Dowglases. The Lord of Cadzow being in the
towne of Strathclyde, with a great companie of the
earle of Dowglases friends, in reuenge of his
death (which he had burnt that town, and did ma-
nie other great displeasures to the king and his sub-
jects) setting forth proclamations against the king
and his counsell, for the violating of the assurance
granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas.

And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends
of April, binding a wooden truncheon to an horse
taller, they fasten thereto the safe conduit of the king
and the nobles, which they forbore not to traile vp
and downe the streets (not sparing to reuile the king)
with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and ex-
clamation. With which they were not satisfied, when they were
come into the market place, they did with the noise
of fine hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier,
proclame the king and all such as were about him,
faithbreakers, perjurers, and such persons as were
to be denounced enemies of all godnesse and good
men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge
to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they
run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the
countie, & possessions of all such as toke part with
the king, and Dowglas remained in the execution of
their obdient outie. For they besieged the castell of
Dalkeith, binding the milbushes (as confured and per-
iured milbushes of all vertue) not to depart from
thence,

Earle of the
surname of the
Dowglases.

The lineage
and great ali-
ance of the
Dowglases.

The loue that
the people
bare toward
the name of the Dow-
glases.

The earle of
Dowglas an-
swereth the
king over-
thwartlie, and
is slaine.

1442. Buch.
His brethren
make warre
against the
king.

Strathclyde
is burnt.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. l. i. c.

The king
would haue
him.

Callice of
Bannawyn
betwixt the
ric of Craw-
ford.

The earle of
Dumfries
hanged.

1452.

Lands giuen
to the earle of
Dumfries.

The earle of
Murray.

The earle of
Crawford
slaine.

Lords cited
to appeare.

Writings set
by in contempt
of the king.

thence before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grievously offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had seuered themselves from the opinion and faction of the Dowglasles, whose party was growing still more and more, and such support by the inclining multitude that the king was put to his shifts that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James Benedic the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to stay, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntlie, which earle hearing that the Dowglasles had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, having assembled a great power, encountered him at Bietune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntlie's passage, where betwixt them was fought a foye battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Fife, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slain, and amongst other the earle of Crawford's brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannamwin, whom the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell flagges, (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, & so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntlie had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said earle of Huntlie had the honor of the field, who neuertheless lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntlie the same day before the battells ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Foybesses, Melies, Jouings, Ogilues, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifullnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense whereof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badenoch & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntlie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge whereof, the erle of Huntlie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edinburgh, the earle of Crawford denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hamilton, the earles of Murray, and Dummont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasles servants that were sent priuillie to Edinburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasles seale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeye citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murderere, perjured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but because the time of the yeere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt by their come, and by one awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the coun-

tesse Beatrice, & sent to home for a licence to haue that mariage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles sute might not be obtained. Nevertheless, he kept his still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yeeres next ensuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas & his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Benedic bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton: but the said earle liued not past sir monthes after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yeere 1454.

The same yeere, the king called a parlement at Edinburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretended & feined marriage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray, George Dowglas earle of Dumont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earldome of Murray was giuen to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whome it had bene longfullie taken by the vniust sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaide Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, he handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Whereupon at this parlement, George Creighton was created erle of Cathness, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as folow: Darlie, Halse, Boid, Lile, and Lome. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a tourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adoe brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeye him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Whereupon the Dowglasles being driven to their shifts, the lord James Hamilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: whereupon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and with the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delay, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas utterlie (as some write) refused to fight against his soueraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Whereupon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent conditions

The earle of Dowglas married his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and was pardoned. He departed this life.

1455. Buch.

1454. A parlement.

The Dowglasles forfeited, or (as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hamilton.

Io. Maior.

The king would haue so.

the fthe es.

ye all-les.

that ind of

Collace of Bannamwin betwixt the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntlie was per.

1452.

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntlie.

The earle of Murray.

The earle of Crawford outlawed.

Lords cited to appeare.

Writings set vpon the church doores.

conditions of peace to be obtained.

Herewith also, the lord Hamilton being wiser than the restous, had the Dowglas killed well, and so departed, concluding that he should neuer see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lying at the siege of Abircoyne, who sent him to the castell of Kollerne, there to remaine under safe keeping with the earle of Arkeite, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hamilton of all passed offences, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in marriage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the said lord Hamilton from the Dowglas, because the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles companie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, together with his brethren. The king lying at the siege of Abircoyne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortreffe, shortly after he wane the rest.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawn (as ye haue heard) into England, within a while after got together certeine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselves together, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archemald, and toke the erle of Dumont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got awaie. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunfalsage, where finding Donald earle of Kollerne and lord of the Isles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald waisted not onelie the kings possessions that lay nere to Dunfalsage, but also passing through Argyle, did much hurt in all places where he came. He invaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Armoire, confreining him to take sanctuarie. This done, he entered into Lochgabhar, & so into Murray land, where he burnt the towne of Inuerne, and wane the castell by a guilefull traine.

In the meane time, the earle of Armoire after he was recovered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Whereouer the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recover his former estate, came to the king, and submitted herselfe, laising all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull marriage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteously, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therewith hir estate. Shortly after also the countesse of Kollerne fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, wherof partlie she had already tasted. The king because he had made the marriage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir forth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thoynton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, slue John Sandlands of Calder the kings counsell, and Alane Stewart at Dunbeton, for that

they fauored the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offenders into his hands, caused him and his accomplices to die for their wicked offence committed. The universitie of Glasgowe was founded about this time by Andrew Winton, bishop of that see. In the yere following, died William Hare earle of Erroll, and countesse of Scotland: also George Creighton earle of Catnes, and William Creighton chiefe of that familie.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he lost (as the Scottish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countrymen, when they saw him thus isine with the Englishmen, to the damage of his native land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas invaded the Pers, but taking little heed to themselves, and suffering their people to rise abrode to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scottishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, slaying diuers, and taking to the number of seven hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in haine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglasles and their accomplices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vp without more bloodshed, that the right line of the Scottish kings might be preserved. [For as it appeareth] he was amongst the English invading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons John Stok and Colpull, who presented him vnto the king, wherupon the king after a long banished him into the monastirie of Lendoze, where he was bountifullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeres, and then died.]

And though the almighty God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much blood might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their harts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the king, vnto the aduise of his kinsman James Benedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he antie waies forth mistrusted, of which number manie were the Dowglasles, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglasles, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomforted by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Benedie, he advanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

The said Benedie turned the earle of Angus, bearing of the surname of the Dowglasles, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same blood and surname, to revolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselves vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infabling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that forso much as the Dowglasles had their lands lying so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselves) if they had haplie joined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kinned and alliance, the realme might

The lord Hamilton departeth from the Dowglas.

The earle of Dowglas his companie shrinketh from him.

He withdraweth into England.

He immediately Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas discomfited. Archemald Dowglas earle of Murray slain. Earle of Dumont taken. Donald earle of Kollerne.

The earle of Armoire beheaded.

The countesse of Dowglas Beatrice submitted hir selfe to the king. The countesse of Kollerne.

Patrike Thoynton.

The universitie of Glasgowe founded. 1455. Death of noble men.

Fr. Thin. 1454. Leleuslib. 3. pag. 305.

1455. Parliament holden.

The Isles & high land quiete gouerned.

Donald earle of Kollerne, and lord of the Isles.

James Benedie archbishop of S. Andrews, chiefe counsellor to the king.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 11.

The practise of bishop Benedie.

Great power cause of suspicion.

might haue fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as Io. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and uttermost parts thereof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irrecoverable, that oftentimes thereof insurth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Romanie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed unto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Douglas were once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule realtie, not doubting the controulment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieflie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benedic that was his uncle, and the earle of Arkenie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to dwelle to be ministered on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rath both to keepe the colv. In the yere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parlement is contained. He used the matter also in such wise with the principall capitaines of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shewing all obedience as well in paying such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readiness to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Donald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had before joined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Douglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuernesse (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Isles.

Nevertheless, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, whose reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceived aduersie fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, craving peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who coming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembring the manie parts of clemencie which the king had used to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatal rage and insurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should liue most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not utterly pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen forth anie token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

uing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an unfeined tong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grauously offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by swelling) he hath injured: besides which also, he must with some waye exploit wipe awaie the memory and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more becom a kingly maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by overmuch lenitie and loose gouernement) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associates, wherein they may openly shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from henceforth we will so account of him, as his words and not his weapons shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leaving it in the power of him and his, whether he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happy or miserable. Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwene the two houses of Lancaster & York; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the quene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the young duke of Sommerfet, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his uncle the duke of Sommerfet his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was ready to support the quene of England, joined with hir, and passed forward into the south parts, constraining the duke of York to flee the realme, and so king Henrie restored the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of York his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

The duke of York remembring how ready king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottish subiects, & should suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, doing great hurt by destroying diuers towncs, castles and peiles in Northumberland, the bishopricke and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was first inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but when to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leave to the iudgement of others, saith Leleus.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of York by the counsell of the earle of Arwelke, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent estates to king James, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishopricke of Durham, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alleadge.) The yere next following, at the quene of Englands desire

Dissention in England.

King James invaded England.

Fr. Thin Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing first inuented.

1458.

1459.

verfi-
ficom

5.
16 no:

Lawes or-
dined.

A generall
pardon
granted.

4.
5. 4.
s. lib. 8.
15.

1455
A parlement
holden.

The Isles &
highland
quietlie go-
uerned.

Donald earle
of Ross, and
bro of the
Isles.

as bene-
chith, of
nobles,
chan-
to the

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 11.

practise
shop
dire.

it power
of suspic-

1460.

King James
the second is
slaine.

Alias 17.
23. Buchan.

1460.
The buriall
of James the
second.
The lamenta-
tion of the
people.

The amiable
conditions of
James the se-
cond.

The issue of
James the
second.
James the
third king of
Scotland.
Alexander
duke of Al-
banie.
John earle of
Mar.
Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 310.

Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 300.

desire to support him against the house of Forke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the queene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Forke, & got the upper hand of his enemies, at the same queenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuertheless shortly after, when the earles of March and Warwick fought still to mainteine their quarrell against the queene of England, she was constrained to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king James to approach shewes with his armie unto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castles of Roxburgh and Marke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered unto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Roxburgh, laied his armie round about that castle, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Where the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthy prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing some what nere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approach so nere within danger of such peeces of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the thirde day of August, in the yere of his life 29. of his reigne 24. and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edinburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorrow and dolefull mone, than as is seene in a priuat house for the decesse of the welbeloued master and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subjects in the campe, he behaved himselfe so gentlie towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride by and do some amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had bene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife queene Marie three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hamilton had in marriage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatly flourish amongst the Scots: for there were amongst them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chiefest were James Kennedie bishop of saint Andrews, Turnebull bishop of Glasgowe, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberdeen, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Murray. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communaltie traouelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in ante publike hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer bereft or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Weddone, and John Eldon, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudable seene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7. king of France, for singular seruice done unto him by the Scots, in the warres (betwene the English and the French) did honorable indow manie of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in

quitaine, who by that meanes (settling themselves in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthy families of that prouince, amongst which is that famous kined of Calbell de la Campanta in Colouise, at this time greatly flourishing, which had his beginning from Calbell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grand father of him which is now living, head of that house, did intoe the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Calbell being a senator in the high court of Colouise (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisdom had in great hono: of all men during his life, which stretched to extreme age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who both at this day possesse the roome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Colouise. And his other children with great hono: are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Some strange sights there appeared before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie seene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermophodit, that is, a person with both shapen, but esteemed for a woman onelie, till it was proued, that lying with his maisters daughter nightlie where she dwelt, she had got the young damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfitted hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Ferntiden, who used to kill young persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarce twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preferred and brought by in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which her father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitude followed her, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruel inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbear to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution.

After the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seven yeres of age succeeded, and forthwith was sent for to the siege of Roxburgh, whither he was conueied by the queene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of his countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with his sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanly bewailing the irrecoverable losse of hir husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and about all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploy their whole indowors and forces to the winning of that castle. Whose words so encouraged the captains and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castle was twome, rased, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the young king was crowned at

A blazing
starre.

An hermophodit, that is, a person being both man and woman.

A wicked theefe that used to kill young persons and to eat them.

This daughter saileth to the like practice.

Her words going to execution.

James the third.

The stout stomach of the queene.

Roxburgh castle taken and broken downe.

1461. I. M. at
1460. L. E. L.

the be-
lie-
and soon.

men go-
nouns cho-
in.

Donald her
time had.

Whitherto hath
the Boc-
was continued
the Scottish
history.

He was killed
1461.
Henrie king
of England
by late com-
munity
was shot-
ten.

1461. I. M.
1460. Lelle.works be-
ing and soon.when go-
verners cho-
se.blasing
etc.a hermo-
zyt, that
a person
ing both
an and wo-
an.I wicked
pese that be-
d to kill
ong persons
nd to eat
jem.his daughter
alleth to the
the pparle.hir sword
going to cre-
ation.

>>

>>

James the
third.The stout
mach of the
queene.Korburgh
castell taken
and broken
downe.

at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great re-
tolling of all the noble men, and other being there
present in the armie.

This done, they besieged the castell of Warke,
which likewise they toke, and threwe downe, and af-
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-
uernement of the realme. And because the king was
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne
both king & realme, as these, the queene his mother, 10
James Benedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was
sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-
cown, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and
Dheneie. These, so long as James Benedie lived,
agreed well together about the gouernement of the
realme; but within a while after his decesse, they
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by He-
ctor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of
this kings reigne, there was discord in betwixing be-
twixt the queene and the archbishop Benedie, who
perceiuing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstod hir in that
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill
warre, if the bishops of Glascow, Dunkeld, and A-
berdeen, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand
to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who
did so much in the matter, that they compounded the
variance in this wise.

The queene mother was appointed to haue the
charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alex-
ander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and
likewise of his two sisters; but as for the adminis-
tration and gouernance of the realme, the should leaue
it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by
common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glascow
and Dunkeld, the earle of Dheneie, the lord Cra-
ham, Thomas Bole, and the chancellor. About the
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-
tage of his brother, John lord of Lozne toke him, 40
and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle
of Argile, taking great indignation with so pre-
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and coming
against Beir, toke him, and set his brother at liber-
tie, and brought the offendor vnto Edinburgh, where
he died in prison. Whereouer, shortly after Donald
lord of the Isles and earle of Kesse, who had serued
obedientlie in the armie at Korburgh, and was (as
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began aneie
to be his old manners, spoiling & harrieng the whole
countrie of Atholl, and toke the earle thereof, and
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the
Isles.

To repress his inturious attempts, the regents
together were preparing an armie; but therewith
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the
Isles, and other the principall offendors of his com-
panie, were stricken through the hand of God with
a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl
and his ladie were restored, and those franticke per-
sons were brought vnto saint Wides church in A-
tholl, for the reconerie of their health, but it would
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in
the castell of Inuerness by an Irishman that was a
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king
of England being vanquished by his aduersarie
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fri-
ers preachers, with his wife queene Margaret, and
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merfet, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun, 50
might more increase, and be further strengthened:
the two queenes Margaret (of England) and Marie
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-
gan to intreat of a mariage (hoping by amitie to
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-
twene the daughter of James the second king of
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-
land) being called prince of Wales, although none
of them as yet was aboue seven yeares old. Which
mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (uncle to the
queene of Scots, and deable enemie to the queene
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his
ambassador Cruthusius, a noble man and of great
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimi-
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did desperie en-
uite anie god successe to happen to anie of that race,
whereby it might increase or flourish; and therefore
sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whole
cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at
that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off.
But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by
this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage)
was by the aduersie fortune of king Henrie vtterlie
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-
rie being incouraged (by the benenolence of the
Scots towards him) and thoughtlie confirmed (by
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure
what aid he could of his friends beyond the seas, to
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourne
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne
& castell of Berwik into the Scottisshmens hands,
whether by covenant thereby to haue the foresaid
safe conduct granted, or of his own volunarie will,
to the end he might haue the more support and saue-
amongest them, it is vncertaine by the variable re-
port of writers. Neuerthelesse, shortly after a truce
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward,
for the tearme of sixtene yeares, vpon what condi-
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I
find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of
Maie, in the yere 1462, at the cite of Poize,
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glascow, the earle
of Argile, keeper of the palatse seale, the abbat of Ho-
lie rood house, sir Alexander Bole, and sir William
Crawfson knights, ambassadors and commissio-
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedie
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of
his father king James the second. Pierre de Bre-
ze, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Warrenne,
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the
French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thou-
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie a-
gainst king Edward. This Breze was one most
in fauour with king Charles the seuenth, father vnto
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did
suppose) he was appointed by B. Lewes (who greatlie
loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the
end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture;
notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest
on the sea, and also of the enemies hands, he wan the
castell of Wamburgh and Dunstanburgh, which he
cast to the ground, and after toke in hand to keepe
the castell of Antwik, and being besieged therein,
Dd. ij.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.The queene
went into
France for
aid.Berwik de-
liuered to the
Scottisshmen.A truce for
15 yeares.

1462.

James Bene-
die the arch-
shop gover-
neth the
realme.Monsieur de
la Warrenne
sent forth of
France to aid
the part of
Margaret
queene of
England.He keepeth
Antwik cas-
tell, and is
besieged.

sent

He is re-
fused by the earle
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

sent for aid to the Scots.

George Dowglaste earle of Angus as then war-
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of
23000. men, and comming with the same to the boy-
vers, chose forth of all his numbers five thousand of
the most able horsemen in all his armie, and com-
ming with them to the castell about the middelt of
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege
beholding the maner, and not once making profer
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,
that would faine have fought with the Scots; but
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise
minded, alleging that better it were to let them passe
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than
to leopord upon the doubtfull chance of battell, for
though their number were not great, yet were they
piked and chosen men, able to atchieue a great enter-
prise.

1463.
The queene
mother died.

Adam Hep-
burns fami-
larity with
the queene of
Scots, mo-
ther to James
the third.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie taken on
the sea.

1464.
King Henrie
returneth into
England.

King Henrie
is imprisoned.

1466.

After this, the sixteenth of Nouember, in the yeare
1463, the queene of Scots, mother to James the
third, died at Edinburgh, and was buried in the
college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had found-
ed. This woman, after the decess of hir husband
James the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, pro-
curing Adam Hepburne of Wales a married man to
keepe hir such familiar companie, as founded great
lie to hir dishonor: for that she could not within the
whole realme find some single man amongst all the
nobilitie, with whom she might haue married, & in
some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander &
infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Al-
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he
was returning from his grandfather the duke of
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andzeus James
Benedicte, caused both the said duke and also the ship,
with all the goods there in being, at the time of
the taking of it, to be restozed; for otherwise (as he flat-
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce anie lon-
ger concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor
which he should find in England, perswaded king
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie
of Scottishmen he entered England, and marie
of the north parts resozed vnto him: but at length,
at his comming to Gram, the lord Montacnte with
a great power was readie to giue him battell, and
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Rosse
were taken and put to death; the duke at Gram, and
the lords at Newcastell. King Henrie escaped verie
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a
certeine space after, till at length he thought to re-
turne into England in such secret wise, as he should
not haue bene once knowen, till he might haue got
amongest his friends, which would haue supported
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and
deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut
him vp in the towler of London till he was at length
there made away, as in the historie of England ye
may see moze at large.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James
Beckie departed this life, and was buried in the
college of saint Sauour, founded by him within
the towne of saint Andzeus in most sumptuous
wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all
other Scottish bishops, of whom anie writer maketh
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie
buildings and towkes which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three espe-
ciall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his
college of saint Sauour (wherein youth might be
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-
chre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie peece of
work, such as before had not bene accustomed for
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-
derfull burden: all which thre, the common people
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like
charge.] Besides his bishopricke, he held in his hands
the commandarie of the abbeie of Pettinweme,
which was worth vnto him eight hundred croons
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in
October and Januarie, there were manie edicts
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chief-
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also
there was a proclamation made, that none of the
Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue a-
nie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie,
king James the third, being as then about twentie
yeares of age, married in the abbeie of Holie rood
house nere Edinburgh, the ladie Margarete daugh-
ter to the king of Denmarke and Holsteine, which
ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares
of age, some saie sixteen. Her father the king of
Denmarke and Holsteine, in name of hir dower,
transported and resigned to King James all his right,
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.
The ambassadours that were sent into Denmarke
to conclude this mariage, and to conueie the bride
into Scotland, were these: Andrew Bultair bishop
of Glascow, the bishop of Oxente, the lord Auandale
chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of
Arrane, who had married the kings sister; and was
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;
whereof his wife hauing intelligence, bearing of hir
husbands arrivall with the other in the forth, got
out of Edinburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,
gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king
had conceiued against him: who perceiuing him-
selfe in that danger he stood if he toke land, retur-
ned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with
him.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into
Scotland, causing a diuorse in absence of hir husband
to be sued & gotten forth against them, marieng hir
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whom he
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-
band had in gift before. Of this mariage, those of
the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are nearest
of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.
[For (as saith Lelleus, lib. 8. pag. 316.) if the line of
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]
But now to shew further what we find written con-
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of
the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferre-
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed
vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Boid
being one of the gouernours of the realme, elected
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time
grewe so far in fauor with the king, that he might do
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to
vsurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme
into his owne hands, soze to the griefe of those his
said associats being ioined with him in like office.

Whereof the state of the common-wealth through
the dissention thus bred among the gouernours, was
brought

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 8.
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lelle.
1469.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.
The mariage
of James the
third.

The king of
Holsteine re-
signeth his
title to the out
Isles.

The earle of
Arrane in the
kings displea-
sure.

The lord He-
milton mar-
ieth the kings
sister.

Fr. Thin.

Giouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish histo-
rie.

The lord
Boid beareth
all the rule a-
bout the king.

Through the
fault of agri-
ment in the

gouernours,
will be spoile-
d men to be
had to worke
much better.

1469.

They that
in authoritie
be ever sub-
iect to the
spite of
the people.

The lord
Hamilton
in 1574.

He refused
to be tried by
hop of ar-
mies.

He hath
been
in the
king's
displea-
sure.

He hath
been
in the
king's
displea-
sure.

He hath
been
in the
king's
displea-
sure.

He hath
been
in the
king's
displea-
sure.

1466.
The king
was in
the year
1466.

r. Thia.
reflex lib. 8.
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lesc.
1469.
r. Thin.
Lescus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.
The marriage
of James the
third.

The king of
Rozwate re-
igneth his
title to the ont
fleg.

The carle of
Errane in the
ings displeas-
are.

The lord was
nixon marie
th the kings
ser.

Thin:

Houan Ferre-
o in his ap-
endix of the
Scotish histos

The lord
 3oid beareth
 i the rne a-
 out the king.

Thoughtful
result of agree-
ment in the

partners, &
will disposed
man was
bold to work like
a schief.

They that be
in authority
be ever subject
to the spitefull
blow of curs-
ing dart.

The lord
Sons is accu-

Refuseth to
be tried by
way of attain

Neuroleptics

1. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 2. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 3. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 4. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 5. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 6. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 7. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 8. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 9. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 10. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$

he perfectly in
to Denmark

big baine

•

He goeth in
Italy.

1

10

1468.
E. 7. 11. 11

brought into a miserable plight; for justice in most places wanted his due course, so as thieves and robbers taking boldness thereof, not onely upon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publicke peace, and namelye the inhabitants of the coast: they fell to their wonted trade of pilfering; so that passing over in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they tooke pieces of cattell and other goods, & carried to their profit, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts, ouerpaying them. In the north parts also,寇患甚多, amongst the nobles, gentlemen, and people, there raising to the great shipping of the whole countrey. Such misgovernments had finished since, and because the said Bohemian lord both bare great trouble about the king, and the blame of these misgovernments was imputed to him, and things against him being written, he being then in great need to ripe years, and able to receive the inheritance of the common wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certain great personages to take some regard, that he himselfe and his kin might be to the state of the Realme, might be more desired to be called to a parliament, in the which together they might enquire that the lords had done and against the lords Bohemian lord that his doings were lesse defensible, they complained, was rebuffed by general words of the state against him; that it was decreed by authority of the whole assembly, that he should come to answer for such great crimes where both he was charged; but when he refused to do so, and in contempt of the kings authority got together a power of armed men to defend him from justice, that might seeme as he intended to be offered him at length, the king was driven of necessity to make preparation for the denying of assistance to apprehend him by force: Whereof the said king advisedly flew into England, because he perceived himselfe not able to resist the kings power: The king assured that he was thus avoided out of his realme, banished him forever, and seized upon his lands and goods as forfeited.

After this, when the said Woid saw no hope to retaine againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the mariage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before haue heard: and then in hope by occasion of this mariage to obtaine pardon, returned wth in companie of the bide, and of those ambassadors that were sent to haue the conueiance of hir into Scotland: neuertheless, vnderstanding by his wife that came to him on shipboard before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so grieufully, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and toke his wife with him; as before is mentioned. In finallie he went into Italie, where at length he was murdered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust: Before he was diuorced from his wife the kings sister; he begat on hir a sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Woid of Isalmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the mariage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varied from an other that writ thereof.

The ambassadors that were sent unto Christiern king of Denmarke & Norwaie in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andrew

bishop of Glascow, William bishop of Dykenele;
Andreas lord of Anandale chancelor of the realme,
Martin Wane the great almoner, & the kings coun-
fessor, Gilbert de Bericke archdeacon of Glascow,
David Creighton of Crauford, & John Spald of Pa-
tie. These ambassadores being dispatched into Den-
marke in Iulie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at
length to Paffien, where B. Christierne then resided,
and were of him iofullie receiued, & well heerd
concerning their sute, in so much at length after he
had proponed the matter to his counsell about the
eight of September, it was agreed in this sort, that
the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Chri-
stierne, should be giuen in marriage vnto B. James
of Scotland; and that the fles of Dykenele, being
an earl of Scotland, and likewise the fles of Shetland;
of which these earldomes should remaine in posses-
sion of the kings of Scotland till either the said king
Christierne or his successors in name of the marriage
monie should pay vnto king James, or to his suc-
cessors, the summe of fiftie thousand florens of the
scheyne. This marriage was thought, by reason of
this ingaging of these fles, right profitable vnto the
realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and
variance which had continued long before that tyme
betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke; at
least the right of possessing those fles.

the marriage had bene consummate in Julie before,
within the abbey church of Holie rood house (as be-
fore he had heard) or in saint Giles church in Den-
burgh, (as other saie) the three estates were called to
assemble in Edinburgh; where the queene was
crowned, and the parliament holden, the most part of
the lords remaining still in Edinburgh all the next
winter; and in the summer following, the king and
squierne made their progresse into the north partes
and were honorable received in the principall cities
and towines where they came; and likewise by the
nobles of the countie, to the great relieving of the
whole realme. After their returning to Edinburgh,
the king called a parlement in the month of Aprill
1471, in the which among other things it was by-
resolv'd, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the
realme, should build ships and boats, and provide
nets for fishing. Also it was ordain'd that nim-
my should weare silks in dublet, gartie, or cloaks; ex-
cept knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might
dispens one hundred pounds in lands by year: so
that the football and other unlaudfull games should
be debarred, and the exercise of shooting mainte-
ned. James eldest sonne to king James the third
was borne the tenth day of March, in the year 1471.
two afterwarde succeeded his father; and was cal-
led James the fourth. Christienne his wife of Denmark
to congratulate the happie birth of this young prince
being his nephew by his daughter, released all
right, title & claime which he or his successors might
have to the Isles of Orkneye and Shetland.

60 A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the South, from the seventeenth day of Januarie, unto the eighteenth of February; and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the seven starres. A great ship built by Iacobus the late archbishop of saint Andrezus, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost before Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize; the twelfth of March. Many merchantmens servants, and other passengers were drowned with hit, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whom was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay unto his taker one James Bar foure score pounds for his ranome per he could be suffered to depart. The abbacie of Dunstermeling being vacant.

unto Den-
marke as Fer-
reio faith.

The marriage
concluded.
The King of
Orkney and
Shetland
engaged.

1469.

1470.

104-77601

1472.

The right to
Orkney and
Shetland
resigned.

A blasing
starre.

1473

28 Chinnazack.

Abbeies gi-
ven by unlaw-
full means.

vacant, the convent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creighton abbat of Dalkeith therto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Winton was preferred by the king unto the abbacie of Dalkeith, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie used, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for, and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the convent elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed upon such as followed the court, and lived courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouse, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughty examples of their gouvernors fell to the works of wickednesse; whereupon daily much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.

1474.

Primate and
metropolitan.
Twelve bi-
shops in
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of
the Isles at-
tainted.

1476. Lell.
The king rais-
ed an armie.

The lord of
the Isles sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

He resigneth
Ros, Cantire,
and Innapern.

1477.
An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same see created into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gave information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Dork was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not have accesse to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefoze the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordered that the twelve other bishops of Scotland should be under his primasie, who would not agree therto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleven thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelates sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parliament was called in September, it was proroged untill the twelfe day after Christmas. In Januarie the parlement was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was attainted, partly for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

In Maie, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men upon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admiral of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, upon certeine conditions; and thereupon in the beginning of Julie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parlement unto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earldome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Innapern, which earldome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and feignorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gave unto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles unto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

There was an inquisitor called Hostman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proses being sent unto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simoniacke, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to see him safe kept in prison. He was first sent unto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochlenin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarcis Ile in Lochlenin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Whasson Sunday in Lent, within Holle rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primate and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yere also Alexander duke of Albanye was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell, but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Arundale, who lost at that siege three good knights, the lord of Lute, Sir John Schaw of Sand, & the lord of Cragitwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Kamele was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Arundale entered, and found it void of all things thereof anie account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king unto the king of Scots, to persuaue him to make war upon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanye, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings younger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied unto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and hereupon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his beines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sozcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadozs into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, joined in marriage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the marriage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuaue him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene ener a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind.

The archbi-
shop is not
well handled.

Depriued.
1478. Lell.

Put in prison

1478. Lell.

1479.
W. Schewes
is consecrated
archbishop.

The duke of
Albanie im-
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh
besieged.

1479. Lell.
Doctor Ire-
land sent unto
the king of
Scots.

1479. Lell.
1480.
John Ste-
ward a pris-
oner.

was put to
death.

A marriage
concluded.
1480. Lell.

Bishop Spenser
died.

1481.
King James
sent an ambassa-
dor into Eng-
land.

R. Edward
sent a nauie
into Scot-
land.

Ships taken
and burnt.

The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.

A legat im-
prisoned him.

In other na-
uies sent into
Scotland.

Berwick at-
tacked by an
armie of Eng-
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of
Albanie com-
meth into
England.

The presump-
tuous demean-
our of the
Scottish nobil-
tie.

Thomas
Cochran.

Imbedding of
cane.

The kings
marriage was
made.

mind and melancholie at Edinburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds unto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgonie, nor any other against the king of France: for if he did, he must needs support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent forth a naue of ships into the Forth before Leth, Kingorne, and Westerton, and then were the heralds licensed to returne. The English fleet entering the Forth, took eight great ships which they found in that river, and landing at Blackness, burnt the towne, and a great barge that laie there at rode, and so returned.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongst other, the lords of the Isles came with a great compaignie: and now the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinall legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apostolike, not to proceede any further in his purposed iournie, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obeie, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent forth his naue againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Jura Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scottish borderers invaded the English marches, destroyed townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwick to be assailed both by sea and land all the winter season, and overthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defence thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne so that time so stoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had married in France, perceiving himselfe not so well intreated as before, came over into England, where king Edward received him verie honorablie, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and thereupon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great naue by sea to invade Scotland, and appointed capitaines and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approach to invade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same unto the towne of Loder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archibald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntly, John earle of Lennox, James earle of Buchanane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things done and practised by him contrary to his honor and the common-weale of his realme; and speciallie, because he used young counsell of lewd persons, betwixt this and base of birth, such as Thomas Cocham, whome of a mason he had made earle of Spar, though whose deuse and counsell he had caused to be colned certaine monie of copper, not convenient to be current in any realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Whereupon, that he would not suffer the noble men to come neere his presence, nor to take their counsell in governing the realme, but gave himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the quene his lawfull wife, & keeping a naughty harlot called the Daisie in his place.

Also they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Spar to death, and banished his

other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughty persons. And hereupon they took Thomas Cocham earle of Spar, William Roger, and James Hommil tailor, who with others being convicted, were hanged over the bridge at Loder. Whelie John Kaitheie a young man of eightene yeres of age, for whome the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edinburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Artholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Steward elect bishop of Murray, & John lord Warneleie to the English armie, lying then at Loder, to take truce for thre moneths: but the dukes of Gloucester and Albanie came forward unto Keltairig, where they incamped without any resistance. The English naue lying also in the Forth was ready to assist their fellowes by land.

Hereupon, certaine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of Saint Andrews, the bishop of Dunblaw, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancellor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agreed upon certaine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was received into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earldoms of Spar and Spar. He was proclaimed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came unto Berwick, where they having wonne the towne as they passed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir John Claxington, with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the castell, and now they enforced the same: but the lord of Halls then captaine within that castell, defended it verie manfullie, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the counsell, for helpe to raise the siege. The duke in deed raised an armie, and came to Lanier more, but when they within perceived that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yielded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that yere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scottishmens hands the space of 21 yeres.

The king remaining as prisoner in Edinburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancellor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of Saint Andrews, the chancellor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Strueling to visit the quene and prince, where the duke was perswaded by the quene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go unto Edinburgh, and to restore the king unto libertie. The duke accordingly to the quenes pleasure comming to Edinburgh, besieged the castell and won it, removed the earle of Artholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which god turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of Saint Andrews, the chancellor, and others, which remained at Strueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortly after, the bishop of Saint Andrews, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of master Andrew Steward prior of Glenelouden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murray. This yere there was great theft, reisse, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland cer-

Cocham earle of Spar and other hanged.

The king kept under arrest.

The duke of Albanie is reconciled.

The castell of Berwick is taken.

The king a prisoner.

The king is set at libertie.

The archbishop resigneth.

Fr. Thin. Lessius lib. 8. pag. 249.

rebt. not imbled.

med. Lesle.

n prison

Lesle.

79. Schewes secreted ship.

uke of the imbled.

aped. burgh ed.

2. Lesl. of Present into of S.

9. Lesl. 480. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

put to

riage uen. Lesle.

op Spew ed.

1481. King James sent an ambassage unto K. Edward.

K. Edward sent a naue into Scotland.

Ships taken and burnt.

The king of Scotland prepared an armie.

Legat inhibited him.

In other naue sent into Scotland.

Berwick assailed by an armie of English.

1482.

The duke of Albanie commeth into England.

The presumption becometh more of the Scottish nobles.

Thomas Cocham.

Imbedding of coine.

The kings concubine named Daisie.

1483.

teine ambassadoys, which were Berold or Bernard Stewart, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadoys) taking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whom were sent into France divers Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feat of battell, and having imployed his service on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following the conduct of Berold Stewart, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king, whose part they took against Richard at that time usurper upon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did detelle loue the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused headie wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slaine at Pans by the duke of Noiraine) did set end; Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did apply all his forces and devise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples, who at that time succeeded haplie unto him by reason that Alphonse was then easilie remoued. Not after, when the Neapolitane people did revolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie; each part strugling to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall capitaine of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots; John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander; George Montgomerie lord of Loche; Bernard Stewart (who was after made Marquis of Raples, which office he woffellie manie yeres did execute) Robert Stewart marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, whereof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honozable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Calabria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the euill custome of common speech, they rekeine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrey) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and did, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whom use of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Douglasse, as the armes of them both do well witness: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) both gouerne the church of Canallion. Again, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scoties in Calabria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Paine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquessdome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of James Orlando Scot,

which we have heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knight hood out of Scotland.

The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was purpose given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court unto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got himselfe into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchanane, and others left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whom he had agone taken into him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason, as he had to lay against them; a battell prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, whereof the duke being acquainted, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Douglasse, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland upon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Colpull, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Douglasse taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrey, was sent to the abbaye of Lynnox, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and thereupon taking a mistaking, secretly departed ouer into France by the helpe of John Lidell, sonne to sir James Lidell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well intertained in France by the king there; and finally running at tilt with Wolsey duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouernor and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murray, and abbat of Scone. His yere the lord Hume, Torcklis, Dillphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrewes unto Rome, for certeine priuileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Angla to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, hauing not long before made diuerse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued thereupon for a truce, which came to passe even as king Richard wished, so that condescending to haue a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the twentieth day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Dillphant, John Drummond of Stubbhall, Archibald Duntelaw archdeacon of Latoden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Bolwes, Richard lord Fitzburgh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priuie seale, Thomas Barrow maister of the rols, sir

peace concluded for this yere.

Douglas given

The king is for slain.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland invaded.

Earle Douglas sent to an abbey.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

The archbishop is sent to Rome. The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmans hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen strabie being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in the conduct. An article for such as should take either parties in warre.

Colleagues compelled in the truce.

Certaine noble families in Italie and Calabria spring from the Scots.

Thomas Bisan chiefe iustice of the common pless, sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard Salkeld esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thre yeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and to continue vnto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that not one sic all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enemies should be avoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case used. The towne and castell of Berwikke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castels, holds, and fortresses, during the tearme of the said thre yeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Wherevpon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agreement for that castell, vnlesse the same might be restored vnto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusall to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands aboue the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise absteyning from making anie issues or reisses vpon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recouering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions, notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to doe what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots alreadie abiding in England & Iwozne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should inuade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclaime him traitor, and certifie the other prince thereof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Provided alwaies that the obtainer of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince doe presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enemie, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, coming, or taryng within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues compysed in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugale, the archduke of Austriach & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Norwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Roerne in the realme of Scotland, and the Island of Lindishe lying in the river of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservatores on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntlee, lord Gordon and Badzenath, John lord Darncliffe, John lord Benedic, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Halene, Laurence lord Diphant, William lord Bothwike, sir John Kesse of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Clynston, sir John Lundie, sir John Ogilvie of Arlie, sir Robert Hamilton of Fingalton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir John Benedic of Blarhorne, sir John Melmes, sir William Kochwen, Edward Stockton of Birke patie, John Dundas, John Kesse of Mountgrenan, & quires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redresse of certeine offences done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Ratcliffe, sir Christopher Morelsbie, sir Richard Salkeld, or thre of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedic, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Martwell Esward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sanquhan, or thre of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Koldenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Halban Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appere the earle of Huntlee, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancelor of Scotland, the lord Annandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Diphant, the lord Stubhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greystocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Gascoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits apperteyning to Berwikke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a marriage to be had betwixt the prince of Rothsaie, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Poole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the kings sent their ambassadores againe vnto Nottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the marriage was agreed vpon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid yong ladie was immediately called princeesse of Rothsaie, but by the short life of king Richard hir vnclie she shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and marriage afore said, for the expelling and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during

Lozne & Lundie
daie excepted;

Commissioners
appointed
to meet at
Loughmaben

Commissioners
to meet
at Kolden-
borne.
And at Hal-
ban Stanke;

The battell
ground.

A marriage
concluded be-
twixt the duke
of Rothsaie
and the ladie
Anne de la
Poole.

A peace con-
cluded for
thre yeres.

The castell of
Dunbar in
the English-
mens hands.

An article for
the castell of
Dunbar.

An article for
traitors.

An article for
Scottishmen
abiding being
in England.

An article for
the wardens
of the marches

A clause to be
put in safe
conducts.

An article for
such as should
come either
princes in
entre.

Colleagues
compysed in
the truce.

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

King Richard should not deliver the castle of Dunbar.

1486.

King Richard overthrewne by the earle of Richmond.

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

The kings answer.

His promise.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

1487.

A parliament.

No pardon to be granted to offenders for the space of seven yeares.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the English mens possessions, he wrote unto king Richard a loving letter, signifieng unto him, that he was not minded to seeke the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Nevertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and alliance was sprung up betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their native countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorized.

King Richard dalled in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard lived, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Stewart a Scottishman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountried king Richard, and slue him, so obtaining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes joining next unto him, he sent from Bewcastle one of his counsellors Richard For bishop of Exeter, and sir Richard Edcombe knight, ambassadors unto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

These ambassadors were gladlie received of king James, who declared unto them, that he bare great fauor and loue unto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seven yeares, sith further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised secretly, that when those seven yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seven yeares, and so from seven yeares to seven yeares so long as he lived. This he did, because he perceived that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seven yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

In the meane time died the queene, a woman of singular beautie and godnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander boine of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Dykeneie) and John (boine of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland. Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the three estates to assemble in parliament at Edinburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice oress should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that should be committed for the space of seven yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassadoz sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had bene granted against Scottish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortly after hereupon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued unto Striueling, leauing his wife the queene, and hir sonne the prince at Edinburgh castell, whilst he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather by gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministered either through hope of foreign aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through pacifise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & thereupon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had bene to haue changed his wilfull manner of gouernment, & to haue leaned unto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not upon desire to please, haue maintained his indiscreet opinions, to the longing awell of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halls, Home, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselves oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deserting) to the degree of counsellors, and therewith advanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired togither, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered manner of gouernement.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothfale sonne to the king (a child boine to godnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprize, and that in manner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their native countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of Douglas, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbey of Lundon, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being already schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprize, because it seemed to him neither goodly nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

Ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans.

The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the death of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

The meane whereby king James might haue auoided danger of death by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scottish lords against king James the third.

They met in a pitched field. The king is put to the sword. His name.

Fr. Thin.

James the fourth.

1488.

an his ga for bl gr of to to th pu by th su w th m to w e l th or be bi id al la th u ru fo hi th d to ti m ar ar te u s th si pi m in f ce di of se fo th (h th th ni by fa e on n James the fourth. 1488. in

ambassadors
it to the
ing of the
mans.

he king giv
himselfe
latterly his
t in keeping
men and
thering
asure.

ter the deat
ing Ri-
rd, Dun-
r is declin-
.

he meane
yereby king
mes might
re avoided
ager of deat
his sub-
.

he conside
le of the
notly lord
inst king
mes the
.

king James
piously an
.

he king giv
himselfe
latterly his
t in keeping
men and
thering
asure.

he king giv
himselfe
latterly his
t in keeping
men and
thering
asure.

he meane
yereby king
mes might
re avoided
ager of deat
his sub-
.

They met in
pitched
field.
The king is
put to the
hoppe.
This slaine.

Thim.

James the
fourth.

1488.

and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the using of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praiering him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were up in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no whole some counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was given to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent unto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Rome's legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conceived against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now coming forward with all their puissance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not staie till the eyles of Huntlie, Erroll, Atholl, Crauford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathness, & Sparthall, the barons, Forbes, Ogilvie, Granth, Fraser, and others, were arrived with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thousand men, with the which they were coming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without good aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Sponstros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Bartwell, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockesborne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worse, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and irreuerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirrour to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what manner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed upon a willfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of wantperlois, and such as (being advanced from base degree unto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise unto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as faith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine nere Striueling, on the seventh day of June, the yere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soueraine lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yere 1488, being not past sixteen yeres of age, who notwithstanding

that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine, yet neuertheless afterwarde, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token thereof, he wore continually an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take theues, robbers, and oppressors of his subjects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and coming forwards toward Striueling against the young king, were ouerthrowne at Tols mossie, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Kilstruth, and other taken and hanged for their offences. The king called a parlement at Edinburgh, which was holden the first of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue speciall pardons thereupon vnder his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same manner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of three yeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeres, should be vtterlie excluded from the same.

Moreouer, he toke order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came upon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and guiltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all puruite and occasion thereof: the three estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceassing of theft, reiffe, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and hereunto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of his James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in prejudice of the crowne, were renoued, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

The king
was repen-
tant.
The king
wore an iron
chaine.
was giuen to
deuotion.
He was a
great iustice.

He was lear-
ned.

The nobles
raife an armie
againe.

They were
ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall
pardon.

¶ About

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

* About this time was a monster boine of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man; but from the nauill vppward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and thews. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chieflie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarillie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was worthy remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieved in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sence did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrefaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan. li. 13.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had maintained factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Gretina Boid to Alexander Forbys, and Margaret Hammliton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioin with him in marriage. Moreover beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadoys into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene vsed in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothscie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

1486
A marriage sought for the king.

For his counsell he chose a certeine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doe all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be ingod void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuiolable kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had seene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glasgou, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadoys to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glasgou, touching the prebeminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

Two archbishops strive for the prebeminence.

should trie it by laie before competent iudges.

* James Dgiluie knight of Aire, was sent ambassado to the king of Denmarke, to whom the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwene the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obtained, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was advanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Dgiluies was first increased with anie honorable title. The king about the same time took order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie haven to some should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

Fr. Thin.
L. Cleus. lib. 8.
Pag. 332.

Donnison made for ships.
1492. L. Cle.

Donnison made for learning.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good crample, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreover, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the advancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministred, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

1494. L. Cle.
A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.
1495. L. Cle.
1492.
The king goeth on pilgrimage.

There was shortly after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the English men did invade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Poike, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preferred now manie yeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchess of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieing the king to aduise him to recover his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortly after hereupon, the said duke (whose right name was Berkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorable accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

1496. L. Cle.

Berkin Warbecke.

* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Poike, and his owne calamities: most humble and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kinglie blood from that consumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so waik, that he should find his sute not defrauded: of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Poike to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemble bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being boine to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

L. Cleus. lib. 1.
Pag. 334.

bold of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannye of his vncle Richard duke of Glocester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vncle) was preserved by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloodie hands of the blurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in foreign countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happy in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was referued aloue to the scoone of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, where by he might moue their pittie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, how noble borne, whose heire, and to whom allied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grievously assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safety in any place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) ymagine soliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (the blessing the truth of his owne conscience against the slanders of his and his enemies, and moued with pittie for the distresse of his kinsman) did with his abilitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of his people in that liberty lost as the world) he was driuen to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although he were in many great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some trial by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefites vnto him.

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not doubting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pittie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the necessitie of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherefore againe he importunately requiereth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in joining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.) Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in

such subtill wise, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Borke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, he married him to his nere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntley, and moreouer raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, invaded England, burnt towns spoiled houses, and took great booties and rich prizes both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sprong dukes doubtful and vn certaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a tyme then of the people, constrained him to imploye that armie to represse the enterpryse of those rebels. Yet neuertheless he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adjoining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in; and so the earle laie on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, invaded oftentimes the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Berkeham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishopricke of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Berkeham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and took diuerse castles and towers, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seven daies, and then came backe without battell or any notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hyalas sent ambassadoe from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hyalas travelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certaine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Melrose, where (for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Hyalas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeres, though Hyalas did what he possiblie might, to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, whatauer the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was thither sent

Perkin Warbeck marieth the earle of Huntleys daughter.

1495.

King James invades Northumberland.

1496.

1497. Lesle: King James returneth without profect of battell.

A rebellion in Cornwall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

1498.

The Scots invade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hyalas an ambassadoe from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners meet at Melrose.

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause why Hyalas was sent.

C. f.

for

Thin.
leus lib. 8.
332.

ouision
de for
is.
22. Lesle.

ouision
de for
ming.

4. Lesle.
notonotant
into
otland
h a rose.
25. Lesle.
492.
e king go.
on pzo-
le.

96. Lesl.

leus lib. 1.
74334.

hin war-
c.

hin.
an. lib. 13

for that intent.

An article for
Perkin war-
becke.

King James
reasoneth
with the coun-
terfeit duke
of yorke.

Perkin war-
beck went in-
to Ireland to
come into
Flanders.

1499.
The truce
like to be bro-
ken.

King James
requireth to
take with the
bishop of
Durham.

King James
purposeth to
be a lady for
marriage in
England.

The king of England required to haue the coun-
terfeit duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin
Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (e-
steeming his honor more than anie earthly thing)
would in no wise seme to betray him that fled to
him for succour, and with whom he had copled one
of his owne kinswomen in marriage: but he was
contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should
be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to
be further aided by him, or by anie other through his
meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe
promise made in the said treatie of peace, and know-
ing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom
he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although
he was not so) called him before his presence, and de-
clared to him the great fauour and good will which he
had borne towards him, putting him in remem-
brance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand
against England, and invaded the countrie in hope
of assistance by his friends within the land, where not
one refused to him.

And albeit he had married his nere kinswoman,
yet might he not keepe longer warre with England
for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some
aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no ap-
pearance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth
of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sis-
ter the ladie Margarete; or into some other place
where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better
time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Ri-
chard gaue the king thanks, and obeyed his pleasure,
departing thence after out of Scotland, and sailed
into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flan-
ders. But finally making an attempt into Eng-
land, he was taken prisoner in the abbey of Beaulieu,
together with his wife, whose beautie was such,
as king Henrie thought hit a more meet prey for an
emperor, than for souldiours, and therefore used hit ve-
rie honorable, appointing hit to remaine in the court
with the queene his wife, where she continued so long
as the said king liued.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt
England and Scotland, the same was nere at point
to haue bene broken; by reason that the English-
men which laie in garrison within the castell of Por-
tham, did make a state with certeine Scottishmen
that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene
to haue besieged it. But although they ment no euill,
yet diuers of the Scottishmen were slaine, and ma-
nie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James ha-
ving information thereof, was sore displeased there-
with, thinking and saing, that there was no more
uncertainte thing, than to haue peace with England.
And hereupon he sent his herald Merchmont with
sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of Eng-
land, making great complaint for this iniurie and
wrong done to his subiects, by those within the ca-
stell of Portham. But receiuing most reasonable let-
ters for excuse of that which was done, as well from
the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of
Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie
well pleased and satisfied, so that he required to haue
the bishop to come into Scotland upon safe conduct
to conferre with him, as well for the full quieting of
this matter, as for other things which he had to talke
with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, ac-
complished the Scottish kings request; so that com-
ing into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie
honorable at Perth, where (after certeine talke
had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last dis-
pleasure) the king brake with the bishop for the be-
ding of the ladie Margarete, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seventh, as then king of England, to be giuen
him in marriage: and further declared that he was
minde to send his orators vnto his father the said
king Henrie, about the same matter. And so much
as he knew that the bishop was one that might do
much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him
for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired
him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were
obtained, he trusted it should highlie redound to the
honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop con-
sidering herein as much as the king was able to
tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him
lay, but also encouraged him to send his orators with
all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie so-
wardlie answer.

King James following the bishops aduise, anon
after his returne into England, sent certeine per-
sons ambassadoys vnto king Henrie, to moue him
to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadoys
were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that
to be briefe, their request seemed so agreeable to king
Henries mind, that the marriage was shortly there-
upon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the
foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie
Margarete daughter to king Henrie) in the seven-
teenth yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the
same time, when this marriage was so agreed vpon, a
peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of
England and Scotland, for the terme of their two
liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said
kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be
receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accor-
ded, that no Englishman should come within Scot-
land, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto
the king of Scots, nor anie Scottishman to come
within England, without the like letters from his
prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

In the yere next ensuing, Robert Blakater the
bishop of Glascow, Adam Hepburne the earle Both-
well, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in
ambassage from king James vnto the king of Eng-
land; for the perfecting of the foresaid marriage be-
twixt king James, and the ladie Margarete, eldest
daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of
procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister
king James, affied and handfasted the foresaid ladie
Margarete in all solemne wise, according to the ma-
ner: which assurance and contract thus made, was
published at Pauls crosse in London, on the day
of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioysing whereof
Te Deum was song, and fiers made, with great fea-
ring & banketting throughout that citie. This done,
the ambassadoys returned into Scotland, and then af-
terwards was great preparation made in England
for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and
likewise great purchase there for the receiuing of
hit.

On the sixteenth of June, king Henrie toke his
iourne from Richmond, with his daughter the said
ladie Margarete, and came to Colchester, where his
mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And af-
ter he had remained there certeine daies in pastime
and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, gi-
uing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation,
and committed the conueieng of hir into Scotland
vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of
Northumberland, as then warden of the marches,
was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto
the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was
conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies,
knights, squiers, and gentlemen, until she came to
the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lan-
berth church in Laner more within Scotland, where
she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of
that

The consum-
mation of the
marriage be-
twixt king
James the
fourth, and
the ladie
Margaret.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

1500.
A marriage
concluded be-
twixt king
James and
the ladie
Margaret.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Eng-
land & Scot-
land.

The king of
Denmarke
cometh into
Scotland.

He is restored
to his king-
dom by the
rate of 300
thousand
pounds to king
James.

1501.

This was in
the yere 1501.

The land
was obedient
to lawes.

1505. Lell.
1504.

R. Thin.

A dulle to
get the king
name.

1503. Lell.

1506.

that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, she was conueied unto Edinburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, she was married unto the said king with great and solemne triumph, to the high reioysing of all that were present.

And verelie the English lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendace on the said ladie till the mariage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their manners and heartie intertainment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, massie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their hostesses, and made great bankets to the English men, and shewed them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the mariage, so well, as after the manner of the countrie could be desired. By reason of this mariage and alliance, men were in great god hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seventh, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through dissension that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constrained to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him lovinglie, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his cosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and perswasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, brought him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leauing him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Isles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeyed, & his lawes were as duellie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongst his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his counsell [as William Glanstone bishop of Aberdeen] deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their endowments by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne courteous & gentle nature he easilie agreed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great loue amongst his people, & the deuilers of that ordinance wan passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iustice at Lotoder, and remouing it to Edinburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Arhometon was convicted for killing his wiue, and therefore

lost his head [at Edinburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassadoz this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renewe the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought newes which the king liked well.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the roade the seventh of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Maie, an Island in the Forth, and was driven in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and thowne the merchants and other that were in the same ouer boord. For reuenge thereof, Andzein Barton took manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beams. A Frenchman named sir Anthonte Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Balotie, came through England into Scotland to seeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie peece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Isles was bozne in the abbey of the Holie rood house, the one and twentieth of Ianuarie; and on the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbey church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glasgow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntclie was his godmother. The queene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sicknesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recoverye of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Pirrins in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the queene went thither to visit the same saint.

Pope Julius the second sent an ambassadoz vnto king James, declaring him protecto and defendo of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purple diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassadoz, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbey church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Aruer or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came forth of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Aruer to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassadoz knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in poss from Sterling, by S. Johns towne, and Aberdeen, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Lesleie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to saint Dunthois in Koss, by that time they were ready to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtieth day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadoz into France. They took ship the seven and twentieth of September. The seventeenth of Februarie, James

The consummation of the marriage between king James the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

Labozs
o
nd.
o o.
lage
red be-
ing
and
e
ret.

r con-
be-
Eng-
Scots

The king of Denmarke cometh into Scotland.

He is reioysed in his king-
dome by the
earle of Arrane
and his
counsellors

o r.

was in
e 1502.

The hie land men obeyed his lawes.

1505. Leil.
1504.

r. Thin.

Desire to
see the king
come.

Lesle.

1506.

A great ship made.

The Hollanders ships taken.

A bright star appeared in the skie.

Anthonte Darcie.

1507.
Prince James is bozne.

The king went on pilgrimage.

The pope declared king James protecto of the faith.

Horses presented vnto the king.

Peace and quietnesse in Scotland.

An ambassage into France.

Ge. ff.

prince

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 345.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernour.

* About this time, the k. (to tell you here, as faith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongst the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speech he was delighted) abbat of Tungleland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did partly to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glozie, and partly to recover the kings fauor, giue out a rumour, that he would (by sleight) be in France before the ambassadoz (which were sent thither, and had losed from thore to take their iourne) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iourne. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongst whom (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iourne: but this deceiuer suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (uncertaine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whom he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to lie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would lie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthy abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his sleight wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pulens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (whereupon those birds lue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508.
An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obignie, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadoz to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in marriage with Francis de Wallois of Vien, and duke of Angouleme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduise ment taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie foren prince, sith otherwisse

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obignie took a sicknesse and died thereof at Corfozpin, in the moneth of Iune, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Antians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilst he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieued manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he banquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchieued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and Iune, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadoz sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthoine Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murray into England. The fifteenth of Iulie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glasco died this yeare in his iourne to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Sparwell, and the lord Creighton of Sandhar, where the lord Creighton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Dalzell and the young lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with hostes trimlie trapped with hards of Steele to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honozable rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasurer, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in November following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seventeenth day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the senenth king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of April, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honozable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases apperteineth.

* At this time, John and Andzeto Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Dotingals) prieng on the borderers of Dotingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandise) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of pilles being often made by the Bartons vnto the Dotingals, gaue them cause greuouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

The lord
D'obignie
died.

This was
the king him-
selfe.

Ambassadoz
sent.

The archb-
shop of Glas-
cow died.

A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

Hostes sent
vnto king
James.

The archde-
con of saint
Andrews
came out of
France.

The earle
Bothwell
died.

1509.

King Henrie
the eight suc-
ceeded his
father.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
cap. 250.

Scots: but neither the king of Portugal nor his people wish their lives, could at a
 me time suppose the Spaniards (whom both the
 Spanish letters of marque, but that he would as-
 surely have, a care about the Portuguese ships, if he
 happened upon any of them. Thinking which, he
 said it shall not seeme to be a manifest answer by
 the Spaniards to the other, and not rather a well made
 game by the Portuguese: we have here written the
 letters of our king James the first, as they be found
 amongst the records written in Portuguese being at
 Oporto in this manner. For which to that time
 sufficient answer, touching the said letter and answer
 at the Portuguese to us.

James the first, king of Scotland,
 to the most excellent prince
 of Portugal.

Whereas being friend, and have our
 some certain places with a Sco-
 tish ship laden with merchandise,
 a landing from the port of Stines
 in Flanders, was invaded by two armed
 ships, governed by Portuguese, whereof
 the one was called John Wague, and the
 other John Port, which ship after the
 seizure of our merchandise, many
 wounded, many taken prisoners, and the
 rest cast into aether-but could let on land
 at the next day, was by them carried into
 Portugal: all which was done on the
 night of the sixth of the Luthian ships, which
 at the same time did also take out of that
 haven to sail into Portugal. The full
 truth whereof, Charles the duke of Bour-
 gogne, and duke of Flanders, understan-
 ding and moved not much by the singu-
 lar injury done to the Scots, as by the
 breach of the privilege, a right of his
 business, did signify the same to his
 lordship, and by order of judgement to the king
 of Portugal, admonishing him, that he
 should be more order for such wicked deeds,
 and for the satisfaction of the heart and soul:
 that he would ordaine, that all the Por-
 tugals (which frequented the parts of
 Flanders) should by sentence of judge-
 ment, restore all the damages which the
 Scots had suffered. But the immediate
 breach of that act and balance was, did
 frustrate all his determination.

The king also our grandfather (when
 he sent by his letters complained of that
 injury to the king of Portugal, and had
 our much protest) gave forth letters of
 marque, that as he gave authority to
 John a Robert Barton, brother's & brother
 of John, which was master of that
 ship laden with, to recover so much of
 the Luthians. Before the execution there-
 of, our grandfather died after which (my
 father being yet some young) the whole
 state of the realm did happily hold to al-
 ter nothing in foreign causes, until he
 came to full age. At time being of full
 age, he did further augment the
 life of the father of our father, till he had
 his commandment the king of Portugal
 the same time. Whereupon (displeasing

an ambassador into him) our father also
 died (before we could againe hear any
 answer from thence) leaving me a child
 not past three yeeres old. For which cause,
 the government of the kingdom was given
 at first (during our minority) to three
 letters of marque, until we came to ripe
 yeeres: which was done, not without
 great griefe and complaint of their mis-
 erable and poor men.

Whereupon, we also by three last
 yeeres (being now grown to ripe age)
 willing to provide, that about the order
 merchants which on that ship of John,
 have lost their goods and haven, as also to
 prevent the harmes of the said John Barton
 by way of letters of marque before given
 (and may have power given them, as also to
 take so much recompense of the Portu-
 gals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet,
 that they should not be any of them, until
 we had full by this Spaniards our shipper
 had before your majesty the whole order
 of the matter, which is the naturall trade
 king of the port, the nature of the trade,
 and the cause of our long silence, altho
 hoping that you will not do any thing, in
 respect of your humanity and indignities,
 but that which shall be good and just. The
 which, if you desire as yet to be deferred,
 we require your wisdom to consider,
 that we cannot tolerate our injuries afflic-
 ted with so great numbers, without some
 short we refer to the laws of all nations,
 for recovery of their goods taken away,
 which thing ought not to leave to any
 man (by any means) to be the violating
 of friendship, league, or confederacy,
 whereunto we have been invited. Where-
 fore, when that time shall happen, we de-
 fire your excellency to take the same in
 good part, most mercifully confer and con-
 sider long, to which I will long and hope
 life. From Greenwich, the day before
 the first of April, in the year, 1542.

The king about this time gave license to
 fairs to holden in Scotland, as to the fairs
 of both parties and other fairs, to the which
 license, he should make certain part of
 the said fairs, whereof there are many
 now holden in Scotland, with this exception:
 That in the town of Perth, fairs should be holden.

This summer the king went in pilgrimage into
 Saint Dunstons in Fife, and the queen accompanying
 in habit and habit, was brought to bed of a prince,
 the summer day of October, the which he died day
 after was baptised and named Arthur. This prince
 thus came forth of France to the king, brought
 with him, jewels, and all other kind of munition
 for himselfe, Alexander, eldest sonne to the king,
 and his mother, archbishop of Saint Andrews, which
 belonged to the same student there, which should
 with that same student there, which should
 and his mother, which well, came from Flanders by
 him into Scotland, and was with him received, be-
 cause he had bestowed his time so well in studies
 and learning.

The lord of Salisbury came to him, and
 had with him through great part of the kingdom:
 and his mother, which well, came from Flanders by
 him into Scotland, and was with him received, be-
 cause he had bestowed his time so well in studies
 and learning.

The king
 before that
 day.

The king
 went on pil-
 grimage.

The king
 with
 him.

1542

The arch-
 bishop of
 Dunstons.

The lord
 of Salisbury
 came to him.

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

1542

Prince Ar-
thur deceased.

Two scorpions found in
Scotland.

Stoep gal-
lant a sickness.

Katharine
Gordon.

The Trum-
bils with o-
ther are taken
by the king.

1511.

An ambassage
from the king
of England.

1511. Lelle.

1512.

Two ships
taken by the
Englishmen.

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caſtre, who reteined him in ſervice, and gaue him good intertainment, ſo that he remained with him, till he heard that the li- uing of Faſt caſtell was fallen to him by lawfull ſucceſſion; notwithſtanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight ſeueral perſons befoze him to ſucceed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceaſed. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the caſtell of Edenburgh. Two ſcorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the caſtell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great wonder, that anie ſhould be ſene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuerſall ſickenſſe reigned hrough all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stoep gallant.

There came alſo a paſſing faire woman into Scotland about the ſame time, naming hir ſelfe Katharine Gordon, wiſſe to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himſelfe duke of York, but at length being brought to the king, the confeſſed that ſhe was, and ſo auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir ſelfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, ſo that ſhe liued there verie well and honorable manie yeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Hule, toke diuers miſgouerned perſons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, wiſh naked ſwords in their hands, and wiſhs about their necks met him, putting themſelues in the kings mercie, which were ſent to ſundrie places to be kept in ward, wiſh diuers other of thoſe countremen, where by the marches were moze quiet afterwards: and from thence the king paſſed to ſaint Johns towne, where iuſtice were holden the reſidue of the winter.

The next yere in the beginning of Maie, the quene went from Dunfermling toward ſaint Duthois in Koſſe, and was all the way right honorable ſted and interteined. About the tenth of Iulie, ſhe returned to Edenburgh, where ſhe found the lord Dacres, and ſir Robert Dyrrie knight come thither as ambadaſſors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorable receiued. In the yere next inſuing, in Iune, Andzew Barton being on the ſeas to meet the Doxtingals (againſt whom he had a letter of marque) ſir Edmund Halward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Halward, ſonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewiſe to ſea wiſh certeine ſhips, and met wiſh the ſaid Andzew as he returned homewards nere to the Dolones, hauing wiſh him onelie one ſhip and one barke.

The Engliſhmen at the firſt made ſigne vnto the Scots as though they meant none euill, ſaue onelie to ſalute them as friends; but getting wiſthin them, they ſet vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themſelues, ſo that manie were ſlaine on both ſides: but in the end the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andzew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ſhip called the Unicozne, and the barke called Iernie Peruine, were both taken, wiſh all the Scottiſhmen that remained alieue in the ſame, which were had to London, and ſtated as priſoners in the biſhop of Yorkes houſe for a time, and after ſent home into Scotland. King James was ſore offended wiſh this matter, and therevpon ſent an herald wiſh letters, requiring reſſelle for the ſlaughtre of his people, and reſtitution of his ſhips, ſith otherwiſe it might ſeeme

to giue occaſion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the ſlaughtre of a pirat (as he toke Andzew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, that ſhould intreat of that matter, and other enozmities chanced betwene the two realmes.

About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accuſtomed to be diuided into thre parts) deſerlie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer diſpoſition than was conuenient for the proſit of the common-wealth. This man promiſed to the king (troubled wiſh the cares of warre, and careful to wipe alwaie the reproch of late receiued by the Engliſh) that thoſtie he and his folowers wiſh their kindezed and alliances, would ſo hying the matter about, that the Engliſh ſhould as greatlie lament for their loſſes, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered thre thouſand ſouldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there ſpoiled ſeuene towines befoze anie ſuccour might come to reſcure them: but as he returned backe laden wiſh booties of all kinds, his men (being accuſtomed to pilſtries and robberies) impatient of deſaie, preſentlie diuided the prey in the hoſt, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was neceſſe vnto him. Yet Alexander did not diſperſe ſuch as he might keepe togiſther: but aſſembling as manie of them as would tarie, wiſh a ſmall companie aboue the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eie to ſee if anie purſute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (paſſing the time moze careleſſe than befoze) he ſell vniuares into the hands of thre hundred Engliſh laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did ſet vpon him and his, and (diuining them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all ſuch as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were ſlaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the ſaid Alexander (exchanged for Comarck, Veron, and Ford, taken priſoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chiefeſt, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them ſent ambadaſſors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his aſſiſtance againſt England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, ſent an ambadaſſor vnto the king of England, deſiring him in brotherlie and moſt louing wiſſe to liue in peace and quietneſſe, and not to make anie wars againſt his confederat friends, offering himſelfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the ſaid princes. The king of England, who had already ſent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countreies againſt the duke of Gelderland, made ſuch faire answer herevnto as he thought ſood wiſh reaſon, and ſo diſpatched the ambadaſſour backe againe to his maſter, wiſhout anie moze adu in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

About theſe daies, there was called a provinciall ſynod of biſhops, abbats, and other religious perſons at Edenburgh, in the monaſterie of the Do- minicke friers, Balomanie the popes legat being preſent. In which by the common voice of them all (although againſt the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that heretiſſes or priſtie ſtirings (whole re- uues did partly erre the ballie of 40 pounds) ſhould

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

The kinge
ſlaine
manie.

The biſhop of
Surrey came
home.

A young prince
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king ſent to
perſuade the
king of Sco-
tland to warre.

Fortie
piles of
Engliſhmen
taken.

ſpindle of
ſilke.

The quene
brought to
of a child.

1512. Le

The leaſt

renewed &

France.

Purſeuant
ſent into
England
France.

The king of
France requi-
red aid againſt
England.

King James
perſuaded
to peace.

1513. Le

Doxor xx

ſent into

Scotland

ambadaſſad

1511

ſumme
ſurrey
of Dyrrie

Prinſe
out of F.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus. lib.
pag 316.

pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which unto this day is called the Salomane monie or tax. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntley, returned out of France, and was married unto the kings bastard daughter, in November following, in this present were 1512, of whome the house of Huntley is descended.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murray home, having bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleark of Spaine in ambassage unto the king. This yere the eleventh day of April, the quene was deliuered of a pong prince in the palace of Luthgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the first prince of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to perswade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie provisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned three English ships, & brought seven alive with him unto Leth for prizes, in the which were but three Englishmen left alive. Shortlie after, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 pikes of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Drumweldie was slaine in Edenburgh by two persons, which took sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October.

Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent unto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknesse the nineteenth of September. King James sent a pursuivant called Unicorn into France, and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie requested a safe conduct for an ambassage, to be sent from the king his maister unto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Upon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixteenth of March next insuing, doctor West came as ambassage into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certaine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next insuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appere. The king sent Forian bishop of Murray into France, to signifie unto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certaine ships out of Denmark laden with guns, powder, and other kind of munition. Also upon the first of Iune, the lord landed in the west part of Scotland the first day of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and powder, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and service to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; whereupon he was thankfullie received, honorable intertained, & richlie rewarded. And so the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great naue of ships, the principall whereof were the Michaele, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seventh of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaele himselfe, till they were past the Island of Maie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntley being one of the captains of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make any redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delaie and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time retaine in their hands the Scottismens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers affirm) the king of Scots being thereof aduertised, sent Lion king of armes unto king Henrie then lying at siege before Teruine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre unto him. Whereupon Lion arriving in the English armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middell of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, having his nobles and counsellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & some good words first bitered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

The tenor of the king of

Scots letters.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our deere brother and cosine, we commaund us unto you in our most hartie manner, and received fra Rast Heraulde your letters, wharvntill we approue and allow the doings of your commissioners, larelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continued and delat to the fifteenth day of October. As ye write laster by us ought not comper personalle, but by their attowneys. And in your letters with our herauld Flaie, we ascertaine by ye will naught enter in the red taken betwixt the most christian king and your father of Aragon, because ye and others of the hale liege neither should nor may take peace, trew, nor abstinence of warre with your common enemy, without consens of all the confederats. And because the emperor, king of Aragon, yea and every of you be boundes to make actual warre this instant summer against your common enemy. And that so to do is concluded and openlie sworn in Paules kirke at London, upon S. Markes day last by past. And farther haue sent safe conduct upon our request that a certain of ours might have redressed to

Odonell presented friendship unto king James.

A naue sent.

Commissioners met at the borders.

The Englishmen protest at the time.

A king of armes sent unto King Henrie of England.

The kings bastard named.

The bishop of Murray came home.

A pong prince borne in Scotland.

The French king sent to perswade the king of Scots to warre.

fourteen pikes of Englishmen taken.

Monsieur de la Mot.

The quene brought to bed of a child.

1512. Lesle.

The league renewed with France.

Pursuivants sent into England and France.

1513. Lesle.

Doctor West sent into Scotland ambassage.

Munition for warre sent out of Denmark.

Munition sent out of France.

king of ice required against land.

James adertise.

bin. us. lib. 8. 56.

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports).

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissionners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun before continuet to the commissionners meeting, to effect that due redresse shuld haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissionners offered to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrested to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by law need not compere personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gif in criminall action all slaars shuld naucht compere personallie, na punishment shuld follow for slaughter, and then wane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthet kepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done before to vs and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bpbearing, mainfowering, noundzelling of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our warden vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prouonet and chanet by the crags in your contrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promiss in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Andro Barton by your awn command, quha than had naucht offended to you nor your lieges vnderdelt, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharvpon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissionners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrote and als them by others vnto vs, that full redresse shuld be made at the said meeting of commissionners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countries that haue naucht offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tye his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hase bene vnto you kind without offense, and moze kind than to vs.

Forwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye haue caused others, haue giuen occasion to vs

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthet doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon doe for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightly fauour, manifestlie wronged your sister for our sake in contrarie our wits: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie, in deed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud vs, trusting that ye shuld haue emended to vs, or woorthin kinder to our friendes for our sakes, and shuld naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therevpon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though vther informatioun was made to our halie father pope Julie, by the cardinall of Porke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premises, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor Wiest instantlie desired we shuld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes with out remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actual warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we truit may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and fordeuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quhar to ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence: right excellent, right high & mightie prince our dearest brother and coussing, the trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edinburgh the twentieth first day of Julie.

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with advice of his councell, sent for the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The herauld
answers.
cc
t
f
b
o
d
t
i
l
l
cc
t

The herauld
sent for

The heralds
reuer.

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: Sir, I am his naturall subject, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldly say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in foure as followeth.

King Henrie his answer.

Right excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accumulation of manie surmised iniuries, griefs and dangers down by vs and our subjects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembring that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuiled to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindness, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightinesse of bloud, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, specially in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, like the waies to doe that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witness, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Nevertheless, we remembring the brittleness of your promise, & suspecting though not wholie believing so much unstedfastnesse, thought it bette expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readines for resisting of your said enterprises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vnaturall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnaturall dealing, we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you surmised in your letter: for so much as if anie law or reason could haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we saw well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same, and as ye doe to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembred and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Carwine, the twelfth day of August.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till Flooden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king James persecuting all the Englishmens doings to send vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediatlie after he had sent forth his herald with commandment to denounce the warre, he determined to invade the English confines, and first befoze his maine force was come togither, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirteenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bottie within the Scottish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Northumberland, but yet he could returne he was forslaid [in Wyome house, or Wyome field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scottishmen to the worse, and of them toke and slue manie.

Englishmen
fetched a bottie
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Whereupon comming to Lincolne, he went to the church to heare euensong, as the manner was. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat pelowisly red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew nere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certaine rude behaviour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort said vnto him: "King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succeed to thy hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euensong being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer scene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which seemed the more strange, because that manie which stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongst which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) David Lindsay (a man of approved credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and fallshood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certaine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fable caried about by common report."

King James
approched
nere vnto
England
with his
power.

The king of
Scots made
to much
hast.

Porham.
The States.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approaching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater advantage of victorie to recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Wellesham nere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the next day laid siege vnto the castell of Porham, and within short space won the States, ouerthrowing the

Barnekin, & thus diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to declaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie already come with an armie into the north parts, conuenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that month, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he won the castels of Fould and Cestell, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also toke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eightene daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion.

Barnekin.

Fould and
Cestell taken.

The king was determined & perswaded to haue besieged Berwicke (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more honor (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were furnished of all things for the defense thereof. Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on worke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vnbred at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it. But as they were yet at Fould, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might ioin in battell. Whereupon, there was a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had already sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches, and to the uttermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they should number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English daile increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Watward brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Turweine.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

To which perswasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissolved, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, because their souldiers were set from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should doe it in his owne realme, keeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French ambassador (and certaine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and greedy of warre, was easilie perswaded to abide his enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not forth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which befoze had bene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traine and deceit, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

Wherefoze said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time

time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to retaine into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the river of Till (hauing his banks) is not passable, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge maie easilie (by engins placed therefore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banks. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vnsoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was grievously offended.

Whereupon Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in yeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie unfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassadoz doth so much urge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer laushy in potwring out the blood of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Yetther should the losse of his host seme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would seme to be a preie to the victor. What is it more safe for vs, and more profitablie to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if I leues do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wteried by de laie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie; to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plate as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by removing to giue them cause to follow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and the w (which these men I feare rather valliant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorablie to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countries with sword and fire, and by the dynting home of so great hosties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie yeres reconer hir former estate. What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by sword) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiours may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Dowglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie cares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Whereupon he (conceituing some unkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countries helpe, and my souveraigns honor. But since I see their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitablie) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinred (of whom I greatlie account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards the, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Dowglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) looke that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within three miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitched downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great advantage, so as the enimies could not approach to fight with him; but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & name the earle of Huntlee, a man for his high balliance ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words (besides that which Dowglas had before said) that

The power of the north countrie raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntlee his counsell.

Fr. Thin.

nothing

His persua-
sions.

For he swea-
ther.

Prodigious
chances.

In hare.

The buckle
leather of his
helmet gnawed
with mice.
The cloth of
his tent of
bloudie colour.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to let all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of advantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarcitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to cease, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduiselement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke stricken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodies.

And surerlie beside the want of vittels, the soule and enill weather fore annoied both parties; for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to retorne home, but also fore vexed the Englishmen, as well in their iourneie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Flaie the night before the battell, containing as followeth.

King James his quarell vnto the
earle of Surrie.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we swore last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oath, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs per we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your assised time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doe anie thing ouer rashlie.

There chanced also manie things taken (as ye would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an harte start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hit, with great noise and shouting, yet he escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mice had gnawed in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreover, the cloth or velle of his inner tent (as is said) about the beake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessity to take all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots late incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twissell bridge; the reeward going ouer at Milford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiving the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to pzeuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither per the English men could perceiue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, covered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

In the meane while were the Englishmen advanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double advantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vnto wards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downetowards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to some with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lelous) the earle of Huntlee and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crauford and Pontrolle; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennox] making downwards, encountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Brannton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constrained to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and advancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host overthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the English men had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

His captains did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doe no more than another man; yet keeping his place as apperteineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The English
campe remou-
ed by the
earle.

Sir Edward
Huntlee im-
med the backe
of the re-
ward.

King James
aine.

The lord
chamberlaine
and still.

The Scots
campe remou-
ed also.

Advantage
gotten by the
ground.

The lord
chamberlaine
beareth the
blame.

King James
his practice.

Fr. Thin.

The English
men thanked
God for this
viable victory.

1000. Buchan.
15000 men
kille.

Sir Edmund
Haward was
fiercelie as-
sailed.

A good begin-
ning had an
euill ending.

King James
deceived him-
selfe and alight-
ed from his
horse.

The captains
good counsell
not regarded.

The Scot-
men retorne
home againe.

They were
wily of their
owne people.

The kings
hardinzie
marred all.

resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the ceregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Banrton, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scotish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scotishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Moreover, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to do; but looked one vpon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wisely in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Wherevpon the Englishmen remembzing how manifestlie Gods godnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued thre houres, in the which fiftene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was credible reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scotishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and toke it for his; but rather an other Scotish mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night alieue at Helso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelie to Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to discharge forth the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgonie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Panceie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture alieue.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scotish armie returned homewards the same way they came, waisting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprimoued, as cause of all that mischiefe, which be-

ued himselfe not as a captiue, but as a traitor to his enimie to his countrie. * Upon the honoz of this victorie, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognifance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scotish armie was overcome, and that worthy prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentieth and fift yeere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yeere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, hee deserued to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scotish nation. All theft, reiffe, murder, and robbrie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: inasmuch that the sauage people of the out Isles forsooke themselves through terroz and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where other wise of themselves they are naturally inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrewes his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Killwinnie: the earles of Montrose, Crathford, Argyll, Lennox, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Adell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Clueston, Ross, Junderbie, Saintcleare, Martwell, and his thre brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Bothwicke, Bogonie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castle, sir Alexander Seton, sir Davie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Catfild, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Catwell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Clesker, Spacke bene, Spacke Cleue, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for which he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (oblied to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li. 13

The sauage
people refoz-
med them-
selves.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 13.

English
remou-
the

Edward
Stanlie in
the backe
of the re-
gard.

King James
slaine.

The lord
chamberlaine
was slaine.

Scots
remou-
so.

image
n by the
nd.

The lord
chamberlaine
was the
slaine.

James
reaffe.

The English
rethanked
God for this
victorie.

hin.

1000. Buchan.
1000 men
slaine.

Edward
ward was
slaine af-
d.

and begin-
y had an
ending.

g James
used him
and alight
from his
le.

e captiue
counsell
regarded.

The Scotish
armie
was againe.

They were re-
med of their
war people.

e kings
victorie
red all.

that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (wone in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue tuncle happened vnto him.)

*James the
fift.*

*An assemble
at Striueling
1513.*

*The king
crowned, and
the queene ap-
pointed re-
gent.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.*

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, slain at Banrton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, hir sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yere, five moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the queene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgou, the earles of Huntley, Angus, and Arrane. * This gouernement the queene obtained by reason of hir husband's testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.]

A debate.

*The duke of
Albanie is
sent for.*

*Monsieur de
la Baultie is
sent into
Scotland.*

*An assemble
had at Stri-
ueling.*

*The great
disquietnesse
reigning in
Scotland dur-
ing the mi-
noritie of
James the
fift.*

*Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.*

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had bene slain at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Baultie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Baultie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edinburgh, the thirteenth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, though lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance daily rising amongst the lords & pères of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to wonder thereat, and in viewing the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other foies and rabble of inuiours violence inuaded hir emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. * During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preyed and spoiled others) a great captain of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adjoining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred theues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilst he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his uncle John Creighton) taken by

wait laied for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The queene sent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his coming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for hir sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succede, if hir son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

Now shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edinburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases provided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they took the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had bene devised.

This yere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of Aprill was the queene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfermling, and the archdeane of saint Andewes, and instantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathness, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the queene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the queene called an assemble at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes coming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next insuing.

This yere, the first of August, the queene married Archembald Dologlasle earle of Angus, and immediately after in saint Johns towne took the great scale from the bishop of Glasgou, that was chancellor of the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the queene and hir new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongst the nobles and pères of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewis the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great salt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yere, a

*The king of
England writ
teth to his si-
ster.*

*Monsieur de
la Baultie.*

1514.

*The castell of
Dunburgh
taken.*

*The duke of
Albanie con-
firmed tutor
by parlement.*

*The popes
bulls publi-
shed.
1515. Lelle.*

*Contention
about the tri-
umphy of the
re of saint
Andewes.*

*1514.
A legat from
Rome.
The queene
deliuered of
hir second son
Alexander.*

*1515.
Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.*

*The duke of
Albanie his
arrival in
Scotland.*

*The marriage
of the queene
mother.
The great
scale taken
from the bi-
shop of Glas-
coun.*

*A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Eng-
land & France*

*The duke of
Albanie re-
turned into
Edinburgh.*

The decess
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.

king of
land with
his li-

gentle de
a sainte.

1514.

The castell of
Dunbarton
taken.

Duke of
une con-
ed tutor
arlement.

The popes
bull publi-
hed.
1515. Lesle.

Contention
about the in-
terest of the
is of saint
Andrew.

514.
gas from
re.
queene
ered of
cond son
ander.

1515.

Once be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie his
arrivall in
Scotland.

e marriage
je queene
bet.
e great
taken
the bis-
of Glas-

ence con-
ed be-
rt Eng-
e France

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ved into E-
dinburgh.

about the twentieth of October, William Elphing-
ston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priuie
scale departed this life at Edinburgh. He had bene
a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James
the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowed
the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the in-
crease of learning & vertue, which hath flourished with
good wits of students ever since, till these our daies.
The 20th of Nouember, Le sire de la Bantie receiued
the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Al-
banie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgou brother
to the bishop of Murray, called Forman. Shortly
after, John Hepburne the prior of saint Andrewes
then elect archbishop of that see, besieged the castell
of saint Andrewes, and wan it by force from the kee-
pers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the
name of Calvin Dologlas, wherewith the queene
and the earle of Angus were highly offended. The
twelfth of Ianuarie, being a verie darke & windie
night, the earle of Lennox, and the maister of Glen-
carne undermined the nether groundsoile of the ca-
stell gate of Dunbarton, & entered thereby into the
castell; & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Cr-
skine. Shortly after (that is to say) the fiftenth of
that moneth, a great assemble was made betwixt
the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue
fought with the other, which was the cause and be-
ginning of great trouble that ensued.

The same day in Edinburgh were the bulls pub-
lished, which Forman the bishop of Murray had pur-
chased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishop-
ricke of saint Andrewes, the abbasies of Dunfirme-
ling, and Arbroeth, through supplication of the queene
and duke of Albanie. From which bulls the prior of
saint Andrewes appealed, pretending title to the arch-
bishopricke by election and generall gift of the lords
of the realme; and herupon got together his friends
in Edinburgh, as the maister of Hales and others.
And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and di-
uerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings
letters, by vertue whereof they proclaimed the said
maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrewes
rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the
horne: whereupon they were constrained to depart
out of Edinburgh. And in Aprill following, the pri-
or went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeal.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parle-
ment was assembled at Striueling; but because the
lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was
proposed till the coming of the duke of Albanie,
which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or
at the furthest in Aprill next ensuing, as he had sent
word by sir John Striueling of the Weir, that was
latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords
and peeres of the realme. The fiftenth of Aprill, truce
was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to
indure for thre yeares, or thre moneths (as saith
Lesleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the
afternone, the Englishmen entered the borders of
Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forayed the
countie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding
the truce. The sevententh day of Aprill, John
duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland,
arrived at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well
appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of
necessarie prouision for his estate.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed a-
longst the coast till he came to Dunbarton, and there
came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glas-
gou, where all the westland lords receiued him with
great semblance of reioicing for his arrivall. The
fir and twentieth day of Aprill, he was receiued into
Edinburgh, a great number of lords meeting him
on the way. The queene also came from hir owne lod-

ging and met him, to do him honoz. Sumorie con-
ceipts, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burge-
ses, to honoz his entrie in the best maner they could
deuise. Shortly after his coming to Edinburgh,
there came thither forth of all parts of the realme,
the lords and barons, where they being assembled
in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of
the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise,
so that they would assist him in setting forth of iu-
stice and good orders, which they undertooke to do.

Whereupon was the parlement, which had bene
proposed till his coming, summoned to be kept at
Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse
acts were concluded and made; and the lord Dum-
mond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for stri-
king Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him
of life and honoz, but his lands and goods remained
in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was after-
wards restored to the same againe. In this parle-
ment also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by
the thre estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to
the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to
him: his oath also was taken by the lords, and theirs
giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to
others, and namelie to their king and gouerneigne
lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the viter-
most of their powers, for the aduancement of his
honoz, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilist this parlement was
in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king
should haue bene conueied forth of the realme se-
cretlie into England: whereupon he suddenlie de-
parted in the night time from Edinburgh, with his
men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling,
where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with
the queene; which castell, together with the kings per-
son, and the other within it, were deliuered to him
the third day of August: whereupon he committed
them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of
the realme, whereof the earles of Gglenon and
Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he
had assisted the earle of Angus and the queene a-
gainst the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and
the earles of Lennox & Arrane, with manie others,
were sent to his houses to seise the same into the
kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gun-
powder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that en-
tered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England,
and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of
truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle
marches. The twelfth of August, the queene, the
earle of Angus, and his brother George Dologlas,
went from Tempallon vnto Hertwicke, and from
thence passed to the nuntie of Caustream; where-
upon aduertisement being giuen to the K. of Eng-
land, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and
twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the
lord Wacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where
she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter,
called Margaret Dologlas, afterwards married to
the earle of Lennox, as in place conuenient it shall
further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this
time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor
perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to
the borders with his Frenchmen, where the first of
October, the said lord Hume came & submitted him-
selfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alex-
ander shortly after did the same, and they were both
deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed
to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Edin-
burgh.

But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said
earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night
season,

Parlement
summoned.

The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

The lord
Hume de-
nounced a re-
bell.

The birth of
the countesse
of Lennox.

The lord
Hume sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

The earle of Arrane fleas itch away.

The lord Hume and other committed of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth hir sons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Hurreie and Huntleie.

Lion king of armes raised by the lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane escapes renolteth from the gouernor.

The earle of Lennor furniseth Dunbretton.

The earles of Lennor and Arrane take a respit.

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Whereupon, the gouernor causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and David Hume, were committed of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like manner. And in that meane space, the gouernor went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of November next ensuing, came with the bishop of Glasgowe vnto Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords took part with the earle of Hurreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntleie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much adoe, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and took the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Hurreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause, and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Hurreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldreame by the lord Hume, who took his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Roxford the kings brother departed this life at Striveling.

The seuenteenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed vpon at Colbington, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Plaines the French ambassador, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gatwin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen compassed for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennor, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbretton and diuerse other to be furnished, and took the castell of Glasgowe with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernor aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgowe, where, by the laboz of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennor came in to the gouernor, and took a new respit, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. For man the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to

the great diquieting of the realme, by such partakers as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the these benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfirme, ling in the gouernors hands; to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said forman with the abbasies of Dunfirme, and to maister James Hepburne he gaue the bishopricke of Galloway, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompente; the abbasie of Dunburgh he gaue vnto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgowe called Beton he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth; assigning to the earle of Hurreie a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning, and George Dundas was made prior of the knights of the roads. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant euer since Flodden field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kindred, that by such liberalitie shew towards them, all debates, and discords might cease, which had happened amongst them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of February.

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men united together, received into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrick Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Insche galle. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the first of Maie, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strathven in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logierath by the gouernors commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernor forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanye the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and David Bar of Fernhurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vpon against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were committed of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the theues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuth in Edinburgh: David Bar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times greatly afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

Aganeth his wife to the archbishops see.

Bestowing of benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

The earle of Angus and others received into fauor.

The parlement began againe.

The king of Englands letters to the lords.

The lord Hume and other arrested and committed to ward.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan lib. 14.

The duke of Albanie visiteth the borders. Another parlement. The duke of Albanie sends person to the realme.

The gouernor asketh licence to go to France.

The earle of Lennor in ward.

Monsieur de Saint made wards of the marches.

1517. Ambassador from France.

An ambassie into France.

The gouernor goeth to France.

Gouernors appointed to the kings person.

remained in England amongst his friends. John abbat of Jedburgh was banished beyond Lake. David the younger brother, which was prior of Colvingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by James Hepburne, the husband of his sister) slain by a traine, under color of a meeting and parlie, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmelesse yong gentleman, of a singular wit, and folie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to have bin intrapped.

The duke of Albany with the borders.
Another parliament.
The duke of Albany second person of the realme.

Shortly after, the duke rode to Jedburgh with a great compaignie of men, & staid the great robbing & reaving which had bene used on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edinburgh. The third of November, another parliament was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor should be deemed and reputed for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Stewart, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Dykeneie, which was alleged to have bene first married to their father the duke of Albany, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Whereupon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers favor, and was made bishop of Gurreie, and abbat of Secone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths: but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouernor asketh licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

Monsieur de la Bantie made warden of the marches.

1517.
Ambassadors from France.

An ambassage into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

Gouernors appointed to the kings person.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edinburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbretton to be deliuered unto one Alane Stewart in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Februarie, the gouernor went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new french king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and subjects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were assembled at Edinburgh, where by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dunbello, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thirteenth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor took ship at Petermarke beside Dunbretton the seventh of June, taking his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should have remained but onelie foure moneths, he having appointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgowe, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilste he was absent. Also he ordeined Anthoine Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Edinburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Sparthall, the lords Erskin, Roxburgh, Withen; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The queene that remained as then in England, after the understood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edinburgh the seventeenth of Iulie, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August following: at that time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Cragmiller, where the queene oftentimes came unto him; but at length through some suspicion conceived, least the queene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was with force brought unto the castell of Edinburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalf.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 9.
pag. 386.

10 * Much about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntlie, which for the praise of his singular goodnesse obtained the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernor) was singularly welcomed and interteined of all men, who going unto his owne people (in the north parts) was vexed with such grievous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature succede the same office) shortly after buried in the abbey of Kilroffe, with a goodlie towne erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gave (for manie causes) manie griefes unto manie persons: but amongst other the chiefest to his father, who lived not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earldome to his nephew, sonne of his sonne John; who because he was but ten yeeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instructed in all goodnesse of maners answering to the excellencie of that wit wherewith he was indued.

30 This earle Huntlie adorned with excellent sweetness of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie suffer to depart out of his compaignie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treason was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intice the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allowed with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting up his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and provided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; because the said child was borne of his sisters mariage.

50 The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthoine Darcie lord Bantie the french aduanced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capitaine of Dunbretton, the strongest fort of Scotland) began to raise tumults in the land. For William Cockburne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (expelling the gardians of the papill) did keepe the castell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockburne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set upon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lying in wait for him.

60 For the castell of Langton or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as took his part against the king) he the said Woodburne appointed subtil fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeited anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so intencionally taken from him, and kept to the kings

J. f. lii.

kings

Lellous lib. 9.
pag. 387.

1517.

Monsieur de
la Bantie
slaine by the
lord of Wood-
burne.
Fr.Thin.

kings behofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to reconer the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bantie might be intited to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bantie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the use of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set by in the towne of Duns [upon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith muelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Banties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, took George Dowglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Har, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreover, for due punishment of the murder of the foresaid de la Bantie, there was a parlement called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockburne & John Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bantie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Parlement
called.

The lord of
Woodburne
indicted.

The earle of
Arrane com-
meth into the
Pers.

The maister
of Hales.

The bond of
league be-
twixt Scot-
land & France
Captaine
Doyers.

1518.

The abbat of
Glenluce.

The Scots
euill bled at
the French
kings hands.

The bishop of
Aberden a
bulwer.

Immediately after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Pers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillery, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keyes of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Colvingham, whom he had slaine traitorously. A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one captaine Doyers a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Lennox, who had bene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves euill bled, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gatten Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleark of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Aberdeen that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

Whis Gatten founded an hospitall in Aberdeen, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of

twelue poze men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bidge, with seven arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall upholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreover, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renoume; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildinges.

The seuenteenth of June, there rose great stir in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsay, about the inioieng of the thiriftwike of Fife, by reason wherof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbretton. About the beginning of August, the queene remaining in Edenburgh, vnderstood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Dowglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which ad the conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleark as ambassador from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dunbar que in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pale vpon the seas to watch for his coming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was removed forth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for donbt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin effones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he misde his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

Here vpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughteres thereof ensued, as of the prior of Colvingham, and six of his men murdered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crao, for; the lord Clames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Dkeneie, and Dunblane, with diuerse abbats and other prelats. And in the towne of Glasgow was the bishop of Glasgows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglington, and Cassels; the lords Rothe, Scrimpl, the abbat of Dalry, the bishop of Callotway, and other noble men of the west. As the lords were diuided, and would not take ante order for the good government of the commonwealth.

In December, monsieur de la Faict, and a French cleark called Cordell, with an English herald called Claretour, came from the kings of France and

Contention
betwixt the
erie of Rothes
and the lord
Lindsay.

The cause of
the hatred be-
twixt the
queene and
hir husband.

1519. Lesle.

1519.
A mad man.

The king of
England se-
kerth to kepe
the duke of
Albanie forth
of Scotland.

The earle of
Arrane.

Dissention
betwixt the
earles of Ar-
rane and
Angus.

The peace
proclaimed.

152
Dissention
betwixt the
earle of Angus
the lord of
Fembar

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.

The lo
Hume
taken

Monsieur de
la Faict.

and England, with an ambassado: also from the gouernor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one yere, betwixt Scotland and England: who coming to Edinburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancelor: the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anie nearer than to Linlithgo. The ambassado: therefore toke in hand to perswade, that an assemble might be had in Strimling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Nevertheless, the said ambassado: went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancelor and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carliuerok, reproouing them sharpelie for their demeror, and for taking their answer of the chancelor, so that they were not a litle afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage towards them, which otherwile than in words it should appere he did not.

In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedburgh, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Har the lord of Fernhurst; in whose aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred pers men: but the lord of Sessford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelso with a great company, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the pers men left sir James Hamilton, the bastard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, so that with much paine he was hoisted, and escaped in great danger into Hume, with losse of foure of his seruants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Kase Har, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernhurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalltie, held his court at the principal place of the forrest of Jedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, thre miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Wodburne, and maister William Dowlgasse, metolie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, against the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancelor, who were also there. But now by the coming of these forces, which entered by force at the neather bolue, and slue the maister of Mountgomerie, haue of the earle Eglington, and sir Patrike Hamilton knight, the earle of Arrane, and the chancelor, were constrained to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north loch. [As reuenge this continuellie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Martocke (which is the castell of Coldingham) but they shortly returned backe without doing anie thing against them.]

The one and twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edinburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume, beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and David Hume of Wodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen, and others, and passed to the Wodburn, where they remained; till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe, and the place where they were fastened on a wall, and this was done in presence of the priouit lord the time being. The next day they went to the Wodburn, and from thence to the Wodburn, to see the heads of the

celor, and some other of that faction there. But missing of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and causing solenne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blache friers, for them that ought those heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anie other thing for that present.

In November, the duke of Albanie arrived in Scotland on the west parts, at an haue called Craibach, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the thre and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with the quene, the archbishop of Glasgows chancelor, the earle of Huntlie, and manie other lordes, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their coming thither, the priouit and bailiffes were deposed, because they had bene chosen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their comes. Then was there a parliament summoned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and twentieth of Januarie next following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall summons of forsaikure was proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, where in were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Wodburne, the lord of Dalehouse, John Summerlock of Catodfrene, and William Cockburne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appearance in the said parliament, to be tried for sundrie great offences by them committed.

Maister Gawin Dowglaife, bishop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Savoy, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning cleerke, and a betis godd part: he translated the twelue booke of the Aeneidos, of Virgill in Scottish meter, and compiled also The palace of honor, with diuerse other treatises in the Scottish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of forsaikure to be laied against him at the parliament, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle and his brother George Dowglaife should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleasure; and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next yere following.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting lest he should perswade the Scottishmen to assist the French king, against whom, by persuation of the emperor he meant to make warre, sent his brother Clarence into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alleging, that it was promised by the king of France at the last entercourt betwixt them, which shuned the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreover, whereas the king of England was uncle unto the king of Scots, he considered with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephew, as he meant to do; and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne so located, if ought came to the young king, should haue the gouernment of him; least he might be made stowe, as other young kings had bene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus should be sent out of the realme, so that he could not enter the company of his wife, sister unto the said king of England. Whereupon the king of England had there his own commandment that the duke should be deposed, and that the young king of Scots should be in the gouernment of him; which the king of England did declare by his message unto the duke, and point

The duke of Albanie returned into Scotland.
1521. Buch.

The priouit and bailiffes of Edinburgh deposed.
1521. Buch.

Gawin Dowglaife bishop of Dunkeld fled into England.

The earle of Angus feared the sentence of forsaikure.

The earle and his brother departed.

Clarence, an English brother sent to Scotland.

The king of England desired to haue the duke of Albanie gouernor to the king his nephew.

Warre denounced by Clarence against the duke of Albanie.

The peace proclaimed.

intention with the
of the lord
ndley.

he cause of
harred be-
ter the
ene and
husband.

1520. Lesle.

1520. Lesle.
The earle of Angus and the lord of Fernhurst.

1519. mad man.

he king of
England se-
th to haue
e duke of
Albanie for
Scotland.

The earle of
Arrane.

intention
twixt the
ries of Ar-
ne and
Angus.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The lord
Hume's head
taken downe.

Wonsler de
a frot.

The dukes
answer.

point at Holie rood house, as he had in commande-
ment. To whome the duke answered, that neither the
king of France, nor the king of England should
steale him from coming into his countrie. And as
touching the king, who was as yet young in yeres, he
loved him as his soveraigne lord, and would keepe
him, and defend both him and his realme against all
other that would attempt to invade the same, accor-
ding to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as tou-
ching the earle of Angus, he had used towards him
all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill
demerits, and that principallie for the queenes cause,
whome he would honor as mother to his soveraigne
lord. This answer being reported unto the king of
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-
fore prepared to make warre.

1522.

The death of
the archbishop
of saint An-
drewes.
James Be-
ton succeeded
him.

War in E-
denburgh.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seven great ships
into the Forth, unto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the
ships, and invade the coast there: but they were so
frontlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-
fered to doe anie great exploit, and so they returned
without preie or prise. In this season, Andrew For-
man bishop of saint Andrews deceased, and bishop
James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe, chancellor of
Scotland, was removed to saint Andrews, & made
abbat also of Dunfermling, and the archbishop of
Glasgowe was given a young man one Gavin Dun-
bar, that was the kings scholemaster. In the mo-
neth of Maie, there was great adu in Edinburgh,
by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of
Murray and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of
Huntleie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to
partakings; but the duke coming suddenly from
the abbey of Holie rood house, stated the matter, and
committed the said earles unto ward within the ca-
stell.

The emperor
commeth into
England.
Scots and
Frenchmen
banished forth
of England.
The earle of
Shrewsburie
invadeth
Scotland.

The emperor came into England, and persuaded
the king there to moue warres against the French
king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the
Scots were commanded to stou out of England,
their goods confiscated, and they conueied forth of
the land, with a white crosse sowed upon their tyer-
most garment. In Julie, the earle of Shrewsburie
was sent by the king of England unto the borders,
with commission, to raise the power of the north
parts to invade Scotland, who upon the sudden en-
tered and came to Kelso, where he burnt one part of
the towne, but the borderers of the Scots and Lein-
dale, not being halfe so manie in number as the o-
ther, set upon them, slue, and took manie prisoners,
and so constrained them to returne into England
with small honor.

Fr. Thin.
Lescus lib. 3.
pag. 409.

The gouernor after this (when he saw the Eng-
lish ouerrun all the borders of Scotland) called a
parlement at Edinburgh, the 9 kalends of August,
to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fear-
ing them selues (because of a prepared and well fur-
nished nauie of the English which did euerie waie
coast and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise
and of excellent knowledge) unto the gouernor, to re-
quest him that he would either by counsell persuade,
or by authoritie enforce his Scots to take armes a-
gainst the English. After which (the matter being
with great consultation and manie reasons tolled
for and against) it was decreed by common
consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of
souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders
from the invasion of the enemy, & the more strong-
lie to repell the English force) it was concluded,
that the children of such as were slaine in that expedi-
tion, should be free from all charges or troubles
that might light on them during their minority:
and further, that the toines of all such which had ante-
lains (during their times) fell in that warre) should

after the death of their husbands keepe the same for
the terme of five yeres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great prepa-
ration that the earle of Shrewsburie made, to raise
an armie of foure score thousand men to invade
Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent
unto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme,
willing them to raise all such power as they could
make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And
so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of
Scotishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great
artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water
of Esk ouer against Carleill: and perceiving that
the English armie came not then forward, he did
that he could to persuade the noble men to enter in-
to England: but as they were in counsell together
about that earnest motion made to them by the duke,
a certeine graue personage said to them in this ma-
ner.

My lords, hither we be come by the commande-
ment of my lord gouernor duke of Albanie, and albe-
it we be readie to defend our atome native realme,
contrarie the invasion of our auld enemies of Eng-
land, yet neuertheless it seemeth not good, nor for
the wele of our realme of Scotland, to passe with-
in England with our armie to invade the same at
this time. And the earnest persuasions quhill the go-
uernor makes to us to doe the same, proceeds ala-
nerlie for the pleasure of France. It appereth to be
sufficient enough for us so long as the king our sove-
reigne lord is within age to defend our auld realme,
and not to invade: otherwile, we may put the baile
countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinfall:
for king James the fourth brought the realme of
Scotland to the best that it euer was, and by the
war it was brought to the worst almost that might
be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte,
quhill Scotland saw lamentations. Wherefore by mine
adulfe, let us go to the gouernor, and know of him
the cause why he would persuade us to invade Eng-
land.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the
earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for
them all, and said: My lord gouernor, by your will
and commaundement, here is assembled the mass
of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, by
on a pretense to enter within England. My lords
here would know the cause and quarrell why this
warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it
should well satisfie their minds. The duke studied a
little space, and said: This question would haif bin
demanded yet now; for well you know, that I for
berie tuse I beare to the realme of Scotland (of the
quhill I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife
pulled the seas from the noble realme of France, in-
to this realme of Scotland. And great cause there
was for me so to doe, to bring you to a unitie, when
ye were in dissoloun, by reason whereof, your
realme was like to haue bin conquered and destrui-
ed. And also the king of France, by my suites and
intercession, will toine with you in aid against the
English nation: and when this warre was deter-
minate in the parlement, you made me capteine, au-
thorizing me to invade England with banner dis-
played. Then was no demand made of the cause or
quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and
agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer
your demand, me think you haif iust cause to in-
uade England with fire, sword, and blood, gif ye be
not forgetfull; and without you will beare dishonor
and reproche for euer. For ye know that this realme of
Scotland is now inheritance, as a portion of the
good will of two noble nations and princes, whose
we haif sed. When there may there be better warre,
than

The duke of
Albanie rais-
eth an armie
to invade
England.

The words
of a counsellor.

1522.
The reply of
a wise coun-
sellor.

The earle of
Arrane decla-
reth to the go-
uernor the
mind of the
lords.

The gouer-
nor answereth
to the presi-
dents reply

The dukes
answer to the
earle of Ar-
rane.

Means in
the peace.

The lord i-
res.

than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance: Is it not daile sene, the great inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manlaughters and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do daile: Is not this one cause of warre: To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the verie seruice of chualtrie, and the dutie naturall of the communitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and anner it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and our predecessours. For sene the beginning of our habitation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they cuer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chaunce lost our souereigne lard, & diuerse noble men, quhilk was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine, than othertwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quhilk murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that you suld couragiously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged.

Then one wise man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernour, saient: My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he strikes the stroke, we can warke na miracles, & beare are the lards of Englaund ready to encounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power fall increafe daile, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he fall) yet haue we not won the field, for ready comming is the earle of Shrewesburie sa mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knawe well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will send oʒ bying another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reason whereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercomen how manie suld be slaine, God knaues. They that are twozthie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulnesse and fule hardinesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I say, while the king is with in age, we aught to moue na weir, least by weir we may bying him to destruction.

Then said the balliant gouernour: Here is an puissant armie of Scotland, gif we retorne, we fall incourage our enemies. Therefore sene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my counsell is that we campe still on the bozdures, while we see what the Englishmen pretends to do against our realme. As to the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernour, the quene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the proceedings and determinations, sent word to the gouernour, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernours campe, vpon pledges, wherunto the gouernour condescended. Wherevpon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Musgraue] came vnto the gouernours campe, and thither also at that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quene should send ambassadoys into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

In the moneth of October next ensuing, there were thre ambassadoys sent into England, according to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreme conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honor and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen toke the matter. And so those ambassadoys returned without agreement or conclusion of peace: therevpon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortly after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquisse Dorset, warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches.

About the first day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irksome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chieflie to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and glablie received of the king, his request was onlie to haue five thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almaines, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this baine brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuertheless, he promised him some aid, wherevpon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders moztly, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, daile looking for support from France. Querie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerse houses were ouerthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great naue of ships in the pale on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at Brest in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Birkowze in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilest the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey: [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedburgh which the earle burnt.] It was thought they went to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselves against their inuasions, they were constrained to retorne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

* In this place, Buchanan (before he cometh to the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie after his retorne out of France) writeth in this sort. While haue the west (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the diffention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

The earle of Northumberland made lord warden.

The earle of Surreie. The lord marquisse Dorset. The lord Dacres.

The duke of Albanie goeth ouer into France. His request.

His baine brag.

1523.

The borders watched.

The duke of Albanie retarneth into Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

The earle of Surreie inuadeth Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan. lib. 14.

The duke of Albanie rather an armie inuade England.

The wordes a counsellor.

The earle of Albanie declaw to the gouernour the id of the war.

The wordes were to the le of Fr.

The gouernours wordes to the president's replie.

Spears made for peace.

The lord Dacres.

The wordes made.

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuile of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Douglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for companions than leaders in battels; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon she (to gratifie hir brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into hir owne hands) did (dissembling hir greedie desire to rule) persuaue them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresée, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against hir husband, whome before she had begun to hate extremelie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and as much as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaue themselves to breake the league with the French, and soine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well vnderstand, that the king of England did not seeke after souereingtie, glorie, power, or honoz; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subject to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercourese of merchandise, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honoz of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disadvantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdom, and the benefit that they might loke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were bozne in one continent, brought vp vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in manners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall foile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind; and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-certaine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but see in deed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant doe also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stillie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chiefelie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifying of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way lozt to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had used that policie to intrap vntwarte men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdom of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure: and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecillie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolve the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English doe now also seeke none other matter, than (casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdom.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chiefest strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors nere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we loke for anie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint latos of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and

David Car.
warre castell
besieged.

The earle of
Dunbar with
an armie of
foote thou-
sand men.
The marquis
Dorset appoynted
to be kept
by the
Dunbar.

warre at
last.

The Scots
and French
were backe
over the
water.

where the
English have
killed one, the
Scots have
murdered ten
as the court
of their histo-
ries will well
prooue.

and covenants, are in tenth firme bonds of amitie amongst the good: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and injuries, doe dwell in people, whome necessitie of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike maner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresee and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disagreement, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the content of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand; that there should not anie thing be done therein; and therefore sent certeine of the French aid as ambassadoys about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arrivall came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inso much as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, pacified by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of injuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Douglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldisfreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Marke, which was kept by sir William Lisle capteine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiers, and great prouision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Anwikke, not far distant from Marke, and the marquess Dorslet was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Bertolke, for doubt least the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Marke; and the same woone likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driven to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants went to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a foze and vehement storme and tempest of raine chanced

that night, so that they were constrained to leaue off that enterprise, and to get themselves ouer the riuer againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Tweed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Tweed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had invaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honoz to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuaade the duke to retire home: which he did, so that by his laboz, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honoz (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie sundaie, being the one and thirtieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surpise the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Bertolke, where pærelie on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason thereof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the comming of the young lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the first of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, & Bassard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entred into the shers, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and seeke to saue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bassard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the seuententh of Iulie, the lord Marwell, and sir Alexander Fordein, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entred England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and thereupon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, inso much that for the space of an houre, there was a sore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to incourage his people: & after that, by the taking of

Glendale
burned by
the Scots.

An herald
sent.

A truce.

See more of
this matter in
England.
1524.

Scots enter
into England

Englishmen
inuaide Scot-
land.

Englishmen
discomfited.
Bassard He-
ron slaine.

1524.
Four thousand
land saith Hal.

The lord
Marwell in-
uadeth Eng-
land.

David Car.
was castell
besieged.

The earle of
Surrie with
an armie of
some thou-
sand men.
The marquess
Dorslet appoin-
ted to keepe
Bertolke.

was as-
sailed.

The Scots
and French
were drach-
en the
water.

re the
fish have
done, the
to haue
hered ren-
e coun-
re his-
Soll well
e.

of Alexander Fordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araine againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, toke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led about thre hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

An assemblee
of the lords.

After this soueraine, there was an assemblee of the lords in Edinburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should suffer such damage, as it had done by those thre last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perceiving how the lords were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie persuaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Strueling where the king was, of whome he toke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he toke the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
France.
Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumor of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, persuaded him to come from thence secretly into England, which accordingly he did; and being safely arrived in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be ready to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which fought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroy him & his: but per the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine young lords, came from Strueling vnto Edinburgh; and three daies after, the queene toke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edinburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edinburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the queene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edinburgh the third day of February next ensuing (and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.)

The queene
taketh the go-
uernment in-
to hir hands.

A parlement
summoned.
Fr. Thin.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Mognus, and Roger Katcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the queene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Wherevpon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all

A truce taken
for one yere.

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the queene bare him, there ensued occasions of great divisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the queene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cockeborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Wille abbat of Cambulkeneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Craneuich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their coming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same ouerthrowing manie private houses in Edinburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the queenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edinburgh was come, the king, queene, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Douglas earle of Angus, and John Steward earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edinburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that late in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of February, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the queenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dunblane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the queene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the thre states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they won it, all their lines within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The queene, by the counsell of the earles of Ardrane and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would shortly discharge all the artillerie

Ambassadors
into England

He forgetteth
the castell of
Edinburgh.

The parties
are agreed.

Counsellors
appointed.

Emce re-
word.

Fr. Thin.

1525,
Lefleus lib.
pag. 414.

Lessus lib.
pag. 417.

Candida Cal.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The queene
mother in
armes.

The earle of
Angus his
request.

artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, speciallie among the burgesse, but by the diligence of certein persons that trauelled betwix the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certein daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forfet, that neither he nor other thing might be suffered to be conueied into it, except so much as might serue for the sustentation of the king's stone person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the fourth and twentieth day of February, the king came into the parliament holden in the Tolbooth in most honorable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, having the crowne, scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey where he remained.

In this parliament, there were eight lords chosen to be of the king's privie counsell, the which toke the government of the king and realme upon them, as these: the archbishops of Saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Durbane: the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the quene was aduised to be her principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. From this parliament also was the earle of Cassels sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of March. But because the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pavia, he would not proceed in the treatie of marriage betwix the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three years and six moneths, the ambassadoys returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without anie contract of marriage at that time. The agreement betwix the quene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the bishop of Durbane or Dunkeld (as saith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Douglas, without the aduise of the quene and other lords. Whereupon the quene departed and went into Striueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who toke the whole rule and government of the realme and king upon him, and made his vncle Archibald Douglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Douglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

In this meane time, the archbishop of Saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Spurrey, remaining with the quene at Striueling, alleged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus for against his will: and therefore they sent unto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to giue the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the earle of Angus, albeit he would gladly haue bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed them by priuate meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon shortly after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edinburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partie against his will.

The quene and such lords as were with her there in the armie, for the reverence they bare unto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough ten field, they withdrew themselves to Striueling, and from thence the quene went into Spurrey land with the earle of Spurrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of Saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus took upon him more boldlie the government of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of Saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers upon the inland countries. Moreover, aduise this yeere (as some haue said) was giuen before the archbishop of Saint Andrews, betwix the quene, and the earle of Angus his husband, and then afterwards the took to haue one Henrie Stewart, sonne to the lord of Ardenale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the barres & others, rode into Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgovernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience giued towards them, they all returned. And upon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Wocclough, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald unto the lord of Wocclough, to know what his intention was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and service, and to shew his friends and power as the use is of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwix him and the Humes, and the Wars, sent unto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach nere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Whereunto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer received from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Wars, the lord of Helleford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Spartwell, George Douglas, and Iuan Treichon, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Wocclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, upon their first comming to joining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Wocclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfully, and slue the lord of Helleford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Woccloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edinburgh.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might,

The great seale deliuered

The lord of Wocclough be-
tweene the
quene and
the earle of
Angus.

1526.

The lord of
Wocclough his
enterprise, to
take the king
from the earle
of Angus.

The lord of
Helleford
slaine.
The lord of
Wocclough put
to flight.

ambassadoys
to England

he tooke letter
of the castell of
Edinburgh.

the parties
were agreed.

Counsellors
appointed.

Emper-
ors aduise.

Thin,
1525,
Lesleus lib.9,
6414.

Lesleus lib.9,
pg 417.

undida Cala.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The quene
mother in
armie.

he earle of
Angus his
quest.

The earle of
Lennor ga-
thereth a pow-
er.

The earle of
Arrane ga-
thereth a
power.

The earle of
Lennor slaine
Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 14.

might, yet perceiving two enterprises to have qual-
led that had bene attempted for his meliuerance, he
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured
the earle of Lennor to assemble an armie, with as-
sistance of the quene and his friends, to helpe to de-
liuer him from the hands of his enemies. The earle
of Lennor did so, and came with such power as he
could raise from the west parts unto Linlithgo. The
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of
Lennor was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-
rane for aid, requirring him to come with such power
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The
earle of Arrane immediatlie bewitch gathered a
power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before
the earle of Lennor came thither, who thortlie after
comming with his people, approached that towne, but
to whom the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-
quirring him to forne and fauor his enterprise, assu-
ring him, that albeit he was his sisters sone, he
would not spare him; if he held forward upon his
iourne. The earle of Lennor here with answered in
a great rage, that he would not spare, till he came to
Edinburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle
of Arrane therfore not traieing for the earle of Ar-
gus, his comming from Edinburgh, issued forth of
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-
tered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where
there was a cruel onset given on both sides, but sud-
denly the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he
himselfe with the lord of Hunsdon and diuerse other
gentlemen were slaine.

The death of which Douglas the king did great
lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that
was made in that conflict, did send forth (but all too
late) Androis Wood (his familiar) to haue succored
the Lennor, if by any meanes he could. After this
victorie, the faction of the Douglases (to the end
that striking a feare in those that were enuious a-
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be
in danger to them) began to moue questions and
sutes in law, against such as had borne arms a-
gainst the king; for feare whereof some bought their
peace with monie, some took part with the Dou-
glas, some followed the Hamiltons, and some
stidie standing in the matter, were followed and cal-
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of
Castles (when he was earnestlie pressed by James
Hamilton the bassard, to yeld himselfe to the part of
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull
of the honor of his familie, that he would seeme to
degenerate from his ancestors, and willinglie grant
to be under defense (which is the next degree of
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall
league and covenant was contented with the second
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his
cause: Hugh Bennedie his kinsman answered for
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thir-
ther by the king, and not as enemy to the king, and
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons fro-
wing and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king
had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to
many others, to ioinc with John Stewart earle of
Lennor, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his
iourne out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Where-
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some-

what supposed) James Hamilton the bassard stirred
with great hatred against Bennedie, did procure
Hugh Campbell thirke of Aire to dispatch him out
of the waie, which he thortlie after did in his returne
home. Afterward this Hugh, in the end he might dis-
semble his confessions, knowledge of this euill (the
execution wherof he had committed to his followers)
was remaining at the day and time of the same
murder, with John Freshine, whose sister was the
wife of Gilbert Bennedie.

What he (as some as the hearer of that deed) did with
manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, because
by that fact the noble house of the Bennedies had al-
most bene brought to utter subuersion, had he not
left a young sone behind him. This young earle,
after the death of his father, and so his kinsman Ar-
chibald Douglas: then the kings treasurer, to
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in
to law for the fact, who being manifestlie con-
uicted thereof, was banished into an other place. But
ther did the Douglases with lesse bitterness, ex-
cite their anger against James Borton, for bringing
their power against Androis, which they spoiled, as
after appeareth.

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing
the king with him, arrived, and had come to the bat-
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth
of Edinburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the
waie, slaying himselfe sicke: but George Douglas
droue and called upon his horse vertie sharpelie, and
constrained him to ride forth with faster pace than he
would haue done, giuing him manie inturious
words, which he remembred afterwards, and would
not forget them. They went that night to Striue-
ling, and thortlie after passed through Fiffe, searching
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Androis, and
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the
abbey of Dunfirmeiling, and the castell of saint An-
drois, taking a waie all the meueables which the
archbishop had within the same.

In the north parts also, the two families of the
Lelles and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts fa-
king: which enimities did after grow to be the grea-
ter, because there were daily manie slaughters of
the nobles & other people committed in Spar, Car-
reoth, and Aberdeen, whilste each faction labored to de-
fend it selfe against the others. For which cause (when
the common wealth was much deformed thereby,
and all iustice seemed almost bitterlie ouerthrowne in
those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-
bilitie (which were of the kings priuie counsell) did
not cease, untill they had made vnitie betwene those
two families. But in the end (the heire of the For-
boises, & the lord Lenthurke, hauing by waie killed the
noble baron Speldurme, which fauored the Lelles)
those buried contentions began againe to be raised
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue
thereof to the common state) they attempted all pos-
sible means once more to quench that deadlie flame,
and afresh to ioinc their minds together in amitie,
with this purpose, that the murderers of Speldurme
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished
into France, where the greatest part of them died,
after manie miseries and reproches sustained in their
pitifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vnited be-
twene the Forboises and the Lelles, was embraced
with such faith each to other, by renewing thereof with
continuall marriages & other courtesies, that it conti-
nueth most firme euen unto this day.

The death of
the earle of
Castles.

1520.
Lelles lib. 9.
pag. 423.
148 cc.

Rothmarcolle

Two tumults
in that fami-
ly.

The quene
sought for.

Fr. Thin.
Lelles lib. 9.
pag. 423.

1526.

The familie
of Spaldurme
of the name Le-
lles.

In

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

be death of
earle of
Miles.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (part-
lie following their naturall disposition, and partlie
excited by the example of the former times long suf-
fered so to be used) did in like sort overrun and spoile
all things, by reason of overmuch libertie. But of all
other times raised in those parts, that was the great-
est and most troublesome, which was raised by the
Spakintoches. Of which brutish people, the one
familie was called the Clenchattens, and the other
was surnamed Spakintoches after the head of that
kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane
Spakintoch a man of great possessions, and of such
excellencie in singulartie of wisdom, that with
great commendation he did containe all his follow-
ers within the limits of their duties, more than o-
thers did. Which constraints (when they could hard-
ly beare (as loth to live in order) having so long pas-
sed their time licentiouslie) did withdrave the hearts
of manie men from him. Amongest whom was
James Spalcolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting
after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the insurie
of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this
Spakintoch; after which (fearing further trouble to
insue towards him) he fled to the Isle (at the lake
Kochmurcolle) as a sanctuary or defense for him.
But the rest of the familie of the Spakintoches did
pursue him with such eager minds, that by force tak-
ing him in the Isle, they worthilie killed him, and
manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wicked-
nesse. After which (because the sonne of Spakintoch,
for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with
fear & punishment to brydle the minds of his fierce
subjects) by common consent they chose the baird
brother of the slaine man (called Hector Spakintoch)
to be head and leader of that familie, untill this
young nephew might grow to yeeres, and might welde
the governement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of Spurreie perceived
that if the sonne of Spakintoch were committed to
the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruel,
that he should (on everie side) be oppressed with ma-
nie troubles, he did most godlie (for the care he had
of him his nephew being his sisters sonne) provide,
that he should be caried to an other place, to the
Wiglates, the childs kin on the mothers side, where he
should be well instructed and imbued with the pre-
cepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector
was greatly offended, to see that the child should so
subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming
that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished)
he attempted (everie way he might) to get the child
again into his possession, that thereby he might
salve and recover his credit and authoritie. But
some there were, which supposed that the great care
and labor which he so much employed (for getting the
child into his hands) was to none other intent, but
that he might make him alive, and prepare a path
whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouverne-
ment of that familie. Which conceipt being deeplie
graven in the mind of the earle of Spurreie, caused
him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no
means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Wherewith Hector being highly incensed (and
determining to spue out his choler, seeking revenge
by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother Wil-
liam & other of his kindred, that joining their force,
they might stronglie ver the earle of Spurreie, and
spoile his possessions: which they did with so great
fury, that overthrowing the fort of Wikes, and besie-
ging the castell of Coznewaie, they executed manie
cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other
mischiefes upon all sorts of people, men, women,
and children, and all such as favored them. For their
hatred not limited against the earle of Spurreie, ex-

tended further against the familie of the Wiglates,
amongest whom the child was left in custodie for
educations cause. With which mind this Hector
and his complices placing their campe at the castell
of Pettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens
(one of the familie of the Wiglates) they did so fur-
ouslie besiege the same, as the people of the same
were in the end forced to yield the fort: which when
they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of
the Wiglates, whom they found therein. After upon
(their minds being now advanced with spoiles and
happie successes) they became so proud, as (trusting
overmuch to prosperous event in all their actions)
they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, untill
the erle of Spurreie did with force execute iust iudge-
ment upon them. For when the earle beheld them
immoderatelie reioysing, in spoiling his lands, and
committing other excessive evils; he obtained of the
king and his counsell, that he might be made the
kings deputie and governour in that battell, to bry-
dle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spo-
ling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did
with such speedie valure come upon them and their
countrie, that at the first he took almost two hun-
dred of their capteins, and committed them to the
gallowes. All whose faith was so true to their cap-
teine, as (when life was severallie promised to eve-
rie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes)
there would not anie one of them confesse where
their capteine Hector had hidden himselfe. For eve-
rie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew
not where he was become; and if so be they did, that
yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death)
be induced to breake their faith and to betraye their
maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient
revenge (for such capteins as the earle had taken)
there were more græuous punishments laid upon
William Spakintoch (brother to Hector) because
in the beginning he nourished those coles of cho-
ler for his brothers cause. For after that this Wil-
liam was hanged, his head was chopped off and fast-
ned upon a pole at Wikes, and the other foure parts
of his bodie were sent to the towines of Elgin, For-
resse, Invernesse, and Alderne, there to be set up
publiclie to the reproch of them, and the example of
others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hector (seeing his men
were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe
was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the
faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar beane of Spur-
reie, by whose advise he goeth humble and secretlie
to the king, beseeching his mercie and favor to be
extended unto him: for he supposed it better, rather
to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to
make triall of the earle of Spurreies certeine re-
venge. Whereupon the king (seeing his humble
submission) received him into his favor; and did
with all his heart lovinglie after embrace him, be-
cause he was valiant and wise in warre, and in
counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies thewed
in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this
filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (where-
with Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go un-
revengeed with most græuous paine upon the said
Hector. For in the citie of saint Andrews, sudden
death (than which there can be no greater punish-
ment) was laid upon him by one James Spente a
priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Spurreie had thewed such re-
venge upon the friends of Hector and their compa-
nions; the people of the prouince of Clenchatten
did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the li-
mits of their dutie: untill that the sonne of Lach-
lane
Eg. li.

1520.
Claus lib. 9.
p. 43.
1486.

lane Makintolche came to manistate and sailage. Which young man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and politic of life conformed thereunto, that when he was impleied about the common-wealthe, all the capitaines of the m^{ch} (who thato rallie speake first in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect patetne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaister to frame a well ordered state: Wherefore certeine (not able to suffre the brightnesse of his vertue) did soine in counsell with such as were nêrest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means: Whereof we shall moze liberallie intreat in an other place.

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borders, for the keeping of better rule: and soon the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanour. The seuententh of Iulie, there was a great assemble of the lords at Holie rood house, at that time, there came a simple fellow (to looke upon) servant and housekeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbey close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short pike or dagger in the bellie thrê feuerall stripes vp to the hilt, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & confessed the deed without repentance, saying: Why on the feoble hand quille wold not do that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set oder one of the gates of Edinburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholar to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iustificatiō, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did asserue, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edinburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward: with James his brother being within it. But as soon as the queene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother; and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentene yeares, and of good discretiō and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resident as then in Edinburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, where sooner the same chanced to lie. Shortly after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortly after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowne: which he would not obeye; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parliament to be holden at Edinburgh, in September next following. In this parliament begun at Edinburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Douglas, his vnkle by his father Archibald Douglas, Alexander Drummond of Carriocke, and diuerse other, were by vote of parliament attainted, and excommunicated for diuers offenses; and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person; and because he had detemied the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and moze; all which time he stood in feare of his life.

In this parliament Henrie Steward the queenes husband was created lord of Methuen, and made maister of the ordnance. Besides which, in place of earle Douglas was Caluin Dunbar, the kings scholemaster made chancellor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archibald Douglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parliament there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Douglas, did boldly there protest, that what soeuer was therein brought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Douglas; since full feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. With in a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastrie of Holiroud died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well thought, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Douglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the towne of Confrandie and Cranfoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid vnto the castell, it was so strong and so well provided, that it might not be wonne for all that could be done at that season: in so much that after Dauid Falconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. Besides the deliuerie whereof, the king depelle swore that he would not leaue one alieue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Douglasse, so long as he liued and was king.

Wherevpon he came to Edinburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the moze) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a daillie companie (though no great number) to Colidingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did bitterlie refuse, either fearing the power of the Douglasse (wherevnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late, not seeme to be equal) or that he would not (being then young) imbue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon, since

1527. Lesle.

Sir James Hamilton hurt by a desperate person.

The abbat of Ferne burnt.

Edinburgh castell besieged. 1528 Lesle.

The king being seuentene yeares of age, refuseth to be longer vnder gouernement.

1528.

The earle of Angus failed.

The earle of Angus attainted by parliament. Henrie Steward created eric of Methuen.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

1529.

The earle of Cathnes passed vnto the Dyane.

The earle of Cathnes slaine. The blindness of the Dyane men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of the west.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Bannatine the realm.

Dauid Falconer slaine.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

John Scot called forie does without receiving any tid. 1531. Buch.

since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to any of the adjoining nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice dearely loved of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglas (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were enforced to depart into England to K. Henrie the eight, who honorablie and liberrallie received and entertained them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Dummman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it seemeth) when James Colville and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court, as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglas, their offices were bestowed upon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yere 1529, the earle of Cathnessie and the lord of Sinclair, with a great armie by sea passed into Dykenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of James Sinclair of Kirkcuball their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enemies: the earle with five hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, unto the which they were druncken. The lord Sinclair and all the residue were taken. The Dykenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was sene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enemies. In the same moneth on the fiftenth day, there was a great assemble of the lords in Edinburgh, where the king himselfe sate in iudgement. The lord of Winderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of theues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and maintaining of theues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbuth of Edinburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict for maintaining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edinburgh castell, and after sent into Murray land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Marcell, the lord Home, the lords of Balguelth, Fernhurst, Dolloit, Johnson, Parke Bar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borders kept better rule ever after, during the kings reigne. Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before imprisoned, and then to be banished) to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot killing Robert Johnstone a thefe of noted crueltie, therewith to gratifie the king began deablie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kindreds.]

About this season, a landed man named John Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lelleus) who now being returned into Scotland, (because it was byted in other countries that he

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Davids tower in Edinburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for forty daies, he fasted all that time without any kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsaken (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striveling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hands, because he fauoured him more than any of that surname, if he had not bene (as he was indeed) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knownen to be most culpable. And hereupon he caused forty and eight of the most notable theues, with their capteine John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murder, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell thefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and his children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should appeache the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserved. In August following, manie meruellous sights were sene about Striveling, as candles burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fiftenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscunneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Culrose called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tulliallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and twentieth of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edinburgh was degraded (the king, quene, and a great companie of people being present) and after his degradation, he was delivered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tulliallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edinburgh by the king, with consent of the three estates in parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftene counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seven temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is above the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinary, removable at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not persuade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuie into England (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the castell

1529.

Archembald Dowglas banished.

The king cometh to the borders.

Theues hanged.

These burnt to death.

Wonders sene in the armament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

An abbat murdered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

Fr. Thin. Buch, lib. 14

1532.

1529.

The earle of Cathnessie passed into Dykenie.

The earle of Cathnessie slaine. The blindness of the Dykenie men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of theues.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Banished the realme.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buch, lib. 14.

John Scot kept forty daies without receiving any food.

1531. Buch.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddesdale) to repress the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongst the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a pærelle summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that should be appointed theretofore) should be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appeared to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ides of March, untill the tenth kalends of Aprill, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fiftene men, which haue perpetuall power theretofore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their oneie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But because Lesleus treateth in moze ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprime the reader of the seuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement vsed by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the weaker part had vniustlie the upper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the uttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that seuerall iudges (hauing seuerall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the perswasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the maner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnnecessary for the moze explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

Lesleus, lib. 1.
pag. 79.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the Senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especially in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may learne them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to be

done by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wilddome of the tempozaltie, obtained by the experience of woollie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie.ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelloz of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then thereunto the Scots giue the chiefeest preheminance in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwick, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwick againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side upon the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastell, to intreat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, unto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene vsed in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because theretofore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Soterburie knight; (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pag. 439.) Adam Otterburne (the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed upon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Aprill next following.

About the same time were sent into France William Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Erskine secretarie, as ambassadoz to require the duke of Wandsolmes sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Heuerthelesse (as afterwards shall appere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once sene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a suter to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obtained: wherefore the duke of Wandsolmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the rest of her life time. The king of England sent ambassadoz into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Duresme,

The peace concluded betwixt England.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 439.
1534.

1532.
Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders.
The marshes rode into Scotland.

Justice mitted.

1533.

English times receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 2

1534

1534. Lesle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passing secretlie into France.

1533.
The pope sent into Scotland.

1531

refine, and one doctor Maginus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadoys at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most balliant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michaele. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdom of Scotland.)

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice done to be ministered in places where he came, against offenders. For example, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then used, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Master Forman Cosleie that was abjured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were receiued.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the sixt, emperor) his Charles sent Godscall Erieke (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [containing the injuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall counsell: the ouerthrow of the Lutherian heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of marriage] the said ambassadoy did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three parties the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portingale his nece by his sister Leonora: or Katharine. Whereunto the king answered, that the marriage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of uncerteine hope, of greater danger & labor, & of longer delate than his carefullnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kindred, that marriage by manie reasons should be most benefitfull for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabella sister to the emperor. Whereunto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Spadyske) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whom he had decreed an heretike, a schismaticke, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murderer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be deposed of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholicke princes. In the yere 1536, the king took the sea with fine ships, without knowledge of the most

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Isles, and by Forme was driven to take land at saint Spinians in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Dunkelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell took his voyage againe by sea with fine ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Kirkcaldie the last of August, and with god and prosperous wind he shortly after arrived in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Bold and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennox, and Castles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

Immediatlie after his arrivall, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandolmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Tennent, whom he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandolmes his place, got sight of the ladie who should haue bene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seven leaguers from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustices, tourneys, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth; in which iustices and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and balliant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he wan passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadoys and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for marriage to be had betwene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whom he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in marriage. But herewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to marry with the ladie Magdalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, lowelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

Wherevpon the marriage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. For example,

The kings voyage about the Isles.

He saileth into France.

He rideth to Wandolmes.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a tutor for marriage.

The marriage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

The peace concluded betwixt England.

R. Thin. Lellous lib. 9. p. 439. 1534.

32. Arthur is sent borders.

asketh a into hand.

533.

Justice ministered.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

R. Thin. Buchanan. li. 14. 1534.

1. Lelle.

Thin.

the countess.

ambassadors France.

the king himselfe passeth into France.

1535. The pope sendeth into Scotland.

1536.

uer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the marriage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

1539.
The marriage
contracted.

1537. Lesle.

The king
with his
queene retur-
neth into
Scotland.

Queene Ma-
galeen depar-
teth this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie
Clames and
hir husband
convict of
treason.
1537. Lesl.

Fr. Thin.

The maister
of Forbois
beheaded.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the cite of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Navarre, seven cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, mar-ques, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the marriage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable intertainment. Finally, the king and his wife queene Magdalen took their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen; where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Fleuhausen where they embarked, being accom-panied by the admirall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend upon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous wea-ther, though the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Liethauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentle-men of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemlie demeanour, at hir first arrivall toome the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king hir husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune ennieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement feuer, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Julie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrow-ful, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first vse of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yeeres, is not verie common, though publick orders and manners doe uerie day grow worse and worse.]

In the summer of this yeere, Jone Douglas the ladie of Clames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David Lion, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and convict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Clames was also convict for misprision and concealment of that crime, and therefore forsaiking all his lands, was con- demned to die: but because he was yong and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and com- manded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he re- mained so long as the king lived. [This yeere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.)] Shortlie after, John maister of the Forbois, and el- dest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a si-

ster of the said ladie Clames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and convict by an assise, by procure- ment of the earle Huntleie, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord For- bois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Eden- burgh; but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof thro- rough all parts of his realme. The king appoi- nted an assemble of the nobles, by whose consent an edit was made to confirme the former laws, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they percei- ued that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they advanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrosse, Kelso, Colvingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andzeles, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he li- ued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) into his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match a- gaine in marriage with some noble princeesse, sent in- to France vnto the earle of Murray, and David Be- ton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they of France had made bishop of Airopreuse] his am- bassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dut- chesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassa- dors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Partwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied in- to France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that marriage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procu- rators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the cite of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

After this she was conueied to Fleuhausen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carrell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andzeles, being hono- rable prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie solemnized and confirmed the fore said marriage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his queene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few mo- neths after the marriage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore gene- rall processions and publick praiers were made thro- rough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous suc- cess of the same. After that the king had pacified the boiers

Iustices ap-
pointed to sit
in diuerse
parts of the
realme.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.
pag. 447.

1538. Lesle.

The king is a
sutor for ma-
riage to the
dutchesse of
Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

Great quiet-
ness in Scot-
land.

1539.

The king sai-
eth moche
ward to the
kies of Ayles-
me and others

The out Mes-
sengers
brought to
good order.

Fr. Thin.

The queene
delivered of a
sonne.

The marriage
solemnized.

The queene
mother depar-
teth this life.

Certaine per-
sons burnt
by religion.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exercising of iustice, and travelling about the same in his owne person through all places (where need required) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and policie used in Scotland, as ever was in anye kings daies before him: yet neuertheless there were certaine disobedient persons in the Isles.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good naue of ships, and in the moneth of Aprill went aboard the same in the robe of Kitch, having with him the earles of Arrand, Huntlye, Argyle, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with whom he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus, Aberdeen, Murray, Perth, Southerland, and Cathnessie, till he came to Orkney, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued verie honorably by the bishop Robert Martwell. Here they furnished themselves with fresh vittels, and other such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas againe, sailed to the Isles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Cleud of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought unto the king, who sent forth also a companie to Mac Cleud Hagh, who came likewise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Kossle & Kintale, to the Ile of Tranterries, where diuerse of the Paconiles, such as the lord Magarrie, John Mordart, and others (who alledged themselves to be of the principall blood, and lords of the Isles) were brought also to the kings presence. From thence travelling through the residue of the Isles, Macclane and James Paconile of Kintyre, being the two principall captains of the small Isles, came likewise to the king who at length landed at Dunbretton, and sent the captains and ships with prisoners to passe the same waie he came round about the coast, so to come to Edendurgh, where the same prisoners being arraigned, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not suffered to depart so long as the king lived, whereby there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Isles, as there was in anye part of the realme; and as good account and payment made to the kings controller in his exchequer for the lands of the same Isles pertaining to the crowne, as for anye part of the revenues belonging therunto within the maine land. In this yere (saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutheranisme, wherof some were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were banished: amongst whom, George Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a window of a chamber.]

Whilist the king was in this bondage, the quene was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andrewes, wherof the king being aduertised at his landing, hastened with all possible diligence to the quene, and shortly after was the child baptised, and called James. The archbishop of saint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrand were godfathers, and the quene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bounties made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the same. After this the quene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methuen, where after she had remained a certaine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the which shortly after she departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns towne, by the toime of king James the first. The king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were present at the funerals, which were kept in most solemn and pompous manner.

The same yere were burnt at Edendurgh for heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests were degraded, and condemned to perpetual paine. The same time there was a grate fier in the chiefe of Glascow burnt for the like cause, and manie other summoned, and because they would not appeare, they were denounced hereticks. About the same time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andrewes, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in saint Andrewes. Before his departure, he had provided lastells for all his benefices, first to his archbishops see, and to the abbacie of Arbroth, master David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to the abbacie of Dunfermling master George Durie that was archdeacon of saint Andrewes. These men, without anye gainesaying of the king, entered with his good will into the same benefices, immediately after his deceasse. This James Beton builded a great part of the new college of saint Andrewes, and left great summes of monie and treasure to go through to make an end of the same worke.

This yere in the moneth of August sir James Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edendurgh, was arrested by David Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go to ward within the castle of Edendurgh. Which commandement he willingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as well by reason of the good seruice he had done to the king, especially in repairing the palaces of Striveling and Linlithgow; as also for that the king had him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of himselfe at all. Neuertheless, shortly after he was brought forth to iudgement, and commit to the Tolbooth of Edendurgh, of certaine points of treason laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next ensuing [after that he had liberallie confessed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anye sort offended the kings maiestie, and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iustice; because he had often offended the lawes of God to please the prince, thereby to obtaine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admonished all persons, that moued by his example they should rather follow the diuine pleasure, than vnjustlie take the kings fauor, since it is better to please God than man.]

This summer the quene remaining at Striveling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was baptised in the chapell of Striveling, and called Arthur; but within eight daies after, the said prince deceased at Striveling aforesaid. On the verie same daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at saint Andrewes departed this life also, in such wise, that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which caused no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their births. After this, the quene went vnto saint Johns towne, where she was honorably receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countie, and from thence the roade to Aberdeen, the king then being come vnto hir, wherby the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies, set forth in the best manner for their pastime. They remained there the space of fiftene daies, and were highly entertained by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all kind of sciences in the colleges and scholes, with diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high praise and commendation of the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From thence the king with the quene returned to Dundee,

Great quietnesse in Scotland.

1539.

The king sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus, Aberdeen, Murray, Perth, Southerland, and Cathnessie.

as appointed to the king

lib. 14.

esse.

giving matter of

The out Isles brought to good order.

R. Thin.

The quene deliuered of a sonne.

page 321.

The quene mother departed this life.

Certaine persons burnt for religion.

1539. Lesle. The death of James Beton archbishop of saint Andrewes.

1540. Sir James Hamilton arrested.

Sir James Hamilton beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 412.

The quene deliuered of another son.

The two young princes departed this life.

The king and quene at Aberdeen.

Captaine
Boothwicke
accused of he-
resie.

Fr. Thin.
Leseus lib. 9.
pag. 453.

A small por-
tion in deed.

1541.
The king of
England sen-
deth to the
king of
Scots.

Fr. Thin.

dee, where a coslie entre was prepared for them also, and after they had bene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Aprill, sir John Boothwicke, commonlie called captaine Boothwicke, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bishops and prelats there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being proued by sufficient witness against him (as was thought) he was consulted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) toke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessores before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was under the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James did yeld therunto; and that the rather, because the king of England under this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Spakeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioined in that countrie.]

This yere the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the french king, and pope, at the citie of Nice, doubting some practise to be devised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Davids, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Porke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Porke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his uncle; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his counsell and prelats [especiallie James Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Trichoune bishop of Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.)] assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be staied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king James his predecessore was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowne, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to perswade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had done within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supreme head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like inforamation. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and french king, that were his great friends and confederats. Whereupon they perswaded him to staie, and by their aduise sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as should he should vnderstand by his ambassadors, whom he ment to send to him, as well for this matter as other causes. And shortly after sir James Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador into England, as well to make the kings excuse for his not comming to meet the king of England at Porke; as also to make complaint vpon certein inuasions made by the borderers of England into Scotland; and also for the bling of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

But the king of England sore offended that the king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to meet him at Porke (as before is recited), would admit no excuse, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scottishmen allege, he would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commissioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redresse to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inuasions. But that the truth concerning the causes of this war, moued at this present by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to set downe the same, as they were written forth and published in print to the whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

A declaration containing the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kings most roiall maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland, and thus it beginneth.

BEING now enforced to the war which we haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephew the k. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefitts toward him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the iust & true occasions whereby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, and by utterance and discharging of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe; and the circumstances knowne, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this time, in which things of such enormitie do burst out and appeare.

The king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome we in his youth and tender age preserved and maintained from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the full possession of his estate, he now compelleth & inuoceth vs (for preservation of our honor & right) to vse our puissance & power against him. The like unkindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of princes, for the raritie of them, can so happen but selome as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie rarelie & selome seene tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sorie that it toke no better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, & amitie,

Sir James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

1542.
The king of
England
meaneth to
make warre
into Scot-
land.

A declaration
of the iust causes
of the war
against the
king of
Scots.

amitie, and perpetuall friendship betwene the posteritie of both: which howe sone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his uniuersall inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for ever. And yet in that present time could not the wretchednesse of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that should haue worthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought up our nephue, to attaine his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so unkindlie beeth and behauieth himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieffe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speech and flattering words, we be inuaded so injured, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. All sorts of writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentle, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beleue or giue eare to other, that euer alledged the deeds of the contrarie, being neuertheless the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Forke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Forke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subjects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subjects, and according therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadoes as repaired hither at Christmas afterward, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good words, sweet words, pleasant words, exsones propounded by the said ambassadoes, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to persuaide kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) received and intertained such rebels as were of the chiefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs; with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same: yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the said ambassadoes to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire words as could be in speech desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them ouer extreame in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of deeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borderers, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that being for our part challenged, a peece of our ground plainlie vsurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more authenticke, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for any part of ground within our realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commandement departed, as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Harwell warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland should withstand their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Iulie entered into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subjects contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his household, with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subjects, & to their extreme detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemlie dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finally so extreamelie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his words and faire promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our promise of blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire words, the deeds of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our subjects spoiled: and in a rode made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting them to fine or rancome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a surseilance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subjects, we could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safegard of our subjects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought exsones their accustomed effect, euer more desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to stale our armie

med
with
good
glad

12.
ing of
ad
to
arre
ot:

ration
it came
the

mie at Poyke, appointing the duke of Suffolke our lieutenant, the Lord private seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our hostes, there to convene, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoys of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, upon such conditions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundry inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proposed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nepheue might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: whereupon they left speaking of any articles of amitie, and the ambassadoys of Scotland made much outward shew of communication of meeting. They shewed themselves in words, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioyse in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they took it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certaine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: whereunto our commissioners then agreed.

After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precise at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Where with when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadoys of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadoys to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other that by our commissioners should be thought conuenient. Which manner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission thereunto: the ambassadoys of Scotland upon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delaye of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, containing such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadoys, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadoys of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partly to excuse their king, who should seeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openly profess.

When with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselves, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approaching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yeere, without doing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered upon any ransom, contrarie to all custome and usage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie already pressed, and in our wages to go forwarde.

In this time ambassadoys (as ye haue heard) assembled to make of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie invented for a delaye, which hath giuen vs light, whereupon more certainly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and words well weied and considered, do vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his unkind and displeasing deeds. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onelie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notable the last yeere, when we made preparation at Poyke for his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scots, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our land to be usurped contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie upon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them, whatsoever their words be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie perceived the lacke of such affection as proximity of blood should require; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximity of blood, to our nepheue, than we did to fore his fathers inuasion.

But weeing that we be so surelie ascertained of the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violently compelled to war, than we be by the unkind dealing, uniuert behauior, & unprincipall demerit of him, that yet in nature is our nepheue, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the intertainment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sore for, & vse now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for recouerie of our right, the preservation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues

as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance & aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit, and dissimulation.

Whereto appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superiortie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong mistred by the neyhe to the vncke most unnatural, and suppozed contrarie to the deserts of our benefits most unkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our neyhe, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certeine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

This title is not deuised by pretense of marriage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by deeds, words, acts, and writings continuallie almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the portmitle of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather without prejudice to omit to demand our right if it might conserue peace, than by demanding thereof to be sene to moue warre, speciallie against our neighbour, against our neyhe, against him whome we haue preferred from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in vnitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and fealtie for the same. This appereth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in memorie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondly, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasure. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records iudicialle and autenticalle made, yet preferred for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First, as concerning histories, which be called witnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, containing a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnitied as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for avoiding dissension, that there should be one superior, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

According whereunto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine took first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them thre, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (his being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should doe homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Ile, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiortie as afore, how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Ile, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude: Which cannot without continuall strife and variance conteine two or thre rulers in all points equall without any maner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superiortie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according herunto we find also in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not dissimulie to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the natures, manners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnitied vnto the same, as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for profe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Humber, the acts of Duntwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Beline and Ben two brethren, the victories of king Arthur, we shall begin at the yere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred fortie two yeres past, a time of sufficient antiquitie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident profe of the erection of our right and title of superiortie euermore continued and preferred hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his domination and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state thre and twentie yeres.

At which time Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder him, adding this princelie word, that it was more

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 947, king Edward our progenitor Athelstanes brother, toke homage of Trise then king of Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Malcolme king of Scots. There was a litle trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeres after the homage done by Malcolme to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Knute our predecessor.

After this homage done, the Scots uttered some peere of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done, that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme given to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward: to whom the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleven yeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie five yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerits deposited, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seven yeres after, that was in the yere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar K. of Scots did homage unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seven yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage to Matilda the emperesse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Matilda, and thereupon forbore. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said David made homage to the said king Stephan. Fourtene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the second sonne, with a reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Fourtene yeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth upon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Here, in the feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betwene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1282, John Balioll king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to usurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to move sedition therfore against them of the house of Balioll, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yeres after, which was the yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and intoling the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was ever in the contrarie faction, did neuertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre against them: when after great victories, Edward Balioll, having the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clearely the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Roxburgh in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interteined it, and intolied it, as verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiscation acquitted, and on the other part by free will surrendered unto him. And then after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the devolution of the same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some leasure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the fifth, for recovery of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend upon him in that iorneye.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our nephue directlie cometh: James Steward king of Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the first at Windsoze, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by David Bruce, three score yeres and more, but farre within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appere by storie to have bene made and done at times and seasons as afoze, so do there remaine instruments made thereupon, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifying the same. And yet doth it appere by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our treasure house of these instruments, which neuertheless were afterward recovered againe.

And to the intent ye may knowe of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted the

the effect in word and sentence as they be made, which we do, to meet with the cavillation and contrived evasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to have bene made for the earldome of Huntington, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

Iohn A. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Edward by the grace of God K. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as unto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honoz, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowlege, and shall do to you service due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so autenticall, so seriously handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the solemne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes of Holandie, Wacricus de Dunbar comes de Perthia, Willielmus de Wescot, Willielmus de Kotte, Robertus de Winkem, Nicholaus de Soules, Wacricus Galightlie, Rogerus de Spundenille, Joannes de Comin, W. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Wyse, Riccius rex of Norwe-gie.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was given for the title of Balioll, according whereunto he intioed the realm. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obscured by the K. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realm of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inasmuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be given depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering upon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiourtie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yield and giue place, and by express consent recognise the same.

At which parlement was alleged unto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those dates, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forein princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Whereupon the said parlement did there agree to this our superiourtie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and severallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebel. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realm of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castles and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Sherriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeyed, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realm of Scotland, by the consent of an agrément of all estates of the realm assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of Dorkie, which extended over all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; whereunto nothing enforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armes & compulsion: If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to withdraw to their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth unto you the beginning of the right of superiourtie, with a perpetual continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times sought and taken their opportunities to withdraw the doing of their dutie in knowlege of our superiourtie over them; which to avoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so untrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realm, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their dutie, so God granted unto this realm force to compell them thereto within memorie, and notwithstanding anie their interruption by resistance, which unto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empared. From the time of Henrie the first, unto the seventh yeare of our reigne, our realm hath bene for a season lacerat and torne by diversitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie vexed and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part thereof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great travels to attaine quietnes in his realm, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand overthrow in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this relme, who neuertheless, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assaie to tame their nature by pleasant confunction & conuersation of amicitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when opportunities served not by force & feare to constrainde and compell them. And thus passed over the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephew his minority, being then more carefull how to bring

him out of dainger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage; when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the first, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Winton by James Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was three and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentie yeares hath passed in the minority of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustitie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Steward, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, whereunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage done unto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, seeing his realme not clearely then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allegeable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minority of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yeeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirtene yeere, which thirtene yeere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioice and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs: but such be the works of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministered, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according thereto all things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be met and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voiaiges made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandise, with which the English ships incountried, take 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandise and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought good with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought if no reason to depart with them so soon, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to invade Scotland, who according to his commission, with three thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certeine small townes: whereupon the fraie being raised in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden invasions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight; sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Walden Rig in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentie fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norfolk with the earles of Shrewsburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not more than about twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentith of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised hereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Sowthraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbred to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mur, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yeere and provision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had joined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recovered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others tooke from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawing home south of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and invade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduicement taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Spurrey] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were lately decessed, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most uncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Sir Robert Bowes invaded the borders.

The earle of Huntley giued them an overthrow to the Englishmen, 1542. Lesle.

The king went to the Scottish borders. 1542. Lesle.

Dinner Dinner.

The lord wharton.

The emute of the lords against Dinner.

The Scots discontented by the Englishmen.

The grieue of the king for the overthrow of his men.

Scottish ships taken.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne borders, and to confine the entrance for feare to leave the invasion thereof, as presently they had done, and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enemies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they having so iust a cause, and being invincible in their countie, but that they should have obtained the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to invade, yet the approved wit of his nobles and counsellors restrained him to follow their advice, and so returned with his army backe againe, the first of November, the armie of England being first discharged, and the duke of Gloucester in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Harwell was warden, whome together with the earles of Caillies and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to invade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sinclair [the brother of Roseline Comarck] and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Bartholmes euen, being the foure and twentieth of November, began to burne certeine townes upon the water of Esk. But as soon as the scire was raised in the countie, the lord Charlton warden of the west marches of England, suddenly raised the power of the countie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in sight unto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords persecuting the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sinclair was holden by on two mens shoulders, where he shewed forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoever that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbolded too much, to haue such a meane gentleman advanced in authoritie above them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a captaine, but willingly suffered themselves to be overcome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrary, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowate Sposse, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Caillies and Glencarne, the lord Harwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Aliphant, Oliver Sinclair, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlawerocke upon the borders not farre from Solowate Sposse, when this misfortune fell upon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusal made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla upon his request to invade England. Where with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and thereupon took such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenly from thence to Edenburgh, and after removed to Falkeland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being so bereaved in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue access to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted. Now, as he was thus disquieted, newes were

brought him that the quene his wife was brought to bed of a faire young prince the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasure, insomuch that he perceived the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come upon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make thereupon against the same, to the end he might bring it under his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkindlie medicine: but howe soeuer the matter was, he yielded up his spirit to almighty God, and departed this world the fourteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie third yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conveyed into Falkeland into Edenburgh in most honorable wise, the cardinal, the earles of Arrane, Argyle, Rothes, Spaldhall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbey church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of quene Margarete, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and moene made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well belovied among his subjects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, greatly esteemed, hauing a diuine mind in all whatsoever, neither certeine in doubtful things, nor doubtful in things of certainte, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreseeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that he was neuer unprouided against the danger of anie thing, or was vntoone from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein: where by he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouersparing for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanish attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vses thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severity, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderfull gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or mule punish the offense. For he was wont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not emptie, but abundantly stored with gold, silver and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatly lamented of his subjects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues, but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature,

The birth of the Scottish quene.

Fr. Thin. Lellous lib. 9. pag. 460.

Robert was thus the son.

earle of leic. in over. o to the L. Ellen.

The king. brought up by his armie.

The king went to the west marches. 1541. Lell.

Oliver Sinclair.

The lord Charlton.

The earle of the lord Aliphant. Oliver Sinclair.

The Scots were defeated by the Englishmen.

The griefe of the king for the overthrow of his men.

1541. Lell. for

for the libertie of althings had then dissolved the public discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him more covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreame hard when he was under the government of others. Whereby, when he came to be at libertie, he was a new to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things consumed away: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie upon those whome he willingly would not to have received it. Besides, for his excess of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gave him libertie thereto, supposing thereby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small feare (for avoiding his displeasure) to flee into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemy than to his anger.)

Queene Marie.

1542.

The lord Levingston.

David Beton cardinall.

His forging of a will.

The protestants espied the cardinals craftie forging.

1542 Lesle. Fr.Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began his reigne over the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight over the Englishmen. She was not passing seven daies old when his father departing this life, left unto his kingdome, his mother lying in childbed in the castell of Lethington, of which place the lord Levingston being capitaine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and free consent.

Whereover, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouvernement either of the realme, or custodie of the young queene his daughter) David Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the advancement and continuance thereof, invented and forged [by Henrie Balfoure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adjoining with him the earles of Angus, his bawbe brother to the king deceased, Huntlie and Argyle, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland.

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was ever a cruell enemy and sharpe scourge, espied forth his craftie dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to have some libertie to embrace the gospel, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he removed the cardinall and his adherents from the usurped roome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernour and protector of the realme. [And thereupon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he retaieth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to have and inioie that office and roome, as next in blood to the young queene, as descended from a sister of King James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which marriage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yere at Edinburgh, it was agreed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, advertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good advise, that

now there was offered a most readie means and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the marriage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yeres of age, with the young queene of Scotland.

The king of England being resolved fallie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet means or by force, and sending for the earles of Cailes, and Glencarne, the lords Sparrow, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conveyed unto Hampton court, where the seven and twentieth of December they being right courteouslie intertained, he made unto them an ouverture of his purpose and whole intent, proposing the whole matter unto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of marriage might be made betwene his sonne the prince, and their young queene, promising to them libertie without ransome, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would do their endeavour to persuade the gouernour, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereunto.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their coming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so coming to Helmscall, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had received forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefe of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Douglas with his letters to the gouernour, requesting effectuously, that they might be restored to their houses, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriving at Edinburgh, about the midd of Januarie, declared to the gouernour their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernour being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edinburgh, to a convention there, to be holden the seven and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Warketh: the lord Beton being appointed to have the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Botwes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye have heard) were sent home by the gouernour into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie unto the said gouernour, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree unto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadours into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leimouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and coming into England unto the king, remained there till the latter end of Aprile. In which meane time, such conventions, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeable, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the marriage

The marriage confirmed.

The king of England taketh with the lords of Scotland prisoners for a marriage betwixt his son and their queene.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 465.

1543. Buch.

Duke of Suffolke Buchanan.

The earle of Angus sent home into Scotland.

1543. Lesle. 1542.

A convention of the Scottish nobilitie.

The French king misliketh of the match with England, Matthew earle of Lennox.

The cardinall committed to ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

Ambassadors sent into England.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The marriage confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Herevpon also the lord gouernor shewed himselfe to embrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guiliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & inuenerfallie published through the realme of Scotland.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yong quene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of saint Andrioes, with wardens about him to keepe him safelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vn hoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglaste, and the lord Clames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the thre estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passleto, brother of the gouernor, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as David Paniter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courtesiallie intertained. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a ballant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honozable welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kindred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder god gouernement, the French king soe mistliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be bitterlie dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his coming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to reconer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to iointe his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

The earle of Lennox herevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherein the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Not long after, the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receive what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keep-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong quene vnto them.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongest the rest would not yeld thereto, which was Gilbert Bennedie earle of Castles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redeeme his life with the blood of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honozable rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great troubles by means of the quenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Linnuch: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comelinesse of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also; there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yeres and more, during the quenes minority, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong quene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next latosull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernor was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, took his leave, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arrival) he came to Edinburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernor, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & god affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

The earle of Lennox passed into Scotland;

But

ing of
dial
the
Scot
loner
rage
his
their

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus. lib. 10.
pag. 465.

such,

f
e
L

le of
ent
d.

elle.

tion
only

The French
king mistaketh
of the match
with Eng-
land,
Matthew
earle of Len-
nox.

mail
to

g.

is

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not tarrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argyle, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed forth of Edinburgh toward the west countrie, highlye displeased (as should seme) with the gouernor, and taking Liffgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuising how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conuie hir into England.

The earle of Lennor conferreth with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lesle.

The castell of Edinburgh recovered to the gouernors vse.

The young quene conuicted to Striueling.

The king of Englands doubt.

The lord Wharton. The lord Ceners.

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Dalkeith, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edinburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lord of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntley, Montrose, Pentife, Argyle, and others of the French faction in August following, conuicted the young quene with hir mother from Liffgow vnto Striueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Wherewith was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the young quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Castles, the lords Sparwell, Somerville, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edinburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the doings of Lennor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduise and counsell how to deale for disapointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the prejudice of peace with England.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatlie least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conuie hir ouer into France: whereupon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that the might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the mariage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waite of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Ceners with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themselves with the gouernor, and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in a readinesse to march, through the secret labors of the cardinall, wishing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well trowgh frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, that by the cardinall and the earle of Huntley of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane revolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the young quene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in blood to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parliament was called and holden at Edinburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadors, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preservation (as they pretended) of the young quene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that she should remaine with the old quene hir mother in Striueling castell, during hir minority, and certaine rents of that seignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Leuingston, Erskin, and Flemming (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindseie, & William Leintoun were appointed to abide continual lie with hir, for the better safegard of hir person.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe relected, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantnesse of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake; and notwithstanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie disapointed of his right, which he looked to haue recovered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same any more at his hands. Wherewith Lennor ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Sparwell, and Somerville, the thiriffe of Ayr, the lord of Dumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwene them. And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane revolted to the French part, there was arrived in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, five ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewart of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadors.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbzeton, reteining it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue bene imploied to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leanned to his side.

The coronation of quene Marie.

A parliament.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

Ciuill dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The earle of Lennor raiseth an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennor cometh to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glasgowe. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lesle

The earle of
Lennor rais-
ing an armie.

An appoint-
ment taken.
Pledges deli-
uered.

The earle of
Lennor com-
meth to the
gouernor.
He departed
from him as
game.
He fortified
Glasgow.
Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 10.
pag. 478.
1547. Lellous.

The earle of Lennor therefore raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Perth against the gouernor: that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken by, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dologlas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus; the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Callaghole for his brother the earle of Callisle, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came vnto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithgow, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgow, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgow, he assembled such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especially of the lord Boid went vnto Glasgow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennor had withdrawn himselfe vnto Dunbretton, to gather a greater assemblie, thortlie after to retorne to Glasgow. The earle of Glencarne, with Elsbarne, Houstons, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassie, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Kilmorie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine there: of (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than good speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hostes began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (that with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Moniepermie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambuskie (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgow, where he vsed (by the persuation of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the life and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, received into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from a nie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, doo after this stirre him to take weapon against the gouernor: whereupon he doo strengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. After the gouernor (intending to prevent all his indeuours by his counsellors (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasgow, all the nobles of the south part, and (bringing forth the hired souldiers) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the citie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus cominto the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to waxer, and to obtaine such euill successe) doo send the earle of Angus and the lord Partwell to the gouernor, to treat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conveyed from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgow, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenese. The lord Partwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dologlas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for a nie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoever it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice; and request to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret Dologlas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and neeces to the said king.

Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The quene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patri-monie were confiscat to the quene. Whilest the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenly committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and depriued the said John Stewart of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scottish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or botmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now retorne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie received by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should go before

The earle of
Angus and
the lord Part-
well commit-
ted to ward.

Mens opin-
ions for the
imprisoning
of the earle of
Angus.

1544.
The earle of
Lennor sent
both to the
king of Eng-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 10.
pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne vpright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andzeus and primate of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glasgowe should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glasgowe toke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threwe it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (understanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from wordes to swordes) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therewith to be brought to Edinburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murray had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murray did shew an honozable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in stoe of siluer vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should overturne the cupbord as it were brislinglie. Which the servant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Murano and Venice did not anie way excell these. Trielle this earle of Murray was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happlie performed amongest them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaite.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes see, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the marriage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice: not without singular praise and honor to the Scottish nation.

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was perswaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vnthankfullie and discourteoullie Lennor had bene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinnmouth with their people, arrived in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole naute containing aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edinburgh, hearing of their arrivall, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puillance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and sent master Adam Otterbozne prouost of Edinburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and withall offered, that if there were anie injuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladly receiue them into the towne of Edinburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the bristful dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edinburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and thereupon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwates to Strimeling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edinburgh, passing by the Cannogate street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogate, they entred the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the capitaine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogate street, and the abbey of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Spawell, the master of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Criers, and his sonne sir Rafe Criers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scowed the countrie on euerie

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landed by Leith.

The earle of Lennor.

The prouost of Edinburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edinburgh entred by force.

So many hercol in England.

Edinburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

Buchanan lib. 15.

Fr. Thin. Leikis lib. 10. f. 474. 1544.

rie side of Edinburgh. Finalle, after the English
armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt
that towne also, and sent their ships awate fraught
with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne,
as in Edinburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe
towards England. And therewith the earle of Hert-
ford, the lord admerall, and others, returned by land
through the countrie unto Berwik, as in the Eng-
lish historie more at large appeareth. Whilste the
English armie was thus occupied in that part of
Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men
which he had raised, was readie to come on the backs
of the gouernor, and his adherents, if they had assem-
bled their forces and come forward to haue giuen
the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill
contentions still continued, and sundrie conflicts and
skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and
the Isles, did now in these tumults begin to shew
some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which
paid pærelie tribute in the time of James the first,
kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and
well obeyed the gouernor) did now (after they saw all
things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and de-
stroye their neighbors, in the same vttering the hu-
mor of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the go-
uernor, (to restraine their boldnesse) called vnto him
George Gordon earle of Huntley, and the earle of
Argyle, whereof he made the one gouernor of the
northern parts of Scotland, of the Orkades, and Shet-
land; and to the other, he committed the rule of Ar-
gyle, and the Isles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntley
with all speed gathered an armie from the north
parts, and determined to hyde the Glencamrons,
the Gencronelles, the Mudiardes, & the Bindiardes,
with force and authoritie. The capitaines or heads of
which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mac-
koneilglas, and John Mudiard, who did possesse the
lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expel-
led them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntley had
incamped nere vnto them, they fled euerie one
home to their owne possessions: which being defen-
ded partly by the west sea, and partly included about
with the mounteins, stopped Huntley, so that he
might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes
whereof (these disseisned being banished) the lords
Grant and Louet were restorred to their right inhe-
ritance. But it fell out contrarie for Louet, who
going to take his owne into his hands, fell into dan-
ger of his enemies. For at that time both the com-
panies were disposed into such order, that neither par-
tie could abstaine from fight. Whereupon they first
discharge their bodies one against another, and their
arrows spent, they after sie to their swords, with
which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting
off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which
part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so
great slaughter on both parts, that till the next mor-
ning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were
not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the
Glencamrons and Mudiardes there were manie
slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and
of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and
brought vp in France) with three hundred of the
bloud and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was
the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed
to be the greater on their part. For there was a ru-
mor spread, that there was not one of the familie of
the Fraisers left aloue that was of mans state. But
it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they
left their wiues with child when they went to the
fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised

and restorred. Huntley (greatlie grieved that the
Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gather-
ed a power together, and with armes so pursued
those factious people, that he took and beheaded E-
win Allanson, and Ronald, with diuerse others, and
put the rest in prison. The earle of Argyle discharged
the office committed to him as well as Huntley did
and with more happie successe, for all the Island men
humble submitted themselves vnto him, and deli-
uered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompa-
nied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, o-
therwise called lord of Kilmarloche, Walter Crabant
brother to the earle of Montrose, sir John Boghe
wake knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, take the
sea to passe into England, and arrived at Wessche-
ster about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the
court, he was sofallie receiued. And immediatlie
thereupon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him
and the ladie Margaret Douglas, daughter & heire
to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife
quene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at
what time there was assured to him by way of in-
heritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks
of pærelie rent of assise, in consideration of this ma-
riage with the kings neece, and in recompense of
lands lost by him in France, to the which he was in-
heritor after the deceasse of Robert Stewart lord
Dobnie, one of the foure marshals of France.

Afterward, king Henrie being now vpon his
tourne towards Bullongne, as well for the auoiance
of his highnesse enemies in Scotland, as for recou-
rie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed
the said erle to enter Scotland in the month of Au-
gust, accompanied with sir Rife Mansfield, sir Pe-
ter Hewtas knights, maister Thomas Audleie, ma-
ster Thomas Brookes, old maister Winter com-
ptrolloz of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William
Winter that now is, and sundrie other capitaines, ha-
uing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters,
two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hun-
dred armed pikers, beside the mariners belonging to
those ships that were appointed to go forth on this
tourne, being in number about twelue or fourtene
saile, belonging to Bristow, and other of the west
parts.

Upon their arriual on the coast of Scotland, they
burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernors cas-
tell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing
at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and took
the castell of Kelse standing therein (from whence
the Stewards kings of Scotland had their origi-
nall) the captaine they had awate prisoner with them
into England. Here also they took two French
ships laden with wines, and this done they entered
the firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their
friends in the castell of Dunbretton. But true it is,
that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with
sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the
captaine thereof called Houson, to kepe it in the
name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennor, were
in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the
quene Dowager, not only to renounce their promi-
sed faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell;
but also to intrap and wind him within their dan-
ger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter,
that they had got him on land onelie with three hun-
dred men: and so farre forth they were growne in
trust, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the
castell with a few other with him, the monie was
laid downe on the board, to be paid to the captaine for
his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of
Lennor, & such as were with him, perceiuing some
treasonable

Buchanan
saith that this
battell as it
was belated,
was procured
by Huntley to
destroye the
Fraisers.

The earle of
Lennor goeth
into England

The marich
the ladie Mar-
garet Dow-
glas.

Lord Dobnie.

The earle of
Lennor re-
turneth into
Scotland.

The Ile of
Bute taken.

The earle of
Lennor in
danger to be
betrayed and
taken.

treasonable practice in hand, got forth of the house againe unto their companie below, leaving the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had bene intraped by George Douglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawn thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbarton, shortly after that the earle of Lennor was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the river of Clyde, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displayed, hailed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnunne, annoieng the earle of Lennor his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, toke aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle soze moued to haue bene thus repelled from Dunbarton, and stomaching the matter soze, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnunne, where the earle of Argile with seven hundred men was ready to incounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great shote of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure scoze of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of thre men onlie on the English side.

This done, the towne of Dinnunne was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approached, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other provision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboard in safetie, holubait not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that advanced themselves most forward. About foure or fve daies after, the earle of Lennor with five hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennor with his souldiers retired to his ships with out incounter.

After this they invaded the Ile of Bute, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried auaite great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Bile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Gallotway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennor, suing to him for assurance. In these exploits the earle had with him Walter Spicerlane of Tirbat, and seven scoze men of the head of Lennor, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish tongues, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much auailable service in the freids, the marshes, and mountaine countries.

* During these things, they which had gouernment of the Scottish affairs (as the quene dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a counsell, in which they decreed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be ready to follow the gouernor whither soener he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortly

lie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Colbingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his fen-dernesse sustained in the last daies labor of waite, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Hertouke) suddenlie (vnbeknowne to the other nobilitie) did sile to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue bene betrayed to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason vnbeknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at random. But others (who were more carefull, and would seme lesse fearefull) did agree to stufte the peeces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Douglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked deed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, in-
30 treatie, or authoritie, he exclaimed with a loud voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bying auaite this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Douglas with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, where the hostlemen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backs. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie perfoimcd, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriously applied the da-
50 stardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennor and his companie had atchiued these enterpises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Hewtas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles sojnie, which the king toke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennor was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Biffaw.

About the middell of Februarie, sir Rafe Cure commonlie called Cuers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots: and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therewithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbete of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

The earle of Lennor landed at Dinnunne.

The towne of Dinnunne burnt.

The earle of Lennor landed againe in Argile.

Winter inuaded.

Walter Spicerlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, li. 15.

Defecteth the monuments of the Douglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, li. 15.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Peter Hewtas.

1545. Sir Rafe Cuers invaded Scotland.

1544. Leslie. Buchanan. Sir Rafe Cuers & others slain.

perdelately
the monu-
ments of the
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin;
Buchan. lib. 15

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in store there with them, not having time to convey it away at their departure, their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbete, utterlie defacing the houses and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

* After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine any succor from the gouernor, which used the abuse of the clergy, but chiefie of the cardinall. Whereupon Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partly with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Clutot, and partly to see his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, perswading him to encounter and resist the same. At that tyme also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would impleite their liues, linings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualltie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our sloth) permit the enemie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will folow, that either they shall shortly banish vs, or bying vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of any of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Whereupon the gouernor and the said earle (soe agreed) to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together (vnder the leading of Porzman Lesle son of the earle of Ross) all such forces as they might recover, so that they had quicklie got them about fiftene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Hammer hugh, or Broomhouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, went to trie the quarrell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seven or eight hundred revolted vnto the part of their countreimen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slay sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Ogile, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They took also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peces of artillerie and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the seventeenth day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned, and that euen of the king

himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was imployed otherwise, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

* The occasion of the English overthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chiefie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equal ground, and with unequal helpes. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marshy place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwene them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt any of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, whereunto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncoise bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernor and prior of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Burrie, uncle to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred another thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglas.

About that time, the king of England by pisse & pries perswaded the Flemings to take fiftene of our ships harborred in the hauen, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to sith on their coasts, and did sometimes intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

This yere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Lozges, knight of the order of saint Michaele, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbretton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtieth of Aprill: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michaele, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Herewith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts coming downe, took such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laie there in campe a certeine space without achieving any great enterprize, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

A. i.

* This

his seruice
against the
Scots.

Abbr. Fl.

Fr. Thin;
Buchan. lib. 16,
pag. 478.

Death of his
ships.

Fr. Thin,
Lesleus. lib. 16,
pag. 479.

1545. Buch.
Monsieur de
Lozges sent
into Scots
land.

Knight of
saint Michae-
les order.

An armie of
Scots lieth
on the borders

Fr. Thin.

Peter
viss.

545.
Rafe Cu-
maderth
land,

1544. Lesle.
Buchanan.
Sir Rafe Cu-
ers & others
slaine.

The historie of Scotland.

* This castell of Dunbretton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein thereof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing lest it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes therof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioicing of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnessie into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Therefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbretton together with the cardinal, and the earles Huntley, and Argyle, laing present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntley, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inespugnabile) should be deliuered, which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honozable intreates the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnessie, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishopricke, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

Frenchmen
and Scots
overthrowne.

The lord
Marwell
taken prisoner

The earle of
Lennor pro-
ceureth them
of the Isles
to serue the king
of England.

The lord of
the Isles elec-
ted, being one
of the Mac-
mels.

The sixteenth of September, three or foure hundred Scots, with Marwell, Lochinuart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seven score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hunne, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Marwell eldest son to the lord Marwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side, although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parliament holden at Linlithgow, begun there the twentieth eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Mathew earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Wylhelme, were so faulted, and all their lands and goods giuen auaie and annexed to the crowne.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the service of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partly for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argyle, and his familie; and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Wherevpon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yearly, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The first profe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argyle and Huntley. And although they escaped verie narrowly, the lord Huntley an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seven hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one young boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handled out of Lefleus.]

Clane Regi-
nald struch
the lord Hunt-
ley.

Fr. Thin.

After this, the lord of the Isles, with six thousand men imbarke in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Castles, then a great enemy to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and que manie of the enemies. After which enterprise so achieved, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Armond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to loins with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argyles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that iorney, the new lord of the Isles deceased, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, had the king of England in four hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of
the Isles in-
uadeth Car-
rike.

He commeth
into Ireland.

He departed
this life.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken vp, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards, so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerye, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarye, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Colbidingham, past by by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Abers, and Tindale, the abbetes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, with townes & villages, to the number of five score.

But eight
thousand, as
some say.

The earle of
Hertford in-
uadeth Scot-
land.

Whobeeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie encounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken vp, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, he indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

* Whobeeit about this time, or rather before, Robert Marwell, the sonne of Robert (a young man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthy the memoize, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinal leadeth the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating fleshy on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Loathane (so ble the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as bled the late new testament of Luthers translation. Whither came also Patrick Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothsay, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifying of the

ther

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factions persons addid to the restor'd religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) understood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselves, and severallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Kothleie being shortly deliuered, Creie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Kuthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinsane Comarck, neighbor and kinsman to Creie. For this Kuthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restor'd religion: as likewise was Creie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might let them (by this meanes) together by the eares (with manie of both parts would toine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernment of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Kuthwens) might be thus translated to Kinsane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obeye: as it seemed that they would not; because they toke it with some grieue, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Creie (which had whole taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Tale. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to doe anie thing therein. Creie assailing it by the bridge (which Kuthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Kuthwen, and his compaignie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to some place by which he might flee awaie. But the multitude confused and diuened into a streit, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not flee: in which vnorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and those score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Kuthwen; yet he did not greatly lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficiently progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andzeus, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembered the eagerne

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatly feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawn, to assist his enimies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time whilst they were at saint Andzeus, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andzeus, where a learned man, named master George Wischart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so charged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andzeus during the time of that conuention or assemble.

George wischart a learned man burnt.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatly trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawford's sonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andzeus, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 15.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble young gentleman called Jozman Lesle, sonne to the earle of Kothleie, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Jozman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to brawlings, and from thence to bitter taunts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the græued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatening that being overtaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Jozman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder after ward. This Jozman accompanied onelie with five of his owne traine, entred the towne of saint Andzeus, and went into his accustomed Anne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspiracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen by

to them to execute this deuile. ~~For which small~~ companie this p^{ro}zman feared not to adventure the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furnished in euerie place with the seruants and friends of the cardinall.

Whereupon the thirtieth of Maie, the cardinall being within his castell of saint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he tolke them) that is to say, the said p^{ro}zman, lord Lesleie, William Kirkcaldie, the pong lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with sircene chosen men, entered the castell verie secretly in the morning, toke the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that done, passing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got up, and was opening his chamber doze, they slue him, and seized upon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortress was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and siluer plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

Sir James Leirmouth, p^{ro}uost of saint Andrews, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entred the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the walke as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, sith they saw no meane how to remedie, or reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that moued the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maister George Wishart, fearing to be serued with the same sauce, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceiued some deadly hatred against him.

But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the seuerall tormentors seuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For p^{ro}zman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he sustained; when the cardinall had restored to Coluine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter Twemes; which the king had after giuen to the said p^{ro}zman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was removed by the cardinals aduise from the office of the tresuroship, which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For upon the fact, p^{ro}zman being vered with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by blood or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the service of Henrie the second king of France) ended to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast upon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after another) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.

The same evening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Balnatis, one of the counsell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Spelutins, John Knotts and others, to the number of seven score persons,

threw the cardinall to their support, taking upon them to resist against the gouernor, and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, considering that his seere counsell the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Argyll, Huntlye, Argyle, and others, by whose aduise he called a parliament, and foalsied them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andrews.

Whereupon he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artillerie against it. But it was so strongly furnished with all maner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries with little could aduance against them. Whereupon, after that the siege had continued the space of three moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so kept by them that did the murder, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the castell, euer since the day in which they slue him. The gouernor did name the abbat of Passlaw his brother to the bishopricke of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbacie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Dologlasse bassard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme. In the yeare next ensuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Edward, the first of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortly after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceased, and his sonne Henrie the second of that name succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strofie p^{ri}or of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michael Wharton, hauing then with him but sircene Englishmen, who neuertheless abid three or foure daies siege, and seven canon shots, and so yielded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreover, at the same time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmark was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilist the gouernor was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the p^{ri}or of Capoa was arrived, and against the wills of such as were against it, entred into the towne of saint Andrews: whereupon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hastened thither to assist the p^{ri}or, and so the siege was strongly laid about the castell there. The p^{ri}or caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be dralwen up, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell, so that those peeces shot plump into the castell; that none durst shew themselves on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the castell. He caused also certeine canons to be dralwen with engines,

The cardinall of saint Andrews murdered.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10 pag. 481.

1546. The taking of the cardinall foalsied.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged.

The siege raised.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10 pag. 483.

1547. The king of England deceased.

The death of the French king.

The castell of saint Andrews yielded.

The p^{ri}or of Capoa.

The duke of Summerset protector of England.

He entred Scotland with an armie.

The order of the English armie.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10 pag. 484.

The order of the English armie.

gins, were to the berie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell do wne.

Afterward, the gallies at an high water approched on the river side so nere to the castle, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they soge annoyed them within, and due diuerse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parol, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to surrender the castle, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

But, this would not be granted; the governour
bitterly refusing it, at length he was content to pardon
them of their blurs, if the French king should
think it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoils
of the castell were given to the Frenchmen, who upon
the surrender entering the same, left nothing be-
hind him that might serve them to arrive in
making it away. All the principall men within it were
led to the gallies, and committed abate into France
prisoners at the French kings discretion. Divers
of them were committed to sundrie prisons on
the coast of Brittain, and others were appointed to row
in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the pri-
soners were set at libertie, and the others that were in
the gallies were redeemed by their friends for cer-
taine summes of monie.

Thus was the castle of saint Andrewes rendered the nine and twentieth of Iulie, fourteen daies after the arrivall there of the piers of Capos, whereby his great valiantie, well knowne afore that time, was so renowned; as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good success therein was much advanced. Shortly after, the duke of Aquitaine sett, therofore in this booke named earle of Hereford, uncle by the mother unto the young king of England, and admitted governance of his person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subieas, intending the advancement of the young king his nephew, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwix him, and the young queene of Scots.

And perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he desired to let passe the opportunity of time then offered (as he tolde it) to serve his purpose; and thereupon by advice of counsell, leaved his armie with all expedition, and came to his tent, about the latter end of August, and in this beginning of September, entred Scotland with the same armie, containing fowerteen thousand men, the same day which was divided into three principall battailes, and was headed by the banner of the Callimachus, the battell by the duke of Devonshire himselfe, and the rear by the lord of Douglas the north and colindale, and

light were, certain boys and troopers of men of
 armes, dancians, and light horsemen, (and also
 of horsemen) that attended upon these three
 banners, a good number of musketeers of great artillie
 rie, The Lord Brein of the high-marshal of the
 army; but the general constitution of the men of
 armes and dancians, (as in Francis's day, then
 was) of the light horsemen, both light and heavie
 of the army as appointed, with the bands gray, and other
 companies capitaine of five hundred horsemen; and
 six of Francis's. His new master of the ordnance, with
 a thousand light horsemen more appointed to the
 battell. And the third company, with five hundred
 light horsemen, attended upon the rearguard.
 And the order marching through the spers, and

Louthian, they came at length into a place called
Blackball Braies, nere to the Forth side, in which
river the English fleet was arrived, and lay before
the towne of Leith, but now by order given came
backe from thence, and lay nearer to the armie. The
governor of Scotland advertised of the coming of
this armie of England thus to invade Scotland,
with all diligence sent abroad solemn summons
for the levying of a new armie forth of all parts
of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficiently
strengthened and enabled for the encounter; happen when it
should, the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise
summoned, and both hoping, as graciously gaping
after the glorie of victorie.

And for the gouernour did attempt at this time that
 which is accustomed to be used in the greatest dan-
 gers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out
 messengers through all the realme, who carrying a
 fierie croffe in their hands, should make signe (and
 declare) affwell to the laitie, as to the churchmen;
 that all they which were above fiftene yeares old, and
 under firtie, should presentlie (with their armes) re-
 paire to Spissilborough, and there be ready to defend
 the libertie of the countrie: who accordingly came
 to Spissilborough (with in lesse than two miles of the
 place where the English armie came to incampe,
 lieng at Preston) placed themselves at Invernesse
 ouer against their enemies.

Here we haue to haider stand, that the Scots light
horsemen oftentimes would come pickling almost
within their stauces: length of the Englishmen as
they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end
they might traine them forth from their strength,
and with trailing words would still be in hand to pro-
voke them thereto. But the duke of Summerset,
doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gave
secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by
the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length
the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to bear such bold
presumption in the Scots, adventuring (as he saith)
it ouer rashly, and more than good with their owne
suerrie, made sute to the duke of Summerset, that if
they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull
for him to set them further off.

The Duke at the first by no means would assent thereto, telling the lord Greig, that his desire was a good more of a tolethe of courage, than of any knowledge of the ennemy, and seemed to defend the good use of the Scottish horsemen: but when the lord Greig persisted in his sute, and the earle of Wintonke assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Thereupon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the ninth of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted manner, the lord Greig taking with him certeine bands of horsemen, both vnder armes, and halances, and also light horsemen divided them in troopes, appointing the Spaniards and Italian hagtubbers on horsebacke to keep on a wing, and to guard the hindermost troope of the Scottish horsemen.

[illegible]

**The English
fleet,**

The gouernoz
raifeth an ar-
mie.

Fr. Thin.
Lcſleus lib. 10.
pag. 485.

The goodnes
of the Sco-
tish horzmen
feared of the
Englishmen.
The lord
Greie desireth
to encounter
the Scottish
horzmen.

Order giuen
by the lord
Erle.

died of them came scattered upon the spurre, with a marvellous shout within a stones length of the Scots most troope.

Nicholas
Gairnesford.

The Scots
horsemen put
to flight.

Fr.Thin.

English cap-
tains taken.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.Lib.15.

These thinking then to haue wheeled about, master Nicholas Gairnesford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greles band of his men of armes of Bellinghrie, cried; A charge, which as speedily on the English part as unlocked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were dyuen to gallop apace so fast as their horses might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as sayth Lelous lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edinburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the Englishmen aduentured to farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as Sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colver, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of several bands of light horsemen. & Thus much for this Fridayes skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scottish horsemen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest.

* The English armie remaining still at Perth, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And thereupon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtaine any thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with covenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatly intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whom (vntill they utterly forget their profession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vnjust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of contentiousness, hatred or enite, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmly established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a fellowship and libertie imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that marriage be continuall to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of injuries should be greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chiefly consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their queene was of necessitie to be giuen in marriage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be avoided; and the moderation therein best hard: that the onelie power to chuse hir a husband was left vnto the publike counsell or parliament. And if they would chuse (to their queene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whom could they better take chuse, than of a king their neighebor, borne in the same land, nere of blood, instructed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same manners and language; not their superior onelie in riches, but almost also in all commodities and instruments of eternall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the forgetting of all old injuries? But if they call to them any other (differing from them in language, manners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie discomforts will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to feele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by law they might challenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should enable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chuse hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should abstaine from warre: and that also the queene (during that time) should neiether be conueied into any strange nation: nor that they should conclude any pact or covenant with the French, or any other foreign prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most honestly and handsomely promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed any hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrey) they would recompense the same by the indgement of good men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernour did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the same cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, because they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumor to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take apace the queene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernour being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affaires of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Daries, with Archibald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Wige, a lawyer, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than any knowledge in matters of state. Wherefore had so passed by the gouernour (inconstant by his owne nature, and hanging his counsell by the wind of euery rumor) that he would with aduised entres heare all other men's opinions. For the tene dayes, his friends having spread a false tale (though the Scottish host by him gathered, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their misfortune and proceedings, as after shall appeare), thus misled and guided, were thus

For he taught us (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernour and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell with their owne realm, but rather to be still and defend their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduised thereto, of the many rois at this great assembly, called their field to be a battle, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to that the Scottish campe, which they thought force the Scots to vnderstand that they stood of advantage. The gouernour and the Scottish lords beholding their enemies thus marching forward, thought best to

The Scots
meant not to
have giuen
battell.

The outposts
of the Eng-
lishmen.

to state their enterprife, and therefore suddenlie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enemies.

They were divided into three battells; Archemald Dowlaglasle earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forwards with great hast, staid for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and ha- stie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so by towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to loine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

Hotobett, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the Eng- lish ho[m]emen, and forgozouslie reencountred them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and ho[m]es, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such dis- order, that they ran thorough the ranks of the foot- men in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered a- mong the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the wonted valure of his often approued prowesse, whereby he caused them to state, and relie themselves againe.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots advanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pinesses of the Eng- lish fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie foze galled and indamaged thereby, but also staid, that they could not come easilie forward. And herewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfor- table words and behavior of the earle of Marwick, and other the captains, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to re- sist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scot- land. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen follow- ed amaine, slaieng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Many were also drow- ned in the water of Anderfke, through the which they toke their flight.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chafe was past by them: but at length were diuinen to make a- waie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Di- uerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Cra- bam, the maister of Spessine, the maister of Ogilvie, the maister of Leningston, the maister of Kelle (the maister of Argendale and Spessane) the lord of Lo- chintwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zelltrie, the earle of Huntleie chancelor of the realme, and others, as saith Lelless lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The next day, the English armie remoued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, di- uers of them being fore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ransomes, agreed vpon be- twixt them and their takers, or else to come and pre- sent themselves prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloodie day, there were not a few which did impute iustitie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantlie reiect such honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to haue vsed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as I my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarels, or else haue vsed extremitie against such as secretlie misliked this condia with the English.)

The gouernor, escapng from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quene regent was, together with hir daughter the yong quene. Here, by the counsell and abuse of the earle of Angus [Argile, Kotesen, and Castles] and diuerse other lords that were also withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Henteith, where they remained in the abbey of Inch Spahome [deli- uering the yong quene to hir mother, Erskine and Leningstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they re- moued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edinburgh] the English name wan the Ile of saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie o- ther exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may apere.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the go- uernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerfet, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilst he late at Leith, offering them- selues to be at the king of Englands commande- ment, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or da- mage by the English powder. The duke of Summer- fet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edinburgh, but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eight- tenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer the mountains of Soultreie, comming the third day befoze the castell of Hume, where they did so much by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within three or foure daies after their comming thither, it was surrendered.

This castell being woone, & a garrison left there, in to keepe it, they remoued to Rockesburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous walls of an old castell, they built a fort; & after returning into Eng- land, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got also about the same time a strong fortresse, called Fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fleet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to keepe the same (as in the English historie it may fur- ther apere) and in what fort also all the chieffest lords and gentlemen of the Spers and Louthdale came in, and submitted themselves to the duke of Summer- fet, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerfet with his armie did thus invade Scotland on the east part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of the counsell to the king of England, that Mattheu earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Barton, then warden of the west marches of England, should with a power invade Scotland on the west side, to the end that there should not anie of the west borders nor countries come to assist the gouernor against the duke of Summerfets armie, but be diuinen to re- maine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here- vpon, there was an armie sent, to the number of

The earle of Huntleie en- tereth bond for his coun- triemen. Fr. Thin. Buchan lib. 15.

The quene remoued from Striueling. Fr. Thin. Lelless lib. 10. pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of saint Colmes Inch won by Englishmen.

The earle of Bothwell.

1547.

The English armie retur- ned homewards.

Hume castell rendered to the Englishmen.

Fast castell woone by them. Broughtie crag woone.

The ordering of the Scottish battels.

The English ho[m]emen waten backe.

The valiant- nisse of the earle of Mar- wick.

The gallie and two pin- esses.

The earle of Huntleie ca- tan prisoner.

Open of name of Scots name. Fr. Thin.

not at to en

pose ng.

The castell of
Milke paided

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horsemen, with which powder the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eighth of September, incamped the first night upon the water of Elke, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a fortrese of good strength, the walls being fourteene foot thicke.

Captaine of this castell was one John Stewart, brother to the lord thereof, who upon the approach of the earle of Lennor, yielded the house to him, without any shew of resistance. Whereupon, Fergus Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Erke, was appointed with a garrison of soldiers to keepe that castell to the use of the young king of England, and was afterwards confirmed captaine there with fiftie light horsemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerfet, the counsell, so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the countie therabouts to the king of Englands use.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, incamped nere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approaching nearer to the same, gave summons unto the captaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glanus, who with an hundred Scots, whereof Sparwell and Johnstone, and Cokpull (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 489. being parcel) kept the church and steeple of Annand, being peeces of themselves verie strong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yield, and valiantlie defended themselves. The greatest peeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat one lie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approach hard to the walls, and undermine the same, so as the rofe of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death: Such as escaped fled into the steeple.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the captaine moved by perswasion of the earle of Lennor, to whom he claimed to be of kin, rendered the steeple to him, with himselfe, and 96 Scots soldiers, with condition to have their lives onelie saved, and the captaine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Immediately upon their coming forth of the steeple, fire was given unto the traines of powder in the mines, and so both the church & steeple were blazen up into the aire, & faced downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked it) and left not one stone standing upon another, so that the same towne had ever borne a verie noisome neighbour to England.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this towne, that if they saw but a pece of timber remaining unburnt, they would cut the same in peeces with their bills. The countie here with was stricken in such feare, that the next day all the Bishops, priors, and abbottes, the lords of Kirkcubright, Ayr, Galloway, Dumfries, and the Breckings, the Bels, the Rigs, the Spurroies, and all the clanes and families of the nether part of Annandale, came in, and received an oath of obedience, as subjects to the king of England, delivering hostages for their assured loyalty. The residue that would not come in and submit themselves, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell forche away by the English light horsemen, that were sent abroad into the countie for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles; receiving great thankes and commendations by gentle letters on the first of twentieth of September, from the duke of Summerfet, then lieng at Rochesburgh, about fortifying that place. The gouernor perceiving thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, having now got such hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monsieur Dossell, ligger ambassador for the French king, to persuade with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The queene and monsieur Dossell, perceiving a readie way prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to have the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings advice) they undertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernors desire, if he with the states of the realme would agree that the queene might be sent into France, and a contract made for his bestowing in marriage, as stood with the French kings pleasure. The gouernor condescending hereunto, assembled the states, and by their advices, passed certeine covenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent the same in writing by certeine messengers into France.

The French king gladlie accepting this message, prepared a number of ships and gallees to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the gouernor laid siege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerfet, as well for meane to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoiance of Clibdale, appertaining to the gouernor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obedience of the king of England; appointed the earle of Lennor to make a new invasion into Scotland, and to use for trial of their skelties the helpe of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured & sworn to serve the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be employed.

The earle of Lennor desirous to advance the king of Englands affaires, and having received letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father, in law the earle of Angus, the lord of Dumlanrig, and those lords and gentlemen of the countie of Aile, Conningham, Kenfren, and Lennor, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and coming first to Dunfreis, where the generall assemblee was appointed of the two thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the musters should be taken, he found scarce five hundred, and these for the more part of the broken countie of Annandale, Clibdale, Clidale, and Clidale.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in deed, but under a counterfeit shew of good meaning, where in truth he went nothing but craft to discover all the earle of Lennor his purposes: who perceiving his double dealing, and finding no such forces ready to assist him as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting the loyalty of the master of Sparwell, & the gentle men of Clibdale, meaning (as he took it) to intrap him, and deliver him to the queene Dowager, and the said gouernor, stood in some perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without attaining some enterprise.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the lord of Dumlanrig, signifying that if the earle of Lennor came, accompanied

The gouernor
now sent to
the queene
Dowager,
and to the
French am-
bassadors.

The queene
Dowager
promiseth aid
out of France
with condi-
on.

The gouernor
sendeth into
France for
aid.
Broughtie
crag besieged
by the gou-
ernor.

They ha-
the count
house Dum-
lanrig.

The earle of
Lennor enter-
eth into
Scotland.

The earle of
Glencarne
his double
dealing.

How Lord
Wharton
was killed.

The earle of
Lennor in
doubt what to
do.

The lord of
Dumlanrig.

The earle of
Lennor be-
sieged by
the French

1547. Bu

How the
countie
Dumlanrig

They ha-
the count
house Dum-
lanrig.

Dumlanrig
English

He is
killed.

The
Dumlanrig
crag

onellie with Scottishmen, he would both serve him
and honor him in the best sort he might; but if he
had sought those Englishmen in the companies, he
would not onellie refuse to aid him, but also raise all
the power he might make, either by his friends or o-
therwise, to defend him, and protect him a repulse
the earle of Lennox, who was the chief danger
to be betrayed among them, and that they were all
the dooless parties that might be raised those that
should come to the defence of the king of England,
dissembled the matter with Glencairne, and other
that were bound to be true to him, pretending to
them, that he would follow the course of their de-
sires.

The earle of
Lennox dis-
sembled with
dissemblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meantime he got together the Eng-
lish captains that were appointed to attend him, and
also such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust.
And meaning to scourge Dumlanrig, he cut him
short, for that he was the chief instrument to raise
all the Scottishmen in those parties from entering
friendship with the Englishmen, he gave secret
warning to all the captains & leaders about nine of
the clocke at night, that they should be ready with
their men to follow on horsebacke at the sound of
the trumpet, and kepe with them the earle of Gles-
carne, the master of Sparwell, the lords of Clot-
burne, Kirkmichell, and other the gentlemen of Glou-
desdale and Annandale.

He sent forth six hundred chosen horsemen upon
sound of the trumpet, at twelve of the clocke at
night, under the leading of Henrie Wharton, and o-
ther the captains of the garrisons, who in the daw-
ning of the next morning, arrived nere the place of
Dumlanrig, where they appointed four hundred of
their horsemen to passe to the forre, who raised fire,
and burnt two milles in length, both towne and vil-
lages on each side, euen hard to the gates of Dum-
lanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth
to the value of two thousand marks, got the thou-
sand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, be-
side nine score horses and mares.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell,
being in number four hundred men, departed with
their prey homewards. The lord of Dumlanrig, li-
eng all this while in ambush with seven hundred
men, forbare to breake out to give any charge upon
his enemies, doubting least the earle of Lennox had
kept a fiale behind: but now after he perceived that
the most part of the enemies were departed, and that
the residue of the gentlemen & captains of the Eng-
lish horsemen were withdrawing towards Dunfre-
is, being not past six score men, he fiercely followed
after them with his power, in hope not onellie to o-
uerthrow and distress them, but also to take the earle
of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horse-
men, retiring beyond the water of Aith, and percei-
ving that Dumlanrig and his men entered the wa-
ter rather to pursue them, retired, and gave such a
desperate charge upon them, that Dumlanrig and
his companie were scattered and put to flight: yet
Dumlanrig himselfe, although there were some
speares broken upon him, through the goodnesse of
his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname
and traine, that were in no small estimation with
him, were slain, and six score prisoners taken, and
led to Dunfreis. The terror of this overthrow, and
the byte of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus
made into Scotland, raised the governor to lenie
his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to
come from thence, the better to defend his countrey
of Cloudeale, and Dowglasdale. Sir Andrew Wain-
leie, captaine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie
valiantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

Dumlanrig
parleth the
Englishmen.

He is put to
flight.

The siege of
Broughtie
crag raised.

so that the Scots certes lost diverse hardie persona-
ges: and among other, Gawen Hamilton, the go-
vernors kinsman, was slain at the same siege.
After that the priot of Whithorne by his letters
and messengers, offered himselfe to be the king of
England, and the inhabitantes of the burrough and
haueir townes of Wighton and Birchobergh, the
knights of Loghinwar and Carlets, the lord and tu-
tor of Bomble, the lord of Cardines, & all the gentle-
men of Annandale, Gloudeale, and Galloway, then
to Whithorne, being four score miles in length from
Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid pri-
or, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carlets,
(for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) with-
in two daies after the discomfiture of Dumlanrig,
came into Dunfreis, and there received an oth to be
true to the king of England, and afterwards went
with the earle to Caerleill, leaving the countrey in
good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged
for lord of Galloway, Gloudeale, and Annandale,
by the inhabitantes thereof.

And after that the foresaid persons had remain-
ed for a space at Caerleill, they delivered pledges,
but especiallie for John Sparwell, & returned home
to their countrey, as assured men & subiects to the k-
ing of England. In this meane while, the governor ha-
ving held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag,
by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from
thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the
principall lordes about him, he caused maister James
Halsburton, tutor of those parties, to raise cer-
teine companies of horsemen, and appointed him
with captaine Leismouth (whome he left in Dun-
fre with certeine footmen) to defend the countrey a-
gainst the Englishmen, if they issued forth of
Broughtie crag, to attempt any enterpryse, and
where nere thereabouts.

The duke of Summerfet by aduise of the residue
of the counsell in England, intending to abide the
Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves
to the king of England, took order with the lord of
Wilson, who (as saith Lelless, lib. 10. pag. 491.) re-
mained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of April,
vntill the tenth kalends of June for the building of
one fort at Larder, and an other at Waddington, as
in the English historie it may appeare. And further
it was appointed also, that about the end of Februa-
rie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with
seven hundred English horsemen, beside the assu-
red Scots horsemen, and about four or five thou-
sand English footmen, should by the west borders in-
uade Scotland: they according to their commission
set forward, and the first night came to Wadhina-
ben, and there lodged.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and
whilst they remained there, the earle of Angus be-
ing come to Dumlanrig, by messengers entred
some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Len-
nox. But sith it was perceived that this was done,
rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the
least wise to draw time, upon consultation had with
the maister of Sparwell, the lord of Cloudeale and An-
nandale, it was concluded, that the towne of Spar-
ton, Dufdrie, and others, nere adjoining together
in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the
earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and
caught by some one meane or other.

About midnigh therefore, the forrate being set
forth, under the leading of maister Henrie Whar-
ton, to the number of twelve hundred light horse-
men, the maister of Sparwell, now lord Herries,
and the residue of the assured men being amongst
them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of
Lennox,

The priot of
Whithorne.

The Scots
deliver pled-
ges.

James Hol-
burton.
Captaine
Leismouth.

1547. Lelless.

Fr. Thin.
Forts built.

1548.

The earle of
Lennox and
the L. whar-
ton invade
Scotland.

The dissimu-
lation of the
earle of An-
gus.

Maister Hen-
rie Wharton.

e gover-
or late to
quene
wager,
to the
much an-
noys.

e queene
wager
mischaid
of France
hconditi-

e governor
erth into
ance for

oughtie
g believed
g. Soutie.

he earle of
unox ente-
y into
cotland.

he earle of
encarne
double
ding.

he earle of
unox in
ubt what to

he lord of
zumlanrig.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dunsdore set on fire.

The revolting of the assured Scots.

A false rumor spread.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfries spoiled,

Lennox, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfries. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Dumlanrig, vnder pretence to conuene with his sonne the earle of Lennox (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so intrapped by the English footmen yet he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onelie with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dunsdore, eight or fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundrie great rivers, they set that towne on fire.

But the maister of Spawell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Dumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lance haues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Dumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was advanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dunsdore.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be surer inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field nere to Dunsdore, hoisting vp a blacke pennon vpon a speares point for a token, reuolted wholie, and ioined themselves to the lord of Dumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they huted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The earle of Lennox, beholding the manner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dunsdore, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe toward Dunfries. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue giuen them through thinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shooke giuen at that instant, with great manhod (vndoubtedlie) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of araye, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Dumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Spawell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chace as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Bith. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbete, Christie Fretwing of Bonthaw, a brother of the lord of Hemsfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfries was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennox and the Englishmen returned thither, and a marshall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counceils pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill newes spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this towne, how the earle of Lennox and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enemies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good newes. There were letters directed downe from the counsell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certaine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Spawells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Berkes, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfries, the vicar of Carlawerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time, were the forts at Laboder and Haddington built, the castles of Duffer and Dalwhilly wone, all the mills burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edinburgh, and other exploits atchieued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expessed.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to drato downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chiefe to command in the same: monsieur de Delle lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot cozonell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue cozonell of the Almaines, monsieur de Walleraie, monsieur Dossell, Pietro Strozze cozonell of the Italians, monsieur Ctauges capitaine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capitaine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthie personages, and men of approved valiancie. These capitains with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed along by the east seas, and at length about the middell of June came into the roade before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. A little before whose arrivall into France (as faith Lelleus, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Britonne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie shoulde come out of France, to succor their extremities.

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernour, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Haddington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streittlie besieged on each hand, vntill all the waies they could deuise to confine the Englishmen to yels. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue bene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches to reasonable,

Pledges executed.

1548. Buch.
1547. Lelle.
A name prepared at Brest in Britaine.

The chiefe capitains of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

1547. L.

Haddington besieged.

Fr. Thin.

Why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an assault.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus li.
pag. 494.

The English horsemen ouerthrowen.

The earle of Shrewsbury remoueth siege from Haddington.

Sir Rich.
las de Bith
gallies.

The French gallies co
passe about
realme of
Scotland
Dunfries
had.

Haddington
besieged.

Fr. Thin.

The young
quene of
Scots re
turned into
France.

square, that with small paine they might have entered by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to have beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wils in them so to have done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they with in hand in great necessitie of things behouefull for the defense of the towne. Whereupon Sir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other necessaries, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conducti- on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

But after this, there came a powder of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousand penillances, eight horsemen, & harquebussiers on horsebacke, under the leading of Sir Robert Wolues, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Henrie Wharton, capitaine Gambo a Spaniard, and others: the which adventuring ouer rassicke within danger of the whole French power, were overthrowne and chased: Sir Robert Wolues, & Sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other captains, gentlemen and soldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this overthrow of those horsemen, the French removed their siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie sent south of England under the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were constrained to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find more largelie expresse, to the which for the further report of the events chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

But this is to be remembered, that whilst the siege remained at Haddington, by a conuention or assemblie of the lords it was decreed, that the queene shuld be sent into France. And thereupon monsieur de Willagaignon, with foure galleies departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would have sailed into France: but having passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, he might passe about by the Isles of Orkney, and so by the west Isles, till he came to Dunbretton where the young queene laie. This iourne he fortunatelie achieved, the same neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with galleies.

At his arrivall & convenient landing at Dunbretton, he found all things readie provided, necessarie for the imbarcking of the queene, that he might conuey her into France, for the accomplishment whereof he had taken that iourne in hand. Whereupon the being brought aboard into the kings owne gallie, where in monsieur de Brezze was also appointed to be a board with her, as he that had bene sent with expresse commandement to see her conueied into France; [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Arskine, and Levingston, the ladic Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the young queene, as Marie Levingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who together with Willagaignon shewed such diligence in attaining that enterprise, that finally they arrived with prosperous wind and weather in the haven of Brest in Brittain with that young queene, being as then betwixt five and six yeeres of age.

From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, she kept her right course to the kings palace of St. Germins in the towne of La-

on, where she was received with great preparation, & there taried the coming thither of the king, at that time pacifying the seditions and turmoles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, he gladdened all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noblemen and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the young queene, which he still increased (as the queene grew more in yeeres) untill such time as she might be married.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there: After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie (as before ye have heard) the Frenchmen thereupon retired themselves unto Spuskelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their advantage, kept themselves within the same. And hereunto there came to them sixtene thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came towards to assaile them, they found them so stronglie embattelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbore to set upon them in that ground of so great disadvantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington; and after homeward, having furnished the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

Here is to be noted, that the English fleet entering into the Forth, was readie to have aided the armie by land, as occasions might have bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, took upon him to attaine some other enterprises, and first coming to Brent Island, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the river; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But John Erskine lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and returned home from the campe, caused such ballie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterprise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Englishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so prevented, that upon their landing, they were forced to retire with losse: and haplie was he that might first get againe to shipboard.

* For James Stewart, brother to the queene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in half with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whom the neighbors about did also toine themselves, understanding the cause of that assemblie. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they discharged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flee awate. But this James Stewart (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush upon his enemies, that forthwith he overthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides those hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The erle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington unto Dunglas, order was given for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Delle, remaining in campe at Spuskelburgh, hearing that the English armie was retired homeward, & how diuerse new bands of horsemen and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad upon sight of the enimie; he took aduise, to trie if he might draw

The English horsemen overthrowne.

The Frenchmen in campe at Spuskelburgh.

See more heretofore in England.

The lord admerall of England.

The lord of Dun.

The Englishmen repelled at saint Andrews.

Fr. Thn. Buchan lib. 15.

The French galleies compassed about the raine of Scotland by Duncalbie head, 1547. Lesle.

Monsieur de Brezze.

Fr. Thn.

The young queene of Scots conueied into France.

Fr. Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. p. 494.

drate them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Keingraue appointed to chase forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with three hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were drate forth to drate the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enemies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and straight had the French in chase; who retiring, maintained the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forthward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Delle saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enemies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euery hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Delle raised from Gouthburgh, and coming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capitaines imbarcking themselves in the gallie that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a sloop and a biggandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companies.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Stron remained coronell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approved skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arrivall of the English naue & armie to the succours of them in Haddington, monsieur de Hallerie viceadmirall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton assisted the countries of Linlithgow and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two or three Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the frate, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awate. Whereupon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Hamilton lord of Stanboulle, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Stewart one of the quens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capitaines that they used their diligent endeours therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarrell. Monsieur de Delle, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the buse thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

creased ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterprisse in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a canisado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capitaines and souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seven score (some say three hundred) slaine in the bace court.

But now, forasmuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, thence the lord gouernour raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) Hostlie after the earle of Argyle came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and because the same was expired, there came new succours to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argyle (by reason his people had remained there the full terme

of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become masters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yeere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Delle with his Frenchmen was coming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Keingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Ctauges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who coming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staid till monsieur de Delle was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught per they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lancashire knights that were there with them (part of Conrad Hennings bands) issued forth, and drate them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Keingraue had not vied the greater policie in retiring the troupe. To be short, monsieur de Delle, to stop the Englishmen from entering any further into the countrie on that side, left seven ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioneers to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

While these things were in doing, the gouernour of Scotland sent the lord Carnegie knight (and senator) ambassador to the protectour of England, which should for ranfome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntlee being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protectour answered, that he would not set the earle free, untill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by any means from the custodie of Rafe Wane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntlee was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Dordrecht, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle doth there looke for his wiues coming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to him, for

The Frenchmen give a canisado to Haddington, & are beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argyle. Vipian Ful.

He raised his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. 1548. Lesleus lib. 14. pag. 498.

Home recovered the Scots

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 1549. Lc.

The English men put to the sword at a skirmish nere to Haddington.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Hallerie viceadmirall of France.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edinburgh.

he had agreed with George Bar, that he should one night practise lying to him thither, two of the stoutest hoſſes that he could get to ſlie aſwaie upon them. According thereto Bar was readie out of the borders of Scotland with ſuch hoſſes as he knew would ſerue the turne, whereof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The earle prepareth a ſupper for his keepers, whereunto they were ſolemnely invited, and to play at cards with him to paſſe aſwaie the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had played enough at cards) he left off, but earneſtly deſired his keepers that they ſhould continue on their games. During which, the earle (going into the window, and looking out) did by a ſecret ſigne (for he could not well diſcerne anie thing, it was ſo extreame darke other all the element) eaſily underſtand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being ſometime in good hope, and ſometime in feare) thought upon manie things, which he muttered to himſelfe: and at length unadviſedly (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burſt out in theſe ſpeeches; Oh forrow, all theſe things be a hinderance unto me, the ſharpenesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an unknowne way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God proſper the iournie. His keepers hearing him ſpeake to himſelfe, asked him what thoſe ſecret ſpeeches might ſignifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guilty of his fault) answered, that thoſe words were uſed as a proverbe amongſt the Scots: and firſt had their beginning by the old earle Doxton, uttering the ſame in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Whereupon (to the end that his keepers ſhould not haue anie ſuſpicion of his determined flight) he ſtetcht doſtore againe to cards.

After which ſuddenlie he roſe from them, as urged by loſeneſſe of his bellie to unburden nature, by which occaſion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his ſervant) leaped forth, found the hoſſes ready furniſhed for himſelfe and his man, got on them, & with ſpedie iournie did ſlie to the borders of Scotland. When he was paſſed over the river of Tweed, and had a little reſtred himſelfe from the labor of his iournie in the houſe of Bar, he went the ſame night (being Chriſtmas eue) to Edinburgh, where he was iouſullie & honozable received of the queene, the governoz, his wiſe, and his other friends, with an univerſall gladneſſe of the whole multitude of the towne. As ſone as his keepers perceived that he was gone, they ſpedilie ran to hoſſe, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they ſeek him here, and there, and everie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the earle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himſelfe, but alſo to manie other noble priſoners; who (upon the aſſurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The governoz therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, reſtozed unto him the chancellozſhip, and the rule of manie other prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cauſe when he had remained a while at Edinburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where ſpedilie and eaſilie he appeaſed all the tumults of thoſe people.)

On ſaint Stephens day at night, the caſtell of Hume was ſcaled, and wone out of the Engliſh mens hands. One of the ſurname of the Humes, a man of threſcore yeers of age, was the firſt that entered on the wall, being one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that ſide. Not long after, when the capteine of Falkercall had commanded the huſbandmen adjoining, to bring thither (at a certaine day) great ſtoze of vittells, the young men there a-

boute having that occaſion, aſſembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the hoſſes, and laſing them on their ſhoulders, were received (after they had paſſed the bridge, which was made over two high rocks) into the caſtle, where (laſing downe that which they brought) they ſtand lie (by a ſigne giuen) ſet upon the keepers of the gates, ſue them, and (before the other Engliſhmen could be aſſembled) poſſeſſed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the caſtell, and then receiving the reſt of their companie into the ſame (through the great and open gate) they whole kept and inioyed the caſtell for their countreimen.)

About the ſame time, the Keinsgrawe returned into France, leaving his five enſignes of Almaine behind him, under the charge of capteine Ketonye, a good man of warre and of great experience. Alſo monſieur de Etanges was taken in a ſkirmiſh at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the Engliſh hiſtozie: & about the ſame time, there landed at Dunbretton ſoure bands of ſouldiers, Breuancots and Calcoignes, bringing monie with them to paze the ſouldiers their wages, behind as then for the ſpace of thre moneths. Sir James Willford alſo was taken about the ſame time by the Frenchmen, in a ſkirmiſh at Dunbar (as I haue alſo noted in the hiſtozie of England.) Not long after, monſieur de Deſſe was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go unto Jedworth, to prevent that the Engliſhmen ſhould not ſortifie there, whereof he ſtood in ſome doubt.

Immediatlie upon his coming thither, the lard of Fernihurſt requested him to helpe to recover his caſtell of Fernihurſt out of the Engliſhmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoſance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monſieur de Deſſe taking with him monſieur de Wiſſell, and monſieur de la Chapelle de Witon, haſted thither with the chiefeſt part of his armie, ſending before certaine capteins with their bands to ſurueie the houſe, who at their coming thither, ſhed ſuch diligence in following the offered occaſion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to giue them the ſkirmiſh; and purſuing them with great rigoz, wan the lims of the houſe upon them, forcing the capteins and ſouldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them ſo ſhort therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of ſuch largenes, as a man might eaſilie enter by the ſame.

Wherewith a great number of Scots having broken open the gate of the baſe court, where the Frenchmen were buſie to aſſault the dungeon, buſt in on beapes, upon deſire to be reuenged upon the Engliſhmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they ſaid) had done them manie great diſpleaſures. The capteine perceiving this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottiſhmens hands he ſhould die for it, he preſented himſelfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yielded himſelfe to monſieur de Duſſac, and la Poudre Rouge, who minding to uſe him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the preſe: but ſuddenlie a Scot coming behind him, whoſe wiſe (as was reported) he had raviſhed, ſmote off his head ſo luſt from the ſhoulders, that it leapt four or five yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots ſeemed to ſhew againſt other Engliſhmen, taken here at Fernihurſt: but they excuſed the matter by the euill dealings of the Engliſhmen towards them before that time.

Monſieur de Deſſe returning to Jedworth, aided by the furtherance and counſell of the Scots, ceaſed not in occaſions of advantage to attempt new enterpriſes againſt the Engliſhmen, as time and opportunity ſerued: and among other exploits, the caſtell of Coznewall (an old houſe built after the ancient

B. h. j.

1546.

The Keinsgrawe returned into France. Monſieur de Etanges taken priſoner by the Engliſhmen.

Sir James Willford taken

The caſtell of Fernihurſt wone by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots.

The caſtell of Coznewall wone.

nech-
a ca-
the-
are
the.

to
ged
le of

il.

th

t bad-
men
ghtie

aban-
the
men.

the

e for-
the
men.

n.
48.
lib. 12.

Hume caſtell
recovered by
the Scots.

R. Thin.
Buchan. li. 12.
1549. Leſle.

Captaine Cobos.

manner of fortifying) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things worth the bearing atwaite. Also captaine Cobos a Frenchman, having a band of fiftie light horsemen Scots serving under him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horsemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and took more prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

A road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent south by monsieur de Delle, with the companie of horsemen that belonged to monsieur de Canges then prisoner, and five hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprize he achieved in burning towne and villages, and returned without any great losse sustained at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Delle dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, took the castell of Fould and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Fould, which was kept by Thomas Har, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it; remounting that night over the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Thomas Har.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprizes, they were coasted by certaine light horsemen; but nevertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, having sore indamaged the English borders by that road: inasmuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen sore grieved, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise addresse one enterprize after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoyance, assembled a power together at Norburgh, purposing to have assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

Monsieur de Delle fleeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Delle having warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrose, and after further off within the countie, fearing to be constrained to give battell, which he could not have done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, having not past fiftene hundred footmen, and five hundred horsemen able to have done service: for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie sustained through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through sicknesse and hurts received in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselves; inasmuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themselves happilie escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed five and twentie saile of men of warre, the which arriving at the Walle, nere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant words to have persuaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to have yielded the place into their hands. But perceiving their persuasions would not be regarded, they took their course by into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized upon them as a wished prey: and the morrow next ensuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Airth, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which meane while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

place could be put in any strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Island foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pionsers, and the Island against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English naue was thus departed, monsieur de Delle, and the queene mother being at Edinburgh, determined with all diligence to imploy all such forces as they might make about the recovering of the Isle, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to any perfection. Hereupon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, which barked in the galle of monsieur de Villegaignon, returned south to view the manner of the Englishmens dealing within the Isle, which he did in such effectual wise, that approaching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that served under the same.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arrived at Dunbretton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horsemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the queene, busie now to further this enterprize. She had got together within Airth haven all the boates that belonged to all the crækes & havens of the Forth: so that on Thursday after Trinitie Sunday, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the breake of day the queene was come to Airth, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves aboard, & the comfortable words of the queene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and denisling with monsieur de Delle and the other captains, till they were all set forward.

Villegaignon with his gallees passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discovering the vessels at their setting south, conceived straightwaies what was intended: and therefore on prepared to keepe the enemies off from landing, so that upon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and drove the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strand up to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plunget together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

But finally, their generall named Cotton, being slain by George Applebie esquire, a captaine of an ensigne of footmen sent south of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Bizoni, that was captaine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire unto a corner or point of the Island, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slaine diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was stricken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conuete him into one of the gallees to be doctored of his hurts by a surgian. Also a gentleman named Desbories, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his coronell ensigne, was slain with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Thus

Inskith recovered by the Frenchmen

Monsieur de Delle returned into France.

Monsieur de Thermes succeeded in the place.

A fort built at Airth.

The diligence of the Scottish queene.

The forwardnesse of the souldiers.

The earle Rutland.

Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

Captaine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slain.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

The Frenchmen in doubt to have been distressed.

Indith recovered
by the
Frenchmen.

Monfieur de
Delle returned
into
France.

papers
on.

Monfieur de
Thermes
succeeded in
his place.

A lost battle
at Aberla-
th.

diligence
Scottish
it.

forward
of the
iers.

with af-
ted by the
men.

The earle of
Kintland.

ptaine
ton gene-
of Jinf-
and o-
g's name.

onfieur de
Chapelle
it.

The French-
men in danger
to have bene
vittled.

This was Indith recovered out of the English-
mens hands, after it had bene in their possession by
the space of thirtie daies, the more to the high con-
tentation of monfieur de Delle, for that at the same
time he stood upon his discharge and returned into
France, being appointed to surrender up his place
to monfieur de Thermes, latelie before arrived (as
ye have heard) with commission to receive the same.
So that monfieur de Delle, to end his charge with
the glorie of this atchieved enterprife, esteemed it
much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the
swelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he
was blown up; as in cases of victorie it cometh
to passe in them that make a good hand: whereas
the vanquished (God wot) are contrarie qualified.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the
gallies, and monfieur de Thermes succeeded in his
place for the generall conduct of the French armie in
Scotland. Who by the aduise of the gouernor, and
other of the Scottish lords, determined with a siege
tolant to keepe the Englishmen in Haddington from
vittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after
that Delle was departed towards France, mon-
fieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some
Scots incamped at Aberlathie, where they began the
foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen
from setting on land anie vittels there, to be conueid
from thence to Haddington, as before they had done.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increa-
sed their numbers of Almaines, and other stran-
gers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new
supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields
which lay most an end at Dunglas, and one while
besieged Hume castell. But after they sawe them-
selues disappointed of the meane, whereby they sup-
posed to haue recovered it, they raised from thence,
and spoiled the most part of Cluidale and other the
marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of
the disloyaltie and breach of promise proued in the as-
sured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle
of Kintland, lieutenant at that present of the north
parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised,
and staied in his dealings, verie honorable and cour-
teous in all his demeanour.

He was accompanied with capitaine of good esti-
mation and approved prowell, as sir Richard Spa-
ners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Savage, sir Tho-
mas Holcroft, sir Oswald Wolstrop, & others. He
so behaved himselfe in that dangerous time of the
bypoyses and rebellions of the commons, through the
more part of the realme of England; that although
the appointed forces against Scotland were staied,
and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the in-
couragement (no doubt) both of Scots and French-
men in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept
in awe by that armie under the earle of Kintland, that
they rather lost than gained in this season at the
Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, under the conduct of
the said earle, passing forth with a conueie of vittels
into Haddington, came so suddenlie upon the
Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether
through default of their scouts, or other negligence
wien by them, or through the great diligence and pro-
vident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the
Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue bene viter-
lie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubt-
ed more, than by anie was thought needfull, they
might haue overthromen, taken, & slaine the French-
men handfomely (as was supposed) at their pleasure.
But the Englishmen even at their first coming in
sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre,
sith by the adventuring rashlie oftentimes in such
cases to late repentance easlie infused) staied, the

better to conceite of that which they had to doe. Other-
by the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies
a maine pace, till they were got out of danger: for
after they once beheld all the troupes of the English
hoisemen almost at their elbowes, and herewith
the battell of the Almaines suddenlie appearing on
the hill top readie to come downe upon them, it was
no need to bid them packe againe.

The Scottish light hoisemen coming on the
backe of the English armie, perceived where the Al-
maines (to make them readie to giue battell) had
sprowen off their clothes, and left the same (with all
their baggage and stuffe which they had about them)
in keeping of none but of their women and boies:
whereupon those Scottish hoisemen, not minding to
suffer such a prize to escape their hands, came gallo-
ping in, and took all the best stuffe they could lay
hold upon, and returned in safetie, before anie eni-
mie could come backe to the rescue. The Almaines
were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments
and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then
to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were
withdrawen and got quite out of danger.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen
were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington,
with their cariages laden with vittels, to the great
comfort of them within that fortresse, standing in
great necessitie before this conueie came. This
summer also, and a little before the vittelling thus of
Haddington, upon knowledge had that Julian Ko-
mero with his band of Spaniards, therof he was
captaine, serving the king of England, was lodged
in Colbargham, six miles distant from Berwick:
certeine bands of Almaines and Frenchmen came
thither upon the sudden, and surprizing the Spani-
ards before they were aware of their approach, set up-
on them in their lodgings, took, and slue in maner
the whole number of them.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the
summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were
not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with com-
motions raised by the commons of that realme; but
also with the warres which the French king made a-
gainst them, within the countrie of Ffllognois, so
that they had not meanes to imploie their forces a-
gainst Scotland as they had determined to haue
done; as partly before, and more largelie in the hi-
storie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof,
anon after Michaellmas they gave over the keeping
of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there,
they returned into England to the great reioicing
of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occa-
sion of great troubles and calamities. Upon the gi-
uing over thus of Haddington, the gouernor and the
quene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to reco-
uer againe all that the Englishmen held within the
bounds of Scotland.

But first it was thought good to assaie the twin-
ning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was
thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estima-
tion, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the
English should keepe fast so far within the realme,
in despiight of their whole puissance. Whereupon mon-
fieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all
things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and
did so much, what with shot of canon to make bat-
terie, and other meanes of intorcements, that gi-
uing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen,
they entered the fort the twentieth of Februarie by
fine force, so that all those within were either taken
or slaine. Whereupon those English also that kept
the castell, rendered up the same without further resis-
tance, amongst other prisoners: sir John Lintre-
rell the captaine was one.

As is,

It

The baggage
of the English
Almaines
spoiled by the
Scottish hois-
men.

Haddington
battled.

Julian Ko-
mero distressed.

1549.

Haddington
rased and left
by the Eng-
lishmen.

1550.

Broughtie
crag won by
the French-
men.

A treatie for
peace.

Sir Hugh
Willoughbie.

A peace con-
cluded.

The names of
the commis-
sioners ap-
pointed to
treat of peace.

Fr.Thin.

The articles
of the peace.

Monsieur de
Mourret.

The French-
men returns
home.

The mar-
quess de
Paine.

The death of
the first duke
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certaine commis-
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-
cause they continued long in their treatie per they
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,
so that comming before Rowder they besieged that
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,
the French held them within so streitlie besieged,
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, sir
Hugh Willoughbie captaine of that fort must needs
have perished through lacke of shot, & other necessarie
things serving for defense; which were spent, so that
they were constrained to use their powder bestell in
stead of bullets. But as it fortun'd, a peace was ac-
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time
betwixt the two kings of England and France,
through the diligent and orderlie travell of the com-
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and lord privie seale; William Paget lord of Beav-
desert; knight also of the garter; sir William Peter
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & sir John
Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French
tong. For the French king were appointed Fran-
cis de Montmorency, lord of Rochfort, knight of the
order of saint Michaele, and lieutenant for the same
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Man-
dosme; Gaspar de Colignie, lord of Chastillon,
knight also of the order, and captaine generall of the
footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andreu Guil-
lard lord of Mortier, knight also of the order, and one
of the same kings privie counsell; and Guillaume
Bouchetell lord of Saille, knight likewise of the
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And
for the Scots (as faith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)
D. Painter bishop of Rolle.]

Among other articles comprissed in this peace,
it was couenanted, that all such forts, castles, and
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within
the Scottish dominions, should be deliuered and re-
stored to the Scots, and that the forts of Douglas,
Korburgh, and Aymouth, which the Englishmen had
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased
and thowen downe, to avoid all occasions of new
controversies that might grow by reason of keeping
or defending the same: so as the peace now conclu-
ded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept
and obserued, aswell betwixt England and Scot-
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and
euerie the subiects of the same realmes; both by sea
and land. Monsieur de Mourret was sent into Scot-
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it
was proclaimed anon after Casser about the begin-
ning of Aprill, and euerie thing used and ordered ac-
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-
barked at Leith in sixtene French ships, and cer-
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-
to France. A few there were, as Pigropeleice and
Saint Jalcise, captaines of light horsemen, with o-
thers that passed through England, and so home into
their countrie. Moreouer the marquess de Paine,
after duke Daumals comming ouer into England
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his
sister queene Dowager, and shortly after returned.
They mourned both for the death of their father
Cland de Lozaine, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare
1550.

* Now when the French departed out of Scot-
land, there were manie Scots appointed unto them,
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-
fer them anie inturie in the streit of the British
sea, and partlie for honours cause to bring them on
their iourne into France. By whose departure
Scotland was free deliuered from all forren sol-
diers, except certaine Frenchmen, who remained
still in the countrie; because they had the Ile of In-
keth and the castell of Dunbar committed to their
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie
discharge. Monsieur de Hermes, Chappellie, and
diuerse other captaines of France, remained also in
Scotland (after that the others were imbarked to be
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the
countrie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and behol-
ding the cities, searching the castles, and marking
the bulwarks of defense) did constantlie affirme,
that in the whole world they neuer sawe forts and
castones more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie
defended. In seeing whereof they consumed the
time with great pleasure, untill the moneth of
December, in which they all went into France
with the queene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the
French) with forren nations, which continued three
yeares: so was there within the walls and king-
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;
which was most perillous and troublesome. For
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor
and his brother the archbishop of saint Andzeus
and others) did vse all things with extreme cruel-
tie & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen
to all libertie, followed by late his pleasures in all
things, as though it had bene permitted unto him.
For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he
permitted the slaughter of William Cheynton to
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in
the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight)
by Robert Semple: next followed the death of
John Maluill an old man of life; who next unto
the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chie-
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whom he did
commend a captive his friend) intercepted. In
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie
fault, yet was the author of them punished with the
losse of his head, whose patrimonie made his death
seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to
the younger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these
wicked parts did pertaine to few, the enemie there-
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For
by reason of this vnskillfull gouernement of the
kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended
the common people, the gouernor began to be had
in contempt almost of all men.

In September following, the queene Dowager
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Cassils,
Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the
Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sailing to France
landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the
pilot of Capod, & Leon Strazze, sent and appoin-
ted with six gallies to haue the conduction of her;
from Diepe she remoued to Roue, where the king
then late, of whom she was right courteouslie recei-
ued, and had such attendance and seruise done vnto
her, during the time of her tarriance there, as stood
with the dignitie of her person, and was answerable
to the mindes and expectations of her traine; to the
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that
behalf.

The causes of the queene Dowagers going into
France

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lesleus lib.
pag. 508.

1551. Lesle
lib. 10 pag

Buchanan
lib. 15.

Lanchlan
Shastinc
apprehens

Lesleus. li
pag. 509.

The queene
Dowager sail-
eth into
France.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lefleus lib. 10
pag. 508.

1551. Lefleus.
lib. 10 pag. 508

Lanchlane
Spakintofche
apprehended.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 509.

wee
or late

France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, the might renewe the old league in France, the might see his daughter and his other friends; and procure the gouernment of the realme to his selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in his mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanour would soon be put out of his office, and that the might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before his shipping into France, and whilst they were preparing, the earle of Huntley commanded William Spakintofche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilst he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first deppriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castles, and others that fauored the Spakintofche) did so stir them against Huntley, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, vntill the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the gods of Spakintofche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Spakintofche) and thereby had seemed to cut aboue the cause of dissention betwene Huntley and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreueged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Spakintofche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruelle kill him (as the betrayer of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministered and blew the cole that fired Huntley, to make the said William Spakintofche out of the waie.

A little before which, the maister of Cresskine, and Henrie Scenclere deane of Glasgow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioicing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuation of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in detaining their ships and merchandize.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, whereunto aforesaid to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rome, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shew, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michael, he admitted the earle of Huntley and other chiefe lords of Scotland there to the quene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the young quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beantie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lefleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eye, the king of France, the two queens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time & gaine, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntley, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of his coming into France, and being therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozeine (his brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernment of the kingdom of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdom should be committed to his rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet the would whole rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuaide the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires; & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Purreie to the earle of Huntley (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothley to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the earledome of Moriton, to the sonne of George Dowglaste. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the young quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the young quene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeares, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king would then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rolles (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Calvin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbey of Kilmain was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should susteine the parts and place of the quene his daughter, in the administration and gouernment of Scotland, with the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yield therevnto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king twilled the ambassador to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Rolles was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did wining from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie,

h. h. ij.

and

Buchanan.
lib. 16.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 410.

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Ross goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbey of Labete in France.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 511.

Blot.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquess of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadors to Henrie the second, king of France, then so 10
tourneying at Blesles, to moue him to giue his daughter in marriage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English joining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and wan the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Anisw, 20
Plants, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before sene since he attained the crowne. After certaine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Founteinbleu.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leave and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamtelle: there remaining a certaine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchess of Gulse, 30
and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certaine grieffe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable interteined, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kindred, and hauing obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots do vge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie 40
thereunto.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and perswaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and hapilie landed at Porteshmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arriual comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent 50
thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Holward to interteine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshire, Sussex, and Surreie (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing
at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Douglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmond, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scottish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasurer were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the upper end thereof, and the erle of Warwicke holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, kneeled 60
downe, and he courteously took hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both together, the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all manner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she took hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

* And here I must not forget that Lesleus hath 7r. Thin.
set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the marriage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that marriage, and the willingness of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not berie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithfull seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Ross) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leaving the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, laith abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtelle) to obtaine the good will of the quene. For he after perswaded hir with manie speeches, that she should giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scottish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Wherewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deablie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

Wherevnto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then 60
was made against them. For it was vnaduisable done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the marriage bed with faire promises and flattering speeches. Wherevnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were enforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were vged to leaue the yong quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieved that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would laboz the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir trauell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib.
pag. 513.

The arc
top of a
chane.

15

15

therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of Nouember, the queene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing forth at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Shordich church, and there toke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with ianelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke ianelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and peomen with ianelins in like manner, well apparelled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as the passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, as well for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the provision for their horses, was borne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now master of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dobleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where she was honorable receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntley, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Spontrosse, about the latter end of December.

* After that the queene was arrived in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these bzalles which were risen amongest the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntley, Angus, and Argyle, and by the queenes trauell, the controuersies moued about the archbishopricks of saint Andrews and Glasgowe, the bishopricks of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchcathrie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens chylzen, and some vpon such persons as woorthilie deserved them.)

Doctor Warshop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottishman borne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (where to he must needs aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite depriued of the benefit of sight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

This yeere in the moneth of June, the queene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland; and at Invernes, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glasgowe, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporal punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming eniunities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Wherevpon, when nothing seemed to want for the settling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by buying booties of cattell from the borders of England, same to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued such magistrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Wherevpon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall counsell kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accursed; and all things decreed in the counsell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, Dauid Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie consumed seuen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassador legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblee of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Ross, in the presence of that assemblee. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knightthod certeine boiers, who had deserved well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cessford and Ferniburgh, Andrew Bar of Littleiden, Conbinknolls, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

In this sortie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the queene secretlie travelled with the lords, both spiritual and temporal, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediately after hir daughter the queene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wills in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuie bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender by the gouernance into

wronge done
are by iustice
redressed.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 515.

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 516.

The queene
mother laboureth
to be gouernor

1552. Lesleus
1553.
The gouernor
ment is relig
hic

hin.

Neus lib. 10.
g. 113.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

The archbi-
shop of Arma-
chane.

1551.

1552.

The historie of Scotland.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yeres of age.

The gouernour was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *quiescent* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, Jewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateleault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made. During the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings under hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 517.

1552.

* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for the well understood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer under tutors, than to the age of fouretene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yeres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome untill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yeres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did stoutly contend, constantly affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yeres.

Whereupon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, doth byge the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnbayne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or fouretene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high providence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (exceptallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Byuses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie
daughters of
the nobilitie.

But in the end, saie or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whilste the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape unpunished) did renew the memorie of old injuries. For hereupon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Kars did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse bitterlie slaine Balcleuche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Keven, did publikelie thrust through and slea John Chartreuse a noble and a valiant yong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betwene those two families. Yet it was spred abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartreuse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into sute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that vertie day to kill Chartreuse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoever with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recover or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (even in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Julie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to R. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and vaded. Onelie this is worthy the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not (for the vnworthinesse of the English people) taken the yong king awaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

* About this time, Rozman Lelle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did priuile conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstand of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Rozman to fle to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie provinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first; of whom, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerele pensions out of the exchequer or common treasure assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whom earneestlie byging that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine) the duke of Norfolk did publikelie say in the counsell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Rozman was almost stricken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Brunssone, whom this Lelle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, worthilie, and honozable behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the first then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he happily performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieved by his olone souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Spontulle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so loving (for the singular

1553.

Abr. Fl.

The couenants and articles are perused.

1555. Bucl

1554.

A parliament at Edinburgh called belueued to the loz of Ruthen to hope.

The quene made gouernour by parliament.

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 520.

The gouernour made Duke.

1554.

Fr.Thin.

The gouernour resigned his office vnto quene.

The quene giuerth the seruance the realme to the quene mother.

Fr.Thin.

Buch lib.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 522.
Buchan.]

lingular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunkstone) to be received into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the covenants and articles of agreement, betwixt the quene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thereupon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edinburgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edinburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished, according to the points of the agreement made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edinburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the covenants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chastelaunt vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

The quene made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made Duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quene.

The quene giueth the gouernance of the realme vnto the quene mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lecheus. lib. 10. pag. 52.
Buchan. lib. 16.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the thre estates of Scotland, touching the premisses, in which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbzeiton (as saith Buchanan) with other things contained in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put there vnto their seales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Dowager being there present, who receiued the same in the quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission shewed, giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she toke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorized in the quenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minority, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath ever since remained to all such as exercise that place (euen in our age) during the minority of Charles James the first, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declaration of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of John Areskine, which he should not deliuer to any, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

About this time, the quene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntley to apprehend John Spaldard (or Spaderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked deeds: which towne it is supposed that Gordon did not verte faithfully discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, where in he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spread false rumors thereof, saying all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did one lie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir iournie into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man liberallie brought vp with the earle of Spurrelle for kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle, for none other cause but for that he would not yield him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quene, although he could find no fault to late to his charge wothie any punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he perswaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yield him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yong man did accordingly lie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his stonish wife to execute the yong and gilliesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transerre all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knewe the subtil wit of Gordon the earle of Huntley, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlike modestie; they were all easilie perswaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Whereupon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessive mulct to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his intimies, Gilbert earle of Caillies. For he, perceiving by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwene Scotland and France; did bitterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtilie and vncoustantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were enmulous, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that any domesticall euill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustom the French to shed the Scottis blood. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Spurrelle, & other things.

The quene having the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Caillies treasurer, & Westmoor a French man controller; also another Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great Teale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntley, who was shamed; and then in ward, [and James Spachill regent, and the abbot of Couper keeper of the priue seale, as saith Buchanan lib. 16. pag. 52.] Donald gouernor of the Isles. [The officers are changed.]

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Huntie re-nounced manie things.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 522.

1551.

The law for fishing.

Concennants for seamen.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 523.

1555.

Heir Doffels the bled principallie in all things. The earle of Huntie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Arrerie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest unto the farmes of Dykenet and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Mar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five peares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir five thousand pounds in monie.

About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuerfies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kirkwardie, and John Bellenden of Achnotle knights; and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Forston, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Porham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the muld of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Further it was agreed, that whosoener by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driven into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might freely by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arrivall; and that during the time of his abode in such a countie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclere deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the first, aswell for the singularitie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wisdome & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, upon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orkades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of lutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes, more diligence vied by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion; that their sutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Aine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence thereunto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

In Julie was a parlement held at Edinburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these same worthie to remaine chronicled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feast of Whitsonide, or anie such times, in which their hirclings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble under a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did requite a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuerfies. In the meane time, whilst the quene regent did administer the affaires of South Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Spudiard or Spudrace. At what time this earle vied such courtlesse and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisdome in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Spudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quene, to whome the said Spudiard did willinglie yeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of his nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this conditio; that he should faithfully remaine prisoner in the castell of Speffens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongst vs) cannot liue without his starving holes; so this Spudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (receiving their keepers) returne to their owne canes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their railed seditions and spoiles. Which things enforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of olves: in which she might vbiolate the evils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Whereupon, in the moneth of Julie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntie, Argile, Rothes, Camils, and Marthall; the bishop of Aberdeen and Ross, M. Doffell, Rubis, and others, went to the towne of Inuernelle, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was first punishment taken upon the offenders. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment, she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countreymen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the first; with a great paine

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 524.

1555.
A parlement.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 524.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 525.
Buchanan,
lib. 16.

Lefleus
pag.

1555. Buch.
1556. H.B.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.
Buchanan lib. 16.

us. lib. 10.
24.S. S. S.
arlement.Thin.
cus. lib. 10.
524.leus. lib. 10.
525.
banan.
16.Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 528.555. Buch.
556. H.B.Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.
uchan. lib. 16.Commissioners
sent.Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.Parlement.
Gentlemen
rejoiced.

poine set upon the chiefe of those families: in the
other his familie relict, & would not come into wage
ment.

Whereupon it followed, that kinde of diverse
families, that were in contempt, departed away,
disceasing to publish judgement, wither manie and
thole not of the punishment, & were the punishment
for troubling the peace: amongest which one Frank
a hanger being commended to the judges. Grant
and other other persons before the judges,
old poudie to bring their dead bodies when they
could not take their live bodies. The eale of Cath-
presale, because that being in the court, he did
not bring his people before the judges, along first
committed to prison in Inverness, then at Aber-
den, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he pur-
chased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Spachrie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe
of Strathnaperne & of Glencone, being called to
judgement (so that he had often troubled the countie
of Southerland next adjoining) his contempt, the
procept. Whereupon the queene provided a great ar-
mie, which under the erle of Southerland make into
Strathnaperne, where he possessed all the places of
doubt, least anie hole might be left for the theues to
passe awaie from thence. Whereupon Spachrie,
when he saw himselfe to be set (as that no place of
flight was left him) yielded himselfe to Hugh Ken-
die, who led him to the queene, by whom he was com-
mitted to prison at Edinburgh a long time, but they
of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to
safe and strong prisons) were referred to the judge-
ment of the queenes pleasure.

After this, the queene leaving Inverness, & en-
progredding the province of Ross, she came to El-
gine, Banff, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places there-
abouts, diligetlie to inquire of the misdeemeanor of
those people. At what time she did temper the rigor
of law with such courtlesse, that she punished the of-
fenders by fine, and not by death. From whence she
came to Dundee, and to saint Johns towne, obser-
ving the same cause and course of hir coming.
When she had thus passed over the summer in vizit-
ing the mounteine people to their dutie, she sent
the earle of Huntlie to joine with the bishop of
Ross and Dkeneie, and to Hugh Kenedie, to whom
she did substitute a better and more commodious
forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who
should receive the libels and accusations of private
persons, and diligetlie to inquire of them, in the
townes of Inverness, Elgine, and other places.
By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those
counties (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were
made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lefleus) now declare how
honourable & sumptuouslie the queene in all hir pro-
gresse was received (without anie charge to hir) of
the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen
of Scotland, with the Frenchmen (which were then
present with hir) have opened to other nations as
well as to their own people (with singular commu-
dations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this
Scotland, being a most worthy signe of the favour
they bare to the queene. In the meane time there
were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bi-
shop of Dunblane, the lord of Leithington, & maister
James Spacill: where doctor Tunstall bishop of
Durham, & certeine others for England met them
at Duns, and remained there till the queenes com-
ming backe forth of the north in September next
following.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the
lards Winton, Dunsin, and Grange, with ma-
ster Henrie Balnagow, and others, which were for

fasted in the gouernours time, were restored. At the
same time the queene, by the counsell of monseur
Doisell, and Aubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of
Scotland, requested that a new order might be
made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put
in an inventarie, and according to the rate thereof
to paye a pécetie taxation, to be put and kept in the
treasurie-house till warres began, and that then men
of more might be waiged, therewith to lie upon the
souldiers, and more in that case to be charged to come
from their home houses, and then anie great armie
might be raised to invade Scotland.

But the great lords were agreed to this
ordinance; but the most part of the barons bearing
thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the
number of two hundred & above, and sent the lards
James, Scotland, of: Eldon in Northan, and
John of Winton in life, to the queene and lordes, be-
séeing them not to let such new taxation upon
them, for they could not bear such burdens; but
would desire the realm, as before time their elders
had done, not meaning to put their goods to waige
farre, as if the pécetie taxation made their last will
and testaments: and be past all hope of enjoying
their temporal goods, as persons not to live longer
in the world, but to take their farewell, and give
over all that they had by law of full merittie not
to be acquired. Adding further, that their elders
did not onlie defend themselves, and their goods
against the English, when they were of farre greater
power than they now be; but did also manie times
make further invasion upon them into their own
countie: For which cause, they being not anie lot
now so degenerate from their ancestors, that they
would not when need required, be slow their substance
and life in defense of their countie.

And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a
thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scot-
land to men without substance, or without hope of
advancement, and to such as for manie will bare so
base a thing, being a thing apt to kindle their de-
conetousnesse, and to minister occasion to them to
attempt other matters. But to the end all other
things may the better be looked vnto, let them more
remember the dérenes of their countie, than their
owne estate or condition. For will anie man
believe, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie
fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the
defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages
reable to be abated in peace, will greater incense
the minds of the common people; than gods, chil-
dren, wives, and temples, will moue the hearts of
the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter per-
teineth to the highest god of the kingdome of Scot-
land, and that the same is of farre more importance
than that it should be commured of at this time, and
in the tender age of our yong queene. Besides which
the greater part of men do suspect and feare, that the
same new order for warre is impossible, and such
as cannot be performed without some commotion
of the Scottish nation, especiallie sith so great summs
of monie can hardlie be wrought out by tribute im-
posed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a
hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to
be feared, least the end of persuation grow to this
point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the
nimie, than to be a barre to keepe them backe. For if
the English, after this example, being a farre richer
nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who
doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the
common people, suffice an armie twofold as great as
that of the Scots, & such as shall not onlie enter the
borders, but rush euen into the berte bowels of the
king.

A pécetie tax
to be levied as
proposed.This taxation
on is not
granted.

1556.

Thin.
Buchan. lib. 16.

pledges and hostages. In this mean while were the Scottish commanders at Caerleill; and the master of Spawell, warden of the west borders, being there with them, with much advantage came home into Scotland. The quene assembled a great armie out of all parts of the realme, the which came forthwith to Helbo in the month of October, where the quene's French men persuaded them to enter by invasion into England. But they meaning to take further advice, passed over toward Spawell hugh, where they encountered, and afterwards approached the castle of Walshe, invading the same with a siege for the space of five or six daies. Capteine Head at that present had charge of that castle, with three or foure hundred footmen, and one hundred horsemen, meaning to care little for the Scottish men's forces.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieutenant of the north parts, gathered such places together as he might make, and came to Louthie, accompanied with the lord Talbot, sir James Crofts, and others, to succor where most need should appeare. The Scottish armie, perceiving the Englishmen thus in a readinesse to resist their attempts, took advice together, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that time to hazard battell forth of the bounds of their owne land, their prince being absent, and as yet in his minority; considering also that the war was not taken in hand for their owne quarrell, but for the pleasure of France. These and other the like reasons, being alleged by the earles of Arrene, Huntlie, Argyle, Castils, and others, to the quene and French captaine, they were nothing satisfied therewith; but the Scottish lords would attempt no further, but retired backe and scaled their armie.

In removing from Walshe, they were pursued by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which were repelled, and stood in danger to have bene distressed, if capteine Head had not with noble courage stood forth, and in time relieved them that were retiring; whereby they staid and gave a new charge, in which as the Scots were beaten backe againe, and chased over the water to their maine armie that was already passed over. The quene and monseur Dossell, perceiving that they could not get the Scottish lords to make any further exploit at that present, they retired home; but Dossell with his French men were appointed to remaine still in Halmouth, to counter-garrison the Englishmen within Berwick.

There were diverse foot bands of Scots waged by the French king, which were appointed to lie in places about the borders, as at Helbo, Rockelburgh, and such like for defense of the countrey, and the annoyance of the Englishmen, as occasions might serve. After this, sir Andrew Har, and diverse other entered England with a power of men about Spawell. Heuerthelelle, the earle of Northumberland, being then lieutenant of the north parts of England, and lying on the borders, assembled his forces together, & committing to encounter the Scots on the very borders side nere to Cheshol, at the first the Englishmen were put to the worse, but yet at length the Scots were overthrowne and chased: sir Andrew Har, and many other being taken prisoners.

Sir John Foster bare himselfe verie balliantlie at this encounter, so that his service might not well have bene spared. He was thrust through the mouth into the necke, and also through the thigh; moreover, his horse was slaine under him. The conflict was sharpe, for both the horsemen and footmen came to make proofe of their forces. The warre thus being

began thus followeth, the Scots kept their quarters large, and everie noble man (as he was appointed) laid on the borders with a thousand horsemen, wearing his own armoriall device. And on the other side, the English borders were furnished with two hundred of men of warre, so that there were battle ready and incursions made by the parties, to the great damage and spoile of the houses and villages situate nere to the confines of both the realmes.

In December the quene assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, where (the English favouring the French) she read forth the letters of Henrie king of France, to be read by the whole assembly, touching the solemnization of the marriage betwene the young heire of Scots, and the French king's sonne, which I have here set downe.

The substance of the letter of the French king, concerning the marriage of his sonne to the quene of Scots.

By the grace of God, king of the French, to his most chiefe justices & princes of Scotland, and to the rest of the orders, being our deere friends, greeting. It is most plainlie knowne to all nations, how fast a bond hath alwaies hitherto remained betwene Scotland & France. Neither can it be hidden what these signs of amitie were, being for number manie, for greatness large, and for dutie of friendship mutual each to other; by which the kings our ancestors have seemed to confirme; and as it were to increase this amitie, to the end it might remaine whole and sound for ever: and so farre the effect thereof hath appeared, that all the benefits of either realme have seemed to be common to each other. Which bond of friendship we also have (for the time in which we first received the ensignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to reteine, to the end the same should not any waie be decayed or broken. The which in like sort we well understand, that you have likewise abundantly performed unto us.

Wherefore (more strongly to knit the same) we will not suffer this opportunitie (which the divine goodnesse hath lately before us, as we verelie suppose) of marriage to be solemnized betwene our son the Dolphin, and your quene our deere and sweet sister and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be intreated) was so byged by all parts, as the young quene was upon that condition left with us, when she was carried into France, by the consent of our sister the Dowager, and the gouverneur of Scotland, to the great reioysing of all you that yielded thereunto, where now she hath attained such beantie and number of vertues, partly by the liberalitie of nature (which she received from the kingly blood of her parents) and partly by the instruction of my wife, that I can hardlye any longer suffer (in respect of the age of my sonne) that this marriage (which we have so much desired) should any longer be deferred. And sith at Christmasse next my son shall come to those yeeres, in which he may promise all things that shall be necessarie for the knitting up of the marriage; and sith also we have determined (if it so seme god to the quene his mother, and to the rest of the parlement of Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands) that the marriage shall publicklye at Paris (on the day consecrated to the three kings) with such ceremonies as is requisite, be fully consummated with the speech of my sonne and of your quene.

We do by these letters request you, that by common consent you forthwith send some of your chiefe nobilitie,

1558.
A parliament.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 533.

An armie assembled.

The lord is not content thereto.

The castle of Walshe besieged by the Scots.
Capteine Head.

The earle of Westmerland gathered an armie to resist the Scots.

Lesleus lib. 10.
p. 529.

Lesleus lib. 10.
p. 529.

The Scots broke by their armie.

1557.
The quene's agent desired warre.

In assembly at Caerleill.

The occasion why the quene's agent desired warre.

The Scottish lords refused to the warre in hand.
Halmouth is fortified.
Invasions were made into England.

The Scots accompanied by the earle of Northumberland.
Sir John Foster.

the footmen to state, and holdeth to abide the outcome: & herewith procured the horsemen to give a charge in such convenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might have turned verie evil to the English side.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen placing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding without the towne in trope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfully: so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to have gone hard on the English more than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entering the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen: for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned, and coming behind their enemies, hope to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

Amongest others, capitaine Callane, and capitaine Benedicte, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken: diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whom William lord Beith, some to the earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not attended with out losse of diuerse Englishmen: Amongest other one Bell, ensigne-bearer to sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen was slaine. Also master Epyngton a capitaine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Comonsfort, at the first charge given by the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. With the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Perthie, and the other English captains before mentioned, the forward battaile shewed that day of sir William Hereton, and Thomas Sparkeham, that led his father sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen, also of Kase Ellerke a capitaine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other captains & souldiers behaved themselves in such wise at that present service, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Whereafter, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entering into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forate the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Perthie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Perthie meeting with them at Grendon, set upon the Scots and chased them over the water of Tillwell, unto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the river of Tweed, passed over the same at Chapell Ffourd, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwick, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the river before they could get over.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Perthie, with the rest of the captains and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them over the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could do them no harme, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Whereupon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Connam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the overthow and chase of

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greke, and others.

And after this, the Englishmen leane the strong pisse of Calowills, wherein were certaine Frenchmen that defended it as the time beate forward, so that it cost the lives of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortly after, there was a fore skirmish at Halidon hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to give libertie to the inhabitants of Berwick, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without any trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enemies, fled out of their array to sport, bolles, quatts, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being advertised, came one day from Almouth in so secret wise, that they were not aware verie nigh to the Englishmen, yet they had a little warning of their approach.

This approach as it was private, so was it likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbows; and falling in skermish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Hereton, sir John Sparkeham, master William Dyebole, Gilbert Wangan, and other the captains of the Englishmen did behaue themselves right manfully, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and doing what appertained unto hardie and skilfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the high of the hill, till at length sir James Croft coming from Berwick, & led such diligence and politie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Almouth, after they had continued in skermish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, being on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into Orkland, and sent his forate to burne Fenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Halthwell Swire. Sir Henrie Perthie advertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set upon the earle at the aforesaid place of Halthwell Swire, but some feare entring into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots cast over the water of Till. Where were taken aboute six score Englishmen, amongst whom capitaine Crington, and capitaine Bar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: besides diuerse other men of good account in service, as one Wangan a gentle man and such like.

About this time, whilest the lord Cure commonlie called Cuers, remained capitaine of Berwick, one Kirkandie cousin to sir William Kirkandie lord of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwick; and afterwords being ransomed, at his coming home to Almouth, he made report that he had bene to freitallie used, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason whereof, upon challenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Kase Cure brother to the lord Cure undertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Grange upon the side of Halthill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to see the trial of this challenge performed.

Al. G.

But

The lord Greke of Scotland taken prisoner. Calowills was one by the Englishmen.

A fore skermish upon Halidon hill.

The earle of Bothwell.

Halthwell Swire.

The English men put to flight.

The lord of Grange challenged the lord Cure.

The Scots horsemen fled.

The Scots taken slaine.

The lord of Beith with others taken prisoners.

Master Epyngton taken.

Sir William Hereton.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

The god order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Connam burnt.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

at Berwick.

The lord of
Grange and
maister Rose
Cure ran one
against ano-
ther.

Sir John
Clere flaine
in the Ile of
Okeneye.

The tourne
of the earle of
Suffler into
the west parts
of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Aga-
conell.

The earle of
Suffler burnt
the Ile of Ar-
rane.

But when they came to have their actione, the
poynts bled, the truth is so, that Grange was ar-
med in a coze of plate, and a curace aloft upon it:
where with some fault was found; because maister
Cure was clad in a single coze of plate; with-
out any other poyntes of armoir for defense of his bod-
ie. But yett he was the great courage of the said
maister Cure; that he would not refuse the chalenge,
notwithstanding his adversaries advantage of ar-
moir. Where upon they ran together and brake both
their blades; and as it fortuned maister Cure was
hurt in the flankes. The warre being thus pursued
betwixt England and Scotland; beside the incom-
fere and roads which are before mentioned, there
were two great roads made into Scotland; the one
by the earle of Westmerland; and the other by the
earle of Northumberland: the lord Malbot being
there, & having the leading of certaine denizeners.
Where upon it was thought good by the English
men, not onely to annoie the Scots by land, but al-
so by sea. Where upon Sir John Clere with certaine
ships of warre sailed forth along the coast; till at
length he arrived at the Isles of Okeneye; where
going on land about an entrenchment, standing long
of than was requisite, he was incouraged by his adver-
saries; and flaine with many of his people; which
were there on land with him. But though the Scots
had good successe in that part; they sustained great
damage on the west side of the reame, by a tourne
which the earle of Suffler then lord deputy of Ireland
attempted against them. For the better under-
standing thereof ye shall note, that after the lord Clin-
ton high admirall of England had burnt the towne
of Conquest in Britaine, there were seven ships of
warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Earle
Willoughbie, the Peter barke, the Sacet, the Gre-
falcon; and three other that were merchants, and ap-
pointed that yeare to serve the queene of England
in hir warres.

There were also beside those seven ships of warre,
two bittlers appointed to attend upon them. Sir
Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admirall; and
one Southwiche of Dover was assigned to be their
vice-admirall. Upon their arrivall in Ireland,
the earle of Suffler having also prepared three o-
ther ships, with sufficient and necessarie provision
for his tourne, embarked with so manie sol-
diers as convenient might be bestowed aboard
in that fleet, containing twelve saile in the whole;
and departing toward the west of Scotland, land-
ed in a part of the countie called Kentire, with as
manie soldiers and mariners as might be spared
out of the ships, leaving them furnished with com-
petent numbers for their safegard; and being got to
land, he passed forth into the countie, & burnt two
houses that belonged to James O'Connell chiefe go-
vernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Eng-
lishmen.

He burnt also diverse townes, villages, and ham-
lets belonging unto the said O'Connell, with great
store of corne and other things which came in their
wake. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the
Englishmen, but durst not adventure to joine with
them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle
of Suffler his politike and valiant conduction. There
were a host of Scots gotten into a boate meaning
to have fled, but being apprehended by the English-
men, they were executed. Finally, after the earle
had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling
the countie for the space of three daies, he retur-
ned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe
with his men; and making saile to the Ile of Ar-
rane, entered the haven called Amalasche, and lan-
ding at that place, burnt the countie, and after

went to Dunbar; where the Scots were burnt and har-
ried that they durst not come out of their haven.

This done, he meant to have gone into other
places, but the windes grew so ter-
rible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost
some of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent
& spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they were
perceived in great hazard of being cast aboard shoale. Where
there were six and twentie men and boys drowned, the which
perceiving the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled
into the boate, and so perished: the which that the
maister of the ship perceived, as maister Francis
Kandoll, and others who by reason thereof perished
foule weather, the earle of Suffler was compelled
to returne into Ireland, arriving in Cloghergar,
where he landed with his soldiers; and appointing
the ship to returne into England, he passed by land
unto Dublin, spoiling the enemies countie by the
waie; and taking from them a great prebend house
of castell, notwithstanding the painful passage that
he had to make through the lumbered waies,
hogs, and woodes, without reliefe of all necessarie
things in that so trouble some a tourne.

This was for those yeares warre in the partes of
Ireland betwixt the Englishmen
and Scots; whereof fifth I have found none that
hath written any thing at all. I have yet set downe
these notes, as I have learned the same of such
as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being
eye-witneses themselves of such enterprises and ex-
ploits as chanced in the same warres; namely cap-
taine Head, captaine Wood, captaine Crington,
capitaine Swale, and captaine Parham; with o-
thers, which of their courtie have willingly im-
parted unto the report of diverse such things; as I
thought to be resolved in. Which accordingly (so far as
my remembrance hath served) I have here delive-
red, to the end the same may give occasion to others
that may happily light upon more full instructi-
ons to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse,
where otherwise the matter might peradventure
shoulde passe in forgetfulness.

And now to returne unto the Scottish ambassa-
dors, who were sent into France, for the conclusion
of the marriage betwixt their queene & the Dolphin.
After that the same marriage was consummat, and
everie thing ordered and brought to passe according
to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of
August they took their leave of the French king,
the queene, and nobilitie there, to returne home
towards into Scotland: albeit few of them came
home, for the bishop of Okeneye departed this tran-
sitorie life in Diepe, the fiftenth of September;
the earle of Rothes deceased there the ninth of No-
vember; the earle of Caillis lord treasurer departed
in the same place the fourteenth of November; and
the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eightenth
of December. And so onely the archbishop of Glas-
gow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lord of
Dun returned into Scotland in October. After
whose coming, there was a parlement summoned
by the queene, to be holden in December next.

In August, Archibald Campbell erle of Argyle,
whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires
as well of peace as of warre, was made high iustice
of Scotland; and in France was advanced to the
title of a knight of the order of saint Michell. Few
daies betwixt these things departed this life the
bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of
Whithchurch. To the one did succeed the abbat of
Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Cox-
don archbishop of Athens by the queenes benefit.
David Painter or Panter bishop of Ross, & James
Steward, whom James the sixt (being illegitimate
father

Foule was
ther.

The earle of
Suffler retur-
neth into Ire-
land.

The earle of
Suffler retur-
neth into Ire-
land.

The ambas-
sadors were
almost all.
Lectus lib. 10,
pag. 538, 539.

They came
home againe.

Lord of Dun
A parliament.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 10,
pag. 539.

Candida Casa.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

Lectus lib. 1
pag. 544.

father unto him) had made abbat of Melrose and
 he also died also this yeare. Whose monasterie the
 quene did forthwith giue unto the cardinall Gussie;
 long after which followed also the death of the ab-
 bat of Sancto mach. At this same time manie
 dignous fights (which I will not here recite, being
 touched by Letchus) did appeare by a marker of such
 numerous things; whereof these verses were made:
Portentum est quod postea cecidit, quod dubium laquei
Disiit (circum) non impetum.

Lectus lib. 10.
 pag. 144.

In September there was a parliament holden at
 Edinburgh, in which the assent of the former legats in
 France (about the marriage of the quene of Scots
 to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the
 Dolphin of France by his ambassadors did de-
 mure request, that the crowne (which they terme
 matrimoniall) should be giuen unto him by the de-
 cree of the States, whereby he might be called king
 of Scotland; as long as the quene lived. The
 quene also touching it a point of honor, to heape all
 title of glorie which she could vpon her husband; as
 one that by a certelie inclination of mind did ver-
 tuouslie saue him; gave in charge also to the ambas-
 sadors, that they should earnestlie follow the same
 cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to draw
 them the more easilie into his opinion; he drew the
 matter into certaine articles, deliuered to the am-
 bassadors with more ample instructions touching
 the same: the summe of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what
 disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward
 them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in
 that account as he did his owne people; and so al-
 waies would haue them: which good mind of the
 French toward the Scots to be plaine without a-
 ny dissimulation, it maie well appeare as well by the
 covenants established for the mariage, as also by the
 benefits which he hath not onelie bestowed vpon the
 Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in par-
 ticularitie vpon certaine especiall Scots, of his
 owne free will, almost without the request of any
 bodie. And that they should also further laie abroad,
 what helpe the quene and Scots haue had of the
 worthy cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Gussie
 the quenes vnckle. All which the ambassadors theri-
 selues (as they haue fullie proued) did well order
 stand.

Secondlie, where the quene doth thinke that the
 is greatlie benefited with manie honors by so great
 a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a
 prince hath taken him into the fellowship of the holie
 bed, by which there can not arise other commoditie
 grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome
 which he hath purchased with his great charge and la-
 bor; and that the quene considering all this (with
 great griefe of mind) doth take by what meanes the
 might at least expresse some small token of a thanke-
 full mind for so manie benefits (because if she should
 not do something, no small blot would seeme to be
 imputed to the quene and the Scots) it came into
 his mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite
 some part thereof, which she could do (as she thought)
 if at the least she did but honor her husband with the
 kinglie title, & giue unto him the mariage crowne of
 Scotland.

This thing therefore the quene her selfe doth ear-
 nestlie desire, and doth courtesouly request all the
 States of Scotland, that the same maie be established
 by the voices of the full parliament, and that they will
 command some three or foure of the chiefest nobilitie
 honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to
 him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king
 & the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what
 reuerence and with what dutie they saueur the king

his husband.

And to the end that this request of the quene, for
 the rarenesse of the example, should not breed any
 doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them
 as it were in suspence, it was giuen in charge also to
 the ambassadors, that they should in manner point
 with their finger, that manie ages past, the quene
 of Naples did not onelie for loue she did beare vnto
 him, adorne the duke of Anjou her husband, with
 the bare name of a king; but also by the consent
 of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement o-
 ver the said kingdome. The like whereof was al-
 so done in our memorie by the quene of Spaine to
 her husband the archduke of Austria; & by the quene
 of Prussia to the duke of Silesie.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example
 of the English, who haue excluded Philip king of
 Spaine, that then the ambassadors should easilie
 wipe away that doubt, if they admonish the Scots
 that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with
 that same needfull band as the Scots are to the
 French; both which nations haue one prince, ma-
 gistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and parti-
 cipation of the administration of all the things in
 either kingdome. What vnto they must further adde
 that it was so far off, that the English should reape
 any fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the
 king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) buying
 from the English all the commoditie he could, to
 performe his affaires out of the realme. And fur-
 ther, that the English bring out of all hope for their
 quene to haue any issue by the same mariage, they
 would not grant vnto it, when there is a certaine
 and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come
 of this mariage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots,
 what great benefit maie rebound vnto them by this
 signe of a thankefull mind. For it maie so happen,
 that if the king Dolphin shall see himselfe increa-
 sed with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of
 their good fauour to him, that he maie raise by his
 father the king of France, that he will not by any
 meanes permit the quene of Scots his wife to be
 excluded from the kingdome of England, after the
 death of quene Marie, who was not like to liue long
 being soe troubled with the droppe.

These things and manie others were giuen in
 charge to the ambassadors (comen out of France) to
 declare to the parliament of Scotland. Which being
 thus declared to the States and the quene regent,
 with might and maine seeking the furthering there-
 of; at length it was granted that he should be king
 during the life of the quene. For which cause Wil-
 lesper Campbell earle of Argile, and James Ste-
 ward, ballard brother to the young quene, being pri-
 or of S. Andrews, were named to execute their com-
 sent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to
 inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging,
 and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots
 toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things;
 by which any honor or profit might any waie rise
 vnto him.

But whilst these men doe prepare all things for
 such a iourne, certaine factious persons did beat in-
 to their eares, how beaute a iourne that would be
 vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they
 were busie in prouiding for small things abroad, they
 should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouer-
 turne matters of greater importance at home. For
 they did know how the subtil wit of James, and
 the great power and strength of the earle of Argile
 would be misling in those new things which were in
 hand amongst these of the religion; for which they
 neuer left off intruding and perswading, vntill they
 had

well fished to
 catch a frog.

Not so likelie
 as that lies
 drop out of
 your pen.

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthy ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie whereupon, the yong quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other household stufte to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserablie afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Scotland, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would needes heape euill vpon euill, and adde thereto the title of England, as being vnto them a herie, leone, and mockerie (as Buchanan teacheth it). Neither did the wisser sort of the French looke into that matter; for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtesie, into commanding arrogance; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obtained the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vied other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ides of Aprill.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernment to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but would restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cuningame earle of Glencarne, and Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aine, a worthy knight, before whom the regent could not restraîne herselfe, but burst forth into these wordes.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it seemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forwarne hir of the great mischiefs that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer she being stroken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In assemblee
of the cleargie.
Fr. Thin.

Common praie-
ers to be had
in the vulgar
tong.

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelates and cleargie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edinburgh were accused of heresie, and abtured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [whereupon (as saith Lescus lib. 10. p. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edinburgh, for the appealing thereof, the lord Sefton was made gouernor there.] In this assemblee it was required, that the common praieers might be read in the Scottish tong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, wherof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall counsell was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall counsell of all the prelates and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were propounded by the temporallie, as to haue the praieers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lords & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other re-
10 formations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortly after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be given to John Innes, John Mallocke, John Dowglas, and Paule Mestiane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Aprill: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon the said John Innes being in Perth, perswaded the master of Hindsie, the lords of Colibardin, Dun, Westarow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgeses of the towne of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to supprelle the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Aprill they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbey of the Charterhouse, the Blakie and Carmelite friers, called the Tullum [and so
20 cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Jffe, Angus, Sperris, and other parts there next adjoining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chateleraunt, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Sparthall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as
40 saith Lescus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coloper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so recetuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Stewart, and capteine Collane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, joining themselves with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeyes in that towne, and in Coloper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to London, Balmgare, & Coloper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [came thither from Perth, after that
60 she had left in Perth five hundred men under the charge of James Stewart cardinal, & James Collane.] But when they should haue met on Coloper moore in battell, the duke of Chateleraunt, the earle Sparthall, and others laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edinburgh.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their adherers, came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntly was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the towne of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbey of Scoone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the
most

A prouinciall
counsell.

Requests
made by the
laitie.

The fr
Striuel
distrou

The qe
depart
Edenb

The fr
les one
throu

Fr. Thir

Fr. Thi
Lescus
pag. 55

Images and
frieries
pulled downe.

Fr. Thin.

Two
parishes

The quene
regent came
to Perth.

Fr. Thin.

Letty

S. Andrews
pag. 55
Bucha
lib. 16.

Cowper.

Fr. Thin.

Two armies
were parished.

Saint Johns
towne be-
sieged.

Some abbey
burnt.

most part of the house, the earle of Argyle, and the prior of saint Andrezus being with them in companie. After this they went to Striveling, and to Liffquo, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and graie friers to be thowne downe. From thence they passed to Edinburgh, where the quene hearing of their coming, departed with the Frenchmen unto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntley being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argyle and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were received into Edinburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and graie friers were suddenlie overthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Edinburgh [apprehended Robert Richardson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernour of the publicke treasure, toke the keys by force from him, entered the abbey] the coining house, toke the coining irons, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilist these things were thus done at Edinburgh, Marwell lord Harries gouernour of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edinburgh castell, did priuillie get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing speedie horses, departed to his owne companie, hostlie after joining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doissell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntley, Bothwell, Spourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edinburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them. But the erle of Huntley trauelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agreed vpon certeine articles, and so the quene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

1. Itt, that all the soldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edinburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2. Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such sums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatie taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

3. Wherof, that the quenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to such as should be appointed therefore.

4. Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Wetherbarro (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quenes part.

5. Fiftlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quene to be lawfull, which before they had gaine said by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfully obeye the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6. Sixtly, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall persons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioyning their rents, tithes, and profits, untill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7. Seuenthly, that they should not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.

8. Eightly, that euerie man might at Edinburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9. Ninthly, that the quene regent should faithfully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernours. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partlie through persuation of the earle of Argyle his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partlie because he vnderstand that his son the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion, he toke part with the lords from that time forth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrezus, and diuerse other his friends. This yere in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the marriages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sanot and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reims in September following.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name, declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albufear (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some troopes of men should hostlie be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would hostlie send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublefome affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quene, to the prior of saint Andrezus, in which they rather sought to incline his mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would inforce him thereto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

After that I vnderstand by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my cosine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was astonished thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my deare father, my deere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefitts) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bualles; I could not be perswaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame dooth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering wordes of others had inticed you to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whose

The friers in
Striveling
destroyed.

The quene
departed from
Edinburgh.

The friers houses
overthrowne.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 551.

Two armies
joined.

Leith fortified

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 553.
Buchanan,
lib. 16.

mes
cited.

John
ca.

abbey

Duke Chate-
lerault taketh
part with the
reformers of
the churches.

King Henrie
was hurt and
died.

Francis the
Dolphin suc-
ceeded his fa-
ther.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 554.

Lesleus lib. 11.
pag. 554.

whose cause (when they had discharged themselves thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as sofall to me, as that which should be most sofall: for by this meanes I wish that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are woorthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithful seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more deere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuersies appeased) all things without anie tumult mate be knit together by the law of god order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) mate best be done by your trauell, I doe admonish you by these letters, and (for the good will I beare you) doe earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I mate by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your folish doings, the which shall then fallie appere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, mate by your diligence be called backe to the commonwealths ancient, sound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwise I would haue you be perswaded that I will shortly subdue you, and all those which shall cleaue or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration thereof, and the further large expressing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praye God (cousine) to keepe you in health, Paris the sixteenth kalends of August.

Subscription, Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubespine.

With which letters also the quene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of France, to James the prior of the monasterie of Saint Andrewes.

I can not see why Lesleus should call her Dowager, sith by his letter it appeareth his husband was yet living, in that he talketh of his and his husbands displeasure.



Can not (cousine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie neresst to vs by blood, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manerly beralities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing woorthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chateleraut, and of manie others, which seemed to you to diminish my authoritie, should now being absent (as a leader and head of all other seditious persons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greatest weight, in which the honoz of God is lessened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I should more easilie haue beleued of anie other my subjects, than of you.

Trulie most grieuouslie (as I ought) I heare this, that you haue falsified that faith to me, which had a speciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can scarce be perswaded to thinke you to be so farre from truth and reason, that you would be caried awaie in

to such blind errors. All which I desire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requesting also of God so to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you mate shew your selfe a good man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue already performed. Wherefore, by these letters I admonish, and with intreatie as earnestlie as I can, desire you to recompense your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my husband haue bitterlie conceiued against you) mate by that meanes be pacified. Otherwise trulie I would haue you vnderstand, we will execute such punishment vpon you, that you shall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtlesse if you compell vs by your daides to performe, it shall be to you a most greivous thing. I praye God keepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of August.

Subscription: Your good cousine Marie.

James Steward the prior of saint Andrewes (whome prosperous successes had before advanced) did in reading these letters of the king and quene so fite in anger and hatred, that he could not forbear but must needs returne answer, expressing the same (after confirmed by his daides) though now somewhat smothered with good words. The effect of which letters were in this sort: That he was grieued in his mind as much as he might, because he was so farre fallen into the mislike and displeasure of those princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they should bitterlie obiect vnto him in their letters that he was a seditious person, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with heresie.

Touching which notes of these wickednes, sith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning such as stood against the reformed religion) he with faire speeches requested the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enemies in accusing him, than to his vprightnes in purging himselfe: and that they should not thinke anie thing to be spoken by his enemies, but that which favoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, especiallie sith they did not onelie go about to diminish his fame abroad amongst the princes, but also at home did openlie laie waite for his life and liuing.

But he would so labor, that all men should well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of dissimulation, whereby his aduersaries should be ashamed to haue laied such open reproch against him, and the king & quene should mislike that they had so easilie credited his enemies. Wherefore he desired that hereafter they should rather beleue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankfull man, as they had obiected vnto him. From the detestable spot wherof (being of all the verie worst, sith nature abhorreth the same) he would keepe himselfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to suffer the least spot of such a vice to dwell in his name, especiallie in the affaires of that king and quene, wherof he had found the first most courteous, and the second most bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto prosecuted their fauour, so he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, should neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, so that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cause of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counsels of his striving aduersaries, neither the bitter words of the sharpe threats of the king or quene, should make him leave off, or represse the

their worthie force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

Wherefore he would not haue the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull alwaie the deuises of the papists. From which querie thing (as he supposed the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be contained therein) he will not be forthwith by the force of any man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quene, until he haue wholie cut alwaie the branches of superstition, and utterly pulled up the roots thereof.

Crokes hadscarle performed his ambassage for which became (as before you haue heard) in declining these letters: but forthwith alanded at Leith a Frenchman, with foure troops of soldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to require of the king, that foure other companies of soldiers might be sent over, which might with those already holding Scotland, supply the number of twentie engines: to whome also it were expedient to ioine a hundred horsemen, which number he affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the haven of Leith, to watch the port: All which if the Scots were prouided by the benefit of the king, and that the coming of his brother the marquisse of Albute were hastened, he promised then to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, he did also signifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretly growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did daily send letters and messengers to the Scots, to encourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder by all the means they could, that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreover, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religious cause, to require aid from thence, but their chiefeest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lelcus) in England.

During these things, the duke of Chatelaunt and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene (whereof we will speake more hereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of foits within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edinburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgou, Dunfreis, the lord of Seton, and diuerse other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holie rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edinburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edinburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the arillerie at them, to stae the slaughter and pursue.

In the time of this siege, the young lord of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretly departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatly afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edinburgh, which was peaceably rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Belue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Spartignes colonell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie five hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthonie Kenedie, and James Stewart of Cardonald.

The Frenchmen being thus entered France, the chiefest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edinburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that they did not seeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for otherwise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions aueritable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongest weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also prouide, that they would not rather seeme to be vnto them by compulsion, than quietly led by reason. For if they did trulie & from their heart require that in deed which they seeme in words they would discharge those strange souldiers, and that (as they haue often done in other places) unarmed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be desired, and not by swords the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edinburgh, touching which, because it is omitted before in the recting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of counte) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) here after the speeches used to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edinburgh) did write to the quene much after this maner, That they did greatly maruell, that the regent prouoked with no iniuries, did so sone depart from the former covenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to praie in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edinburgh, did write to the same effect; about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That ouershowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buying & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all whatsoeuer remedie that they could. Within three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be any other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

Buchan, lib. 16.

1559.

Leith besieged

The Scottishmen are vanquished.

The quene came to Edinburgh.

New men sent into Scotland.

"tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
 "ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
 "other superiouritie; and that their demands (or rather
 "threatnings) with that shew of words sooner they be
 "cloked, are sufficientlie enough known unto vs, as
 "no new things. Againe, you shall require of the duke
 "of Chastellerault, that he call to mind what he hath
 "promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
 "letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
 "ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
 "that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
 "ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
 "the things which he now doth, are the performance
 "of his promises.

"So their letters also you shall answer; that we
 "haue openlie shewed our inuencio: to bring things to
 "quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
 "not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
 "with their duettie towards their king and quene, and
 "that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouer-
 "throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so
 "much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
 "violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke
 "the kingdome, when my daughter doth already
 "possest it? Touching the defense and fortifying of
 "Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
 "anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
 "fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
 "with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie
 "shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
 "ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
 "the whole publike state (unknowledge to vs, who
 "held the place and authoritie of the chiefeest gouernor)
 "strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
 "made league and couenants with our ancient en-
 "emies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
 "the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
 "reteinne an armie at Edinburgh, to inuade the go-
 "uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
 "for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
 "haue anie other gard about vs? Cruellie they seeke
 "this therein, that we should labor to shun their furie
 "(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and dailie
 "change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
 "ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
 "strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
 "ring of concord? Or do they shew anie token that
 "they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
 "they would all things should be reduced to their for-
 "mer state?

"Let them cloke this with that colour they will of
 "publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
 "thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
 "lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed
 "them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant
 "that these French had (by the commandement of
 "their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-
 "land, vntill their doings had bene the cause of
 "their state. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
 "anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
 "and that (the maiestie of the gouernment alwaies
 "sauced sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
 "and obedientlie obeye their superiours; we will re-
 "fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst
 "them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
 "the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
 "but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto
 "them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop
 "shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
 "with letters and commandements touching the
 "same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
 "would not boughcase them answer, no not so much

as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and
 command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
 that condition sooner, that they depart in sunder;
 or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,
 vntill it be by strength of armes. To all this the
 next day, which was the thre and twentieth of Oc-
 tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

"We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
 mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie
 you be enuill minded against pietie towards God,
 the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
 mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must
 defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
 henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
 ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by
 what other name, or title you do usurpe the publike
 administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
 teinlie knowing, that those things which are now
 done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
 against the publike safetie of this realme.

"And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subiects of
 those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
 senate or counsell: so we do not acknowledge you
 for a regent to execute supreme authoritie, speciallie
 with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
 ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-
 tie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
 the same princes, whose counsellors we are borne to
 be, chiefe in matters which pertaine to the safetie
 of all the people. And although we haue determi-
 ned not to see anie danger, in deliuering of that
 towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
 souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
 beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we
 earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,
 that you depart from thence; vntill the cause of
 publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recover that
 towne by weapons

"Besides which, we further request, that you will
 leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
 and twentieth houres; if there be anie which do chal-
 lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadors,
 either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
 faires. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
 safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those
 hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which
 hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as
 for the mariage of our quene with their king:
 which friendship we would rather should be increas-
 ed than diminished. The same day also, the said
 herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
 day before it was persuaded in an assembled coun-
 cell of the nobles and the other commons, that all the
 deeds and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to
 verie tyrannie.

"Herevpon, there was a decre made to take the
 gouernement from hir: so that the whole con-
 panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
 that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
 sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
 further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
 ment, vntill the generall assemblee of a parlement
 to be appointed by them in such place as they should
 thinke conuenient. The five and twentieth date, the
 lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
 all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and
 twentieth houres, and to separat themselves from the
 subuerters of publike libertie. Thus much Buchan-
 nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the
 nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
 And so againe to the order of the historie.]

"The lords of Scotland, perceiving the French
 men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie
 were not able to resist them, sent William Spetel-
 lan

They had
 their request
 granted then
 1560. Bud
 1559. Lell
 Bridges sent
 into England

Lord Hamill
 took south
 part south by
 crown Alrig
 1560

The towne
 Glasgow is
 taken

1560

Certaine
 Frenchme
 slain.

1560. Le

The town
 Burnt It
 is fortified

The lords
 for and vnto
 the quene of
 England.

lan to Elizabeth the queene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Whiche the queene of England granted, not onlie for to serue the Scottish mens turne, but speciallie for the sweete of hir owne realme and state, which as the nobles thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen should be suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his counsell in some pointes already shewed. The queene of England therefore sent the duke of Northfolke to Berwarke, whither came to him the earle of Argyle, the prior of saint Andrews, Harkie, the maister of Maxwell, Robert Carnegie, and the young lord of Arthington secretaire: & made agreement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforesaid.

They had their request granted them. 1560. Buch. 1559. Lelle.

Pledges sent into England

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords delivered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yere after his deceasse. The pledges were these: Dault Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chatelaunt; another called Colme Campbell, cousin to the earle of Argyle; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of saint Andrews; and the lord of Acheslaine, and a sonne of the lord Ruthuene. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chatelaunt, and capteine of the Scottish companies of men of armes and atcheres in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoy of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his coming into Scotland he performed, and joined himselfe with the earle of Argyle, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

Lord Hamilton was to be with the earle of Argyle.

The towne of Glasgowe is taken.

The duke of Chatelaunt, the earles of Argyle, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasgowe, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops lining into their hands, and toke the castell of Glasgowe pertaining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forward to Glasgowe, to the number of five thousand men: the bishop of Glasgowe, the lords Sempill, Setton, Kos, and diuerse others with them, toke the castell againe, and staid one night of the towne, returned on the next morning to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Linthgo and Edenburgh.

Certaine Frenchmen slain.

After their returne from Glasgowe, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcome, there assembled together in Fife the earles of Arrane, and Kos, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthuene, the maister of Lindsey, and diuerse other, having with them no great number: but yet they daile skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slain, and one of their captiues, with thirtie of his souldiers, and few Scottishmen, in manner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a calauer shot.

1560. Lelle.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arrived in their sight a nauie of ships: which at the first hearing they toke to be French ships, but thortlie after perceiving them to be the English nauie, they returned with great diligence to Bunt Fland, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcome in botes and craftes to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockhouses for their defense, as preventing such perils as othertwise might haue befallen them, and

The towne of Bunt Fland is fortified.

Lordes sent vnto the duke of land.

using remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present deuise, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ship came to the rode of Leith, where they call anchor, the fourth dayes of January.

An English nauie.

Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thin.

In the same time, whilst those of the religion had almost destroyed all monasteries, certeine barons of specks, hartlie for haired to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleergie tearmeth it) and hartlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) overthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers at Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasterie of the Trinitie, and of the friers Pinors, were hindered thereof by the lord Lelle, and the baron of Bouchabane at the commandement of the earle of Huntlie. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repelled, but that they went to old Aberdeen (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the chonrie, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Lelle (the offitall of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching; and both by the aid of the earle of Huntlie) did their inuoc, at what time the Lelles put them besides their purpose.

This Lelle is now called bishop of Ros and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The queene regent hearing of the arrival of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said vice-admirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was intoned. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirates, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arrived there in the forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case anie came forth of France, and also to keepe them that late in Irish from vintels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

Whereupon the queene regent did send vnto the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that he would call hir ships home againe, and that he would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lelleus neuer tearmeth by anie other name than sectaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestic answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestic of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But because that the certeinie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daile land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vnlesse that they were prouoked thereto by iniuries offered them.

About the same time, the queene regent, hearing that the duke of Northfolke was come to Newcastle as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chesser herald, and now Portreie king of armes, was

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Northfolke.

was sent unto the quene, who comming to Holie rood house nere to Edinburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after he had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their peeces that discharged and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the quene, he with dutifull obessance deliuered his letters, and after the same had bene read, he was demanded what credit he had to utter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norfolk, being the quenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, marvelled greatlie that she would send an herald with letters, and wrote therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to utter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The quene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherewith the quene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that she marvelled greatlie that the quene of England should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowen, that the French king had prepared to send a plover of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verie deed sent certein of hir ships, with vittels for provision to be laid within hir townes and castles on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might haplie be broken into the riuer there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had bene verie uncourteouslie used: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had bene bent against them. Wherewith the count Partiques standing by, began to speake verie stout words unto Chester, alleging that where it was perceived well inough, that the quene of England ment to make war against his maiesty the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herewith answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: whereupon Partiques was commanded to silence.

All this while the quene had talked with Chester in the Scottish tong. And because he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the quene seemed greatlie to reioyce, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Blosse to passe through England into France, if she would see him safelie conueied to Berwik, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the quene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Blosse, that was his cousin. And now when Chester shuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers should come into the quene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like intertainment. But the quene seemed not to vnderstand that he had bin

in ante: so he dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith; and so Chester took his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iourne, at the hands of the Scottish quene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of April. Before they pitched downe their field on the said linkes, monsieur Partiques, coronell of the French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Balkehill, where a fore, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with bagbuts, calivers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued true to six houres, in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Partiques was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Spilkelburgh, sent to the quene regent, that late as then in the castell at Edinburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentieth hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stanch the shedding of blood. The quene granted herewith, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but per he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough of both sides.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of Edinburgh, to speake with the quene to that effect: who had long conference with hir upon the blockade of the utter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the quene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whereupon the quene took time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpet, or herald (as saith Lesleus) with a letter to monsieur de la Blosse, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edinburgh to the quene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parle ceasing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The Englishmen cast trenches upon the south, east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which they called mount Bellam after the capitains name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but because it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much scatch thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege)

1560.
An English
armie.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 165.

They were
backed with
500 pikers
which kept
aloofe.

The lord
Greie sent
unto the
quene.

The ca
blacki
stone.

She m
heret
Engla

Lesleus
The q
labour
an ag

When are sent
to speake with
the quene
mother.

The French-
men to depart
the realme.

Shin
thout
bate:

Don
Sun

The English
are desirous
to reuenge the
injuries done
unto them.

The
tim

She
can

A trench cast
to little pur-
pose.

Partiques a
forward cap-
taine, but an
intruse pro-
phet.

siege) within the towne of Lesslie, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demilances and other hoysmen laie in the same towne. The towmen with their capitaine lodged in hailes, tents, and pavilions, upon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argyle, Arrane, Morton, and Glencairne; the lords Bots, Ogilvie, the prior of Saint Andriew, the maister of Sparwell, and others. The duke of Chateleraut, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rod house: and with the queene in the castell, the bishop of St. Andriew, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Sparhall, the lord Erskin capitaine of the castell, maister James Spargill cleark of the register, the promost of Douglas, called maister Abraham Chrichton, and diuerse others.

On Easter euen, capitaine Wood, and capitaine Westliche, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe by the river to Blackenelle, who with their bandes going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselves before the castell, it was yelded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capitaine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, issuing forth of Leith, set upon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afore Leith, the queene regent was sore vered with sicknesse, but neuertheless, she continued to labor for agreement, not ceasing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntly to come forth of the north, who toke by his lodging in Edinburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the queene and lords for some agreement: but when he perceiued his trauell to be in vaine, he returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as hee found it.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Bellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies kirk, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches upon the south and southwell side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerfet, & placed there, on certeine peces in batterie, and so beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable; so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercelie beaten backe with great slaughter and bloudshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiuing that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, deuised other shifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the watter of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Alost on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne, soe annoyng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go by nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth towards the sands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie foze skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capitaine Benedie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lord of Cleish.

The English armie was throughlie furnished with vittells forth of all parts of the realme, and that upon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had provided before the comming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delicious, than before that time anie manner of venison. Those within Insketh also were in great necessitie of vittells: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. * Whilste these things were done in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadors John Babone a Burdese knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the queene regent, perceiuing hir sicknesse so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chateleraut, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogether into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pithe exhortation, perswading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more stedfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the marriage of the queene their god soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certeine wordes, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreover, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the honor to be queene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable queene of the same.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdome and iudgement, than for want of anie god will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praised them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the queene their soueraigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For as the feared greatlie (as she said) least if the French men departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly

The towne of Leith unpromised of vittells.

Fr. Thin. Lesslie lib. 10. pag. 568.

The queene sent for the lords.

The queene's exhortation vnto the nobles.

A mistrustfull mind.

560.
English
ie.
cus lib. 10.
565.

ep were
aid with
pikes
ch kept
he.

ie lord
eis sent
o the
inc.

The castell of
Blackenelle
towne.

she more
hereof in
England.

Lesslie lib. 10.
The queene
laboured for
an agreement.

en are sent
people with
queene
ther.

he French-
men to depart
realme.

Saint An-
thonies kirke
batter downe.

Mount
Summerfet.

he English
delirious
revenge the
aries done
to them.

They are bea-
ten backe.

Mount Fal-
con.

rench cast
ittle gure
s.

seemed

learned to do: and on the other part, the forgerne men
with all hir hart (as it appereth) all offenceth which
they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of
them weeping, she took euerie of them by the hand,
and so they taking leaue of hir, departed, and retur-
ned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilest the
siege thus late before the towne of Leith, diuerse
great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme,
and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the
earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of priso-
ners, and overthrowing of houses on either part, and
great preparation made; and armies put in a readi-
nesse to invade either others countreies.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and
good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then
postulat of Gallowaie, maister John Lesle official
of Aberdeen, and William Lesle the young lard of
Buchanhan, who agreed them for all matters in con-
trouersie, & caused them to go to either others house.

During which siege of Leith also, the earle Both-
well, and Sarlatouke, then capitaine of the souldiers,
and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dun-
bar with manie light excursions intercept manie of
the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they
ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Fraser,
archdeacon of Koffe, took the bishops castell of the
canonie of Koffe, and kept the same against mai-
ster Henrie Sinclair, then bishop there, and the chie-
fest men of anthozitie in that diocese, as Wachenze,
Bainagoun, Jfoulis, and the thirffe Tramerrie, who
assembled about the same, and besieged the castell,
where great force was used, both by them without to
win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop be-
ing then resident in Cromerrie castell, hearing that
the house wold not be gotten without great slaugh-
ter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and
honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sen-
ding for maister John Lesle, official of Aberdeen,
and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Mur-
rie, by their labour and diligent treating in the mat-
ter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered
his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse
his men remained that were besieged within Leith,
and perceiving himselfe not able to send an armie to
succour them within the time that their necessitie re-
quired, thought god to trie if the matter might be
taken vp: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the
earle of Wandon, and monsieur Ponluc bishop of
Valence, who declared to the quenes maiestie of
England, the cause of their comming; which was, to
desire hir to retire hir armie forth of Scotland, vpon
some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed
vpon. And here with they declared that they were
sent to the quene, and not vnto the subiects of Scot-
land: for it was not met that the king should send
to his owne subiects (as they were by the mariage
of their quene) to require peace, or to condition with
them for agreement.

The quenes maiestie of England therefore sent
sir William Cecil knight, hir principall secretarie,
and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of
Pothe, one of the priuie counsell: with the French
ambassadors into Scotland. Whilest they were yet
vpon their iourne, the quene regent (whome they
thought to haue found aliue, and to haue used hir
helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie
to some good end) consumed partlie through melan-
cholie, thought, and grienous displeasure, and partlie
with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life
in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of Iune, in the
yeere of our Lord 1560. * Hir bodie was first con-
ueied into France, to the monasterie of Feschampe,

which is in Flaumandie; from whence it was caried
to the abbey of St. Peter at Khernes in Champaig-
nie (whereof hir sister was then abbess) in which it
was after most honorable buried. She was a wise
and verie prudent princeesse, and in hir time had lear-
ned good experience of the nature and inclination of
the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept
god iustice; and was well obeyed in all parts of the
realme in Whemeie, and the westerne Isles. And if
she had to hir owne experience ioined the counsell of
the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland,
without following the aduise of strangers, there had
bene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the
nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others,
and namelie, monsieur Dossell, and Ruber, were ad-
ioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who daily
pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, im-
positions, taxationes, and such things as were not in
use in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of
the land did grudge, although not for anie mistaking
they had of hir, who suerlie deceased, to the great
griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the
estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French
men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more dis-
couraged than otherwise they would haue bene.
But neuertheless these foure ambassadors of Eng-
land and France comming to Edenburgh, entered
in conference among themselves, vpon articles pro-
posed as well for reliefe of the Scotchmen, as for
the weale and suertie of the quene of England and
hir subiects. Wherevpon certeine lordes of Scotland
were admitted to talke with them also: and after
long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Ju-
lie, in the yeere of God 1560, with certeine articles
touching as well Scots and French, as English-
men. The effect whereof here insueth.

Articles of the peace.

Item, it was agreed, that all the French-
men should depart forth of the realme of
Scotland by sea into France, & to that
effect should imbarke and make saile
within the space of twentie daies next following:
and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Eng-
lishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the
Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the
same ships were returned.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of
Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition,
bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at
their pleasure, and that the wals of the towne should
be thytowne downe and demolished.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois
capitaine of Dunbar, to demolish and raze the fort
which they had built before the castell there.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their
siege and depart forth of Scotland: after the depar-
ture from thence of the Frenchmen, and razing of
the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of obli-
tion, in which the quene of Scotland, with consent
of the French king hir husband, should forget and
burie in obliuion all attempts made by the lordes of
Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth
day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the
yeere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a
parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the
moneth of August next ensuing, in which parlement
the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise
of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

6 Also it was agreed, that there should be a con-
million

Lesleus lib. 30.
pag. 569.
1560.

The priuie
of the quene
Dowager.

To put about
the armes and
claim of
England.

Possession to
be kept with
souldiers.

The French
men depart out
of Scotland.

Parlement

Confession
of public
heh.

Learned me
called.

Disputatio

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib. 1
pag. 574.

They haue
conference.
Peace is con-
cluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of
the peace.

French sould-
iers depart
the realme.

Leith they
should render
it.

The fort be-
fore Dunbar
to be razed.
The English
men should
depart all.

An act of ob-
liuion to be
made.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 1;

A parliament
to be kept.

mission sent from the French king and the quene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect as foresaid.

7 Item, that the quene of Scotland and king of France should cause to be put out and put away the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutchens.

8 Item, it was agreed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inskith three scoze Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) possession to the quenes vse.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Julie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasco and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be rased, as by the agreement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of oblivion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was done. And shortly after, the lords summoned the principal learned men of the realme for the of the vniuersities of saint Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasco, and other parts, to give a reason of their faith.

And amongst other of Aberdeen that took upon them to dispute with John Kanor, John Wullocke, and maister Godman [were John Lesle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberdeen called officiall; who shortly after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Ross) Patrike Spirtoun the treasurer, James Stragahine canon, and Alexander Anderson a vertie graue diuine. At what time these Roman prelats behaued themselves so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gave faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put forth the prelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argile disposed Dunkeld and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishoprikes of saint Andrews, also of the abbacies of Dunfermling, and Spelrosse, and other small benefices. The like was used by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortly after, Francis the French king, husband to the quene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Orleans (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reims in Champagne, where she remained till the sixteenth daie of Aprill following.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she took hir iourne towards Januille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasco, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scottishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourne. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Daumale, and the marquesse Dalbent hir vncles. Amongst whom there had bene great disputation touching the quene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, whereunto hir vncles were verie willing; although some did seeme to staie the iourne, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

That the iourne was dangerous, especiallie because the quene of England did not greatly fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie oberte the

gouernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eyes, of hir father, and of hir mother, who (when they either could not or durst not openly oppose) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuises, sith they daily liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skillfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditions were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subiects; whilst they strived to reduce that kingdom (which from the beginning had alwaies bene free) to infinit bondage, and to the free power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarily, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enimie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) invincible over their enimies, and famous amongst strange nations.

And that the chiefeest meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein enen now it standeth. Whereupon the resolved to come speedilie into Scotland, whereof more shall be said hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quene of Scots having hir mind still fetted upon hir returne into Scotland; Roscius a senator of Burdeaur landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publicke parliament; for which cause he was staied and turned ouer to the next assemblee of parlement, which was appointed the twelue kalends of June.

But when at that time also the nobilitie assembled did not sit in counsell, because they were yet vncertaine of the quenes mind; in the meane time James Stewart returned out of France; and brought with him a commission, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambassador, the effect of whose legacie was; to renew the old league with France, to vndo the league with England, and that priests should be restored to their livings, out of which they had bene thrust by violence.

To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarily that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late; in seeking the authoritie of their publicke libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gittles of anie euill) vnto miserable seruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes dissolve that, except they should be counted most vnthankfull, because penie so great a benefit with great wickednes, & conspire against the defenders of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called priests, they did acknowledge that they had not anie office, vse, or authoritie in the church.

In this counsell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of monks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion thereof, the quene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but dissembled the same; although Durens abbat of Ferline, and John Stricler late appointed bishop of Brechin, did vehementlie persnade and labor hir to the contrarie.

lib. 10.
9.
60.
make of
ene
ager.

To put away
the armes and
claime of
England.

possession to
be kept with
soldiers.

The French-
men depart out
of Scotland.

A parlement.

A confession
of faith publi-
shed.

Learned men
called.

A disputation.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 174.

ambassa-
dors came to
burgh.

have
rence,
e is com-
d. Buch.

les of
lace.

ich count-
depart
same.

h they
render

fort be-
Dunbar
rased.
English
should
it also.

at of ob-
to be

The Scottish
quene went
into Lorraine.

Fr. Thin.

Buch, lib. 17.

ement
kept.

Fr.Thin.

1560.

Abbridged
out of the
printed booke
thereof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondly the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret counsell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Louthgue, Strickling, Trent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. When the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obey him as Christes minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be pouered into this new elect vessel) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is whole finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politick and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Glencairn, and the young lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murraye passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighth tenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntley, and other the lords spiritual and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the roade of Aberdeen, and landing at Wyle in Holland, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admo- nish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceiued with the flattering words of James the prioz of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie dytt was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all means possible.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, urge the queene not to yeld to his cloyed words. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did stie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fired his mind and eye vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realmes affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, vntill she were arriued in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that the with hir naue should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen: for by that meanes she might prouide, that the se- leu lords of the religion might some be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more stie and willingly be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilest they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots doe vnderstand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will re- turne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decre, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obey their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse vnto resist tyrants, if they vlarpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persugue the queene in the name of the earle of Huntley, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the erle of Huntley, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capitaine of that iournee) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will some be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, de- ceipts, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus exted from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation
is to haue his
peculiar go-
uernement in
religion, as
is best liking
to the godlie
disposers of
the religi-
on of that
countrie, sith
vniuers monfiri
multitudo capi-
tur.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

1561.

Fr.Thin.

This is he
which before
is called the
earle of Mur-
raye that went
into France
but not right-
lie, for he was
not earle un-
till long after
this time.

The nob
assemble
Edenbu

Ships
in the ne
kas.

A safe co
required

Certain
ships tak

Spontie
Dallie,

The qua
was con
into Ca

Shir tat
hittouri
to Scot

The qua
arrived
Leith.

farther gave in charge, that letters should be written to the pères and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them understand of his coming into Scotland, & to be a witness of his good will unto them. The next day after came to the quene at Uffrie, in Champagne, James Stewart (which is toucht a little before) the prior of S. Andrews. Who after he had in reverence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all delicie, trauell, and diligence, most religiouslie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willingly obseie hir, without anie foyren powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, offering his mind more fullie, and putting awaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quene to honor him with the erldome of Murray. Whereunto the quene did courteouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this James perceived that the quene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Jancuille, and there remaining with hir a certaine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receive the quene coming into the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The duke of Chateaufault, the earles of Huntley, Atholl, Marshall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quens coming, assembled at Edinburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing to take hir iourne, and to come into Scotland, the quene of England let forth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & guard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed; the quene and hir retinue were safely landed in Scotland; nevertheless, the English ships took some of the Scottish lordes, as the earle of Glenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staid for a time; but were after released, and sent home into Scotland.

The quene also, by the aduise of the King of France, sent monsieur Dorsell into England, to passe through the same into Scotland before hir coming, there to haue received the foyrs of Donbat and Inkeith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the same till hir coming. But he was staid; and passed no farther than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme: because that he & monsieur Rubet were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir six vnckles, the dukes of Goffe, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Nemours, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

Where were two gallees prepared; and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland; and there went with hir three of hir said vnckles, the duke Daumall, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf; also monsieur Damsille the constables sonne, and diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argyle, the lord Erskin, the prior of saint Andrews, and of the burgeses of Edinburgh, and conueied to the abbeie of Holie rood house. For (as faith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne, & partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks therefore, or to preuent the slanders of their enemies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did gesse what would follow; although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vnto them (vnloked for) after so manie hapcs of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought vp by hir mother (being a cholen and weak person) but yet left as a preie to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further last abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preserved in life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a womanlike marriage, which in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye, than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new young husband, and of hir old and græued mother; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtful possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and famed; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather god God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behauior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanour. Whereby at the first sight, she toar vnto hir the hearts of most people; and confirmed the loue of hir faithful subiects.]

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold, work, pretious stones, orient pearls, & suchlike, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of household, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rome, and arrived at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or fine daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chateaufault, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present; there was an act made by the lordes of the counsell [in which none of the cleargie (as faith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 80) were present] with consent of the quene, that to remove all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publickly standing within the realme, at hir arrival in the same, should be made; & that nothing should be attempted, either publickly or privatlie to the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth and published through all parts of the realme with great diligence.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lordes, and one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell, as m. liij.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 17.

Costlie iewels

Her household stuffe.

An act made concerning religion.

Fr. Thin.

Some appointed to be of the quenes counsell.

is
one
he
but
went
ice
ghe-
was
dis-
tinctThe nobles
assembled at
Edinburgh.Ships sent
in the narrow
seas.A safe conduct
required.Certaine
ships taken.Monsieur
Dorsell,The quene
was conueied
into Calis.She taketh
her iourne into
Scotland.The quene
arrived at
Leith.

Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the
privie counsell.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.
lib.16.

by whose aduise he should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with him in some of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the privie counsell were these, the duke of Chatelaunt, the earle of Huntley chancelor, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Atholl, the earle Sparshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Morton, the earle of Montrose, the earle of Erroll, master Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskin, with the prioz of S. Andrew. * But among these reioysings of the quenes interteinment into his kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did despelle enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to him and to his familie privilie to be used. For the preparation therof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the war candels and brake them: by occasion whereof (if some of the household had not come betwene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most satwrie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthy to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appeased by James the quenes bassard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Murray. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended him, but deposed him, and set by his sonne; as moze plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieved, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vnckles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Callidon vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long cruell dissension in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene; yet the whole deed of ruling did in effect depend vpon his bassard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, vsing the quenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberrall gifts vpon his fellows. Which the nobles so much disliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be moze touched.

Danmell went
with the two
gallies into
France.
The rest went
through Eng-
land into
France.

A preparation
of triumphs.

The duke Danmell, after he had remained with the quene a certeinetime, took his leaue of him, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prioz and monsieur Danuille taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daubeneuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edinburgh prepared great and collicie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

he passed vnto Strueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes he was received with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews he returned vnto Edinburgh, where he remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemble of all the principall lords, spiritual and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelates, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of his charges for the maintenance of his traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine his household, and a gard to tend on him, by the aduise of the estates.

The prelates agreed for the quenes pleasure to support him with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare his charges, and to susteine his gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusal of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the privie counsell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelates and beneficed men should be charged to paie pærelie to the quenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices; and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euery benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure; also to haue to doe with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelates, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

* Whilest these things were in doing, William Spettellan the yonger was sent ambassador into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the manner is) & to declare the good mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto him, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis in fructuabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and eares) this ambassador deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of his former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prouoked by his benefices, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun; but might also (if it were possible) be daile moze and moze fast bound vnto him; and they for their parts, would not omit any occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassador the quene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance; & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in his maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tongue, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat; and therefore I do purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of his maiestie; and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she speaks it, and Buchanan penneith it, I might dishonor him; & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Iason. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiency therefore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof; so should I in presuming with buskitt to pen the tale

The quene
visited the
townes.

An assemble
of the lords.

The third
part of the
spiritual living
demanded.

In act for the
cleargie.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan lib.17.

Buchan. li. 1

156
James
ward ma-
rie of
Fr.Thin.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan
lib.17.

The que
England
roos to
with the
quene o
Scotlan

The me
time to
open

to be
Fr.Thin.
Buchan.

into
the

the

the
the

tale of such a worthy prince, confirme my credit, in misordering or defacing the maiestie, grantie, wife, dome, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, we do in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

Buchan. li. 17.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so severe in mind as was James the other brother. This John easlie persuading himselfe to obey the quene in all things, was the more dære unto hir, and most fit for hir, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) she did consult to hir a companie of souldiers to be about hir, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretly set upon the quene, and by strength have labored to carie hir to his castell, which was foureteene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat loue which he bare unto hir: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scowred the fields, riding up and downe hither & thither, they shewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iell of others.]

1562.

James Stewart then prior of saint Andrews, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quene, was made earle of Murray, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earle dome of Mar, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day unto Agnes Keith, daughter to the erle Marhall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting three daies. * In which marriage he did so much exceed, that he greatly offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaved himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan lib. 17.

The quene of England desirous to speake with the quene of Scotland.

The meeting time was appointed.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, li. 17.

The quene of England desirous to have a meeting betwixt hir and the quene of Scots hir cousine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring hir most instantlie to come to Forke, where she would meet hir, to talke with hir of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwixt them, by consanguinitie and affinity of blood. And after consultation had with hir counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Forke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iourney, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting; desiring hir to haue hir excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iourneie staid.

* Much about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerauld, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he with hir to saint Andrews, and with manie praier requested hir that she would upon sufficient pledges deliver him the earle Bothwell, and Caluene Hamilton, but he could not obtaine any thing therein at hir hands. At what time also the quene went to Dunbarton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into hir hands, which was accordingly deliuered vnto hir. * Shortly after, the quene of Scots

toke hir iourneie towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striveling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finmarter, sonne to the earle of Huntly, met on the callete of Edenburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbooth of Edenburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie northward: whereupon followed great trouble & hostile after to the house of Huntly. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argyle, Murray, and Morton, the lord Erskine, and others, passed forwarde in hir iourneie towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finmarter to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene comming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorable receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schoole and college.

* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was intreated by John Leslie a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to boughse his house in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie convenient for the execution of the earle of Murray, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Whereupon Leslie, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betrayed the chiefe brother of the quene, no euill man, and one that was not his enemy, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Whereupon it then ceased, and the next night was also quietly passed over at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Whereupon the earle of Huntly, having before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appeerance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the sirs John Gordon should retorne to prison againe in Striveling castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuerge his extreme handling (as he took it) vpon the earle of Murray, whom he put most in blame for the rigour he used against him, but his enterprize took not effect. * Now the quene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for hir in that place, for the receiving of hir and hir traine: but she went vnto Balmawie, the earle of Atholls place, and from thence to Killlos, to Tarnelwaie, and so came to Inuernesse, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntly, purposing to attend on the quene at Inuernesse, caused provision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done vpon some policie, commanded the keepers of the castell to render the same to one of hir heralds, but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the captaine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne

The quene made hir progress into the north parts of Scotland.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great companie.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan lib. 17.

Gordon is commanded to Striveling castell.

The quene suspected the earle of Huntly.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

fortune bydage. The lord Gordon & his brother John Gordon of Finmarter came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inuernesse, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inuernesse was commanded to be giuen vp into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliuer it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quene remained in Inuernesse the space of foure or five daies, where the principall capteine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) thereof the chiefe were the Fraissers and Spurreies, balliant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spate. Whereupon, they toke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finmarter, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refused to do. From Bamf the quene rode to the lard of Weichtis place, called Weicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorable receiued, and lodged in the pious house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

After this, the lord John prior of Colvingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley receiued them verie courteously, and gaue them good intertainment, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Jffe, Angus, Stratherne, the Pernis, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterly, quere countrie to remaine there sixe daies, and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward, till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time, James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who (upon displeasure conceived against him) about a quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had bene committed to prison in Castledunkeill before he escaped out of Douglas towne in Edinburgh at a window.

The earle of Huntley, vnderstanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flee to the mountains; but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Spar. By reason thereof the earle of Spurreie, who at the first had leasse a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Douglas earle of Argyll, and Patrick Leslie, to lead an armie against his entrie, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adjoining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a soft pale to meet his enimie: whole commanding Huntley did as

hide, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Spurreie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marshes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armie met, at that time manie on the earle of Spurreie his side did flee awaie, hauing before giuen a signe to the enimie. But the earle Spurreie, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it balliantlie, called his men together, set upon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to flee as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and thientie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breathed by reason of his grossenes, was slaine betwene the hands of such as toke him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed forie for the earles death. Within November John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leaving foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Spargill, maister John Spens of Canobie, and the lard of Bettarrois, to compound for the effects of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that trespass. The earle Bothwell was commanded the sixt kalends of December by an herald to yeld himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publicke enimie.

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateleant his father in law, at Camernoull, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie conuict, forsailed, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yeere of God, 1565. At this time was a monie mile set upon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publicke commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of Dunelm, because (after an edict made therefore at the quenes coming into Scotland) he did not abstaine from hearing and saying mass, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions, were confined with promise of a greater punishment to be held upon them, if they were found of sending againe in that sort.

The quene held a parliament in Edinburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead body was brought present before the estates in the towne, and forsailed. The earle of Northland, George Gordon was forsailed also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parliament, the act of oblation was ratified and approued, and diuerse other newe laws made. This yeere in August, the quene went on pilgrimage into Argyle, this yeere deceased the quene Elizabeth, sister of the college of Justice, as maister John Strathgordon, damello of Clackmangord the pious of Scotland, in place of the first maister John Leslie, official of Aberdeen, was appointed; and in the pious place maister James Baulfoune succeeded; Aberdeen was an ambassador from the king of Spaine, to treat of a marriage to be contracted with the

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The ladie Huntley is sent into the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

The bishop of Ross was into fra

The quene progressed

The earl Lennox into Scotland.

I prop

Lord Arrie came Scotland

156 I parti

Lord Arrie is lord of

The quene was married

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 178.

The lord Gordons is taken prisoner. 1563. Buch. 1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

The earle Spurreie was taken

The earle Bothwell was taken

1562. A parliament

The act of oblation was ratified

The quene went on pilgrimage

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden

The bishop of
Kilke went
into France.

The quene
progress.

The earle of
Lennor came
into Scot-
land.

Progress.

Lord Darne-
le came into
Scotland.

1563.
Parliament.

Lord Darne-
leis made
lord of Koffe.

The quene of
England out-
landed that
marriage.

Embassage
sent into
Scotland.

The earle of
Murreie a su-
itor unto the
quene.

Dispensation
had from
Rome for to
marrie.

Consultation
to stop the ma-
riage.

Opponit
created earle
of Huntley.
Buchwell is
sent for.
Fr. Thin.

Lord Darne-
le

1 Gordon
headed.

in
anam.
18.

lord
dents to
prisoner.
3. Buch.
562.

him
ian. lib. 17.

562.
arment.

act of obs-
m.

quene
on pro-
le.

in officers.

1564.
bassadors
in Sweden

quene, but his message was not regarded. The se-
cond of Julie, Henrie Sincier bishop of Koffe ship-
ped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some
helpe of his office. He was cut of the stone in Pa-
ris, and died the second of Januarie next after. There
succeeded to that bishopricke of Koffe, maister John
Lelle, parson of Quen, being then one of the sena-
tors of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quene passed into
Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Badenoch,
to Inverness, and to the canonrie of Koffe, and re-
turned through Murreie to Gartleie, Aberdeen;
Dunnoter, and so to Edinburgh, where she remai-
ned the next winter. In the moneth of October, the
earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his
cause there was a parlement holden in December,
in which he was restored to all his lands, honors, and
dignities, within that realme. In December also, the
bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succe-
ded maister William Chesholme his brothers son.
In Januarie, the quene took her iourneie through
Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banquet-
ted. In which time, Henrie Stewart, lord Darnele,
a godlie man of personage, and sonne to the earle of
Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the
quenes presence in the Wileames, the ninth day of
Februarie. The quene so well liked him, that she as-
sembled all the temporall lords together at Strive-
ling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obtained of
them their consents, that she might marrie the said
lord Darnele. After this, he was made earle of
Koffe.

In the meane time, the quene of England sent sir
Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to under-
stand the proceedings in the quenes marriage with
the lord Darnele, and for other affaires, who came
to the assemblee at Striveling to that effect. The
quene of Scots sent maister John Haie abbat of
Balmerinnoch into England to the quene, to miti-
gat hir displeasure towards the lord Darnele, and
to obtaine hir consent to the marriage; who answered,
that she ment to send an ambassadoe of hir owne in-
to Scotland for that and other causes, and (according
to hir promise) the sent one. Shortly after, certeine
captains & men of warre in saint Andrews, Dun-
dee, and saint Johns towne, received monie about
the same time of the earle of Murreie, to take part
with him, for the which they were after punished. Af-
ter the assemblee at Striveling, the quene seemed
not to like of the earle of Murreie so well as she had
done before: whereupon he departed the court, and
repaired to saint Andrews, where (through the coun-
sell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the
marriage.

The quene nevertheless sent the bishop of Dun-
blane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the
lord Darnele, being hir cosine in the second degre
of consanguinitie, which he obtained, & sent it home
shortlie after. The quene was then principallie
counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the
lord Ruthven, and their friends. In the meane time,
the earle of Murreie perswaded the duke of Chate-
rault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to meet at
Striveling, where they made a bond to stop the ma-
riage, alledging the same to be made for mainte-
nance of the religion. The quene advertised there-
of, released the lord Gordon forth of prison, wherein
he had bene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and
restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle
of Huntley. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell
to returne home, who was banished, and was then in
France, and the earle of Southerland to returne
out of Flanders.

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darnele, earle

of Koffe was made duke of Albannie. And on saturday
daie at even, the eight and twentieth daie of the same
moneth, before the marriage, he was proclaimed king
by the quenes commandement at the market crosse
of Edinburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of
the same moneth, he was married to the quene in
the chappell of Holie rood house, at five of the cloche
in the morning. Shortly after, the duke of Chate-
rault, the earles of Argile, Murreie, and their com-
plices, were summoned to appeare before the quene
and hir counsell within six daies; & because they re-
fused so to do, they were put to the horne.

The king and quene thereupon assemble their
power, and by a herald demand the delivrie of the
castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the
effect of his message) they addresse themselves to
warre. At what time the lords of the congregation
were at some variance amongst themselves, as se-
uered into diuerse opinions: for the Hamiltons that
were of greatest power in those places, did affirme,
that they should haue no firme conditions of peace,
except the king and quene were made awaie: for so
long as they were in health, they could hope for no-
thing but new warres, new deceipts, and dissembled
peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war.
For though manie times the injuries of priuat per-
sons maie be laied downe by traueil and perswasion,
and maie be recompensed againe with great com-
modities: yet there is no waie to appeale the displea-
sure of kings, but by taking them awaie.

Upon which bad speech, the earles of Murreie and
of Glencarne (which well understood that the Ha-
miltons did not seeke the publike commoditie, but
their owne priuat riches as persons that were next
to the crowne after the quens death) did abhor the
slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons,
whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and coue-
tous: and did therefore giue more mild and sound
counsell, saieing that this dissention being ciuill, was
not yet come to be bloude: in which hitherto they
had onlie contended with words & not with swords,
being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the
same might be ended with honest conditions.

To the perswasion whereof, he said that there
were manie in the camps of the two princes, which
gradielie desired to heare of peace, & would not faile
to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend them-
selves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which
did perchance forese that the king and quene (by
reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatly,
as that it turned to the bitter ouerthrow of the com-
mon-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not)
they were such as were rather to their owne priuat
reproch than otherwile, and therefore they ought not
to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cu-
red with easie remedies. For he did remember it
to haue alwaies bene obserued heretofore, that in
the life of kings; we should alwaies couer their fe-
cret vices, we should middle interpret their doubt-
full faults, and we should with patience beare their
knowne evils: so that they did not by them bring
other destruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the
hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which
was head of that familie) determined to rest in qui-
et; but he accompanied with sir Iohn Murreie remai-
ned with the lords, who being now so weakened
of their power, that they could neither wage battell,
nor safelie passe to their owne; did giue place to the
fins, and went that night to Hamilton. The quene
assembled an armie, and went to Glasgow to pur-
sue them (at what time, as saith Buchanan) the earle
of Lennor was made warden of the east marches;
and the duke and earles with other of their compa-
nie

Certain lords
refuse to ap-
peare before
the quene.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 17.

riched coun-
sell alwaies
swayeth to the
guar.

An armie gathered against them.
The lords went unto Dunfreis.

Certaine townes are punished.

A great armie

The lord is fled into England.

Their conuoyers got their pardon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh.
The quene sent into France for aid.

The lords send to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir counsell assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggarg, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andzeus, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselfe, and took inquisition thereof, giving order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practice. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailiffs of saint Andzeus; also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene took the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was given to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Beggarg, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chateaufort, the earles of Murray, Glencairne, Rothes, the lord Mchilte, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Grange, Cunningham, Herdie, Pettarroth, maister James Dalbairton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Marwell conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinwar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of god order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancelor of Rolse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Maluouier into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters unto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Maluouier honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chateaufort, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Murray, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making suite to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir to helpe hir, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chateaufort, perceiving no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of three yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so came into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Strathorne, Striuelingshire, & Northan, spending his time in hauking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceived with child, trauelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, untill this time, the kings name was set before the quens; now quite contrarie, the name of the quene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of his and his; and David the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stamp of the kings name, to vse when need required.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Murray, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to haue them forthcalled. The French king sent monsieur Kambeuillet into Scotland, as ambassadoe from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaele. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Kambeuillet returned into France, being higly rewar-
ded.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murrays friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seeke all the waies and means they could deuise to state the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthuen, and the lord Lindseie, secretly persuaded the king to state the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murray and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made a crowned king of Scotland absolute, and the quene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agreed to the m.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seuenth day of March, they perceiuing the forsakure like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be guen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Morton, the lords Ruthuen, and Lindseie, entered into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arriued in warlike manner, the lord Ruthuen declared unto the quene, that they would not suffer hir any longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crying pitioullie, *In iustitia, In iustitia*: and in hir utter chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntlie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, where the king and his complices were right soze. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morrow being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) a declaration was made, that all the lords that had bene in parlement

The king went a hauking.

Fr. Thin.
Bucha. lib. 17.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king renewed the order of saint Michaele.

1566.

They persuaded the king.

The king some persons sed.

The king is entered into the quens priue chamber.

David Richeo is slain.

The earle of Huntlie is fled and the residue also.

The king went a hauking.

They their plantation

The king had cold with it

The king was si perius

Both

Proclamation

They persuaded the king.

Harde craned obtenu

The mers accepted,

Hammond.

The quonne

The earle
of Dunbar
came into
Scotland.

They made
their pro-
cession.

The queene
had confer-
ence
with the king.

The king
was some
persuaded.

Huntlie and
Bothwell.

Proclama-
tion made.

per-
with
ing.

king
persuade.

The murthe-
rs are ex-
cepted.

Marie par-
doned.

king is
into
means
is change.

The queene
cometh to
Edinburgh.

earle of
Huntlie is
and the
me also.

men, shuld depart out of the towne of Edinburgh:
and after some time, the earle of Huntlie
and Bothwell, with other of their adherents, that
came forth from Edinburgh, the same day before,
came to the abbey of Holyrood house about six of
the clocke in the afternoon, where they were, with
fuller reception by the king and his counsaile. They
spake also with the queene, who had in great comfort
of their coming.

The marriage following being made, the earle
of Huntlie, and the other that were summoned, pas-
sed to the towne of Edinburgh. And when they were
in the towne, that they were ready to answer in
parliament, and none appeared to arrest them. After
this, it was concluded to have the names in great
board. But by his private persuasions, their purpose in
that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference
with the king, they persuaded him to think, that he
had joined himselfe with those that should be his de-
struction, if it happened with his other will than well,
as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high
displeasure that he had taken being with the
child: through the which persuasion, and other build-
king of things, he departed secretly with him in the
night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and
first came unto Selton, and after ward from thence
to Dunbar.

Thither the earles of Huntlie and Bothwell
hastilie repaired, by whose counsell and others then
with him, he caused proclamation to be made in di-
verse parts of the realme, charging all manner of
men in feats of warre, to come unto him to Dun-
bar, & to passe from thence unto Edinburgh within
six daies after. She also sent letters to the same ef-
fect unto diverse noble men of the realme, who pre-
pared themselves with great diligence to meet him.
The earle of Huntlie and the rest of the lords being
with him, hearing the preparation that was made
against them, and perceiving themselves not able
to resist, thought good quere of them to seeke some
particular means to obtaine remission at the queens
hands. Which they obtained all of them, except the
earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsay, and
such other as were with them at the murder of Da-
vid Richeo. And hereupon they despatching of pardon,
fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at
Pewcastle thortlie after, as in place ye shall heare.

The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them,
came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glen-
carne and the lord of Cunningham head came thir-
ther also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of
Mortons purchased his pardon at the same time. The
earles of Argyle and Huntlie, and the lord Both-
well, sent to the queene for their pardon,
and obtained it, being commanded nevertheless to
passe into Argyle, and to remaine there during his
graces pleasure, which commandement they obeyed.
The eighteenth of March, the queene went accom-
panied came to Haddington towards night: and on
the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and
the Huntliks met her at Spuskilburgh, and so like-
wise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Home,
Bothwell, and manie other noblemen, and con-
vied her unto Edinburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunelm's lodging,
and taried there a certeine space, having with her the
erle of Huntlie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Mar-
shall, Spenserland, Cassies, the bishops of saint An-
drews and Moray, the lords Levingston, Fleming,
and diverse other noble men, by whose counsell order
was taken for redressing of the state of the realme,
whereby the same was thortlie brought to great
quietnesse. After this, the queene perceiving herselfe
to be at more the time of her deliverance, went to

the castle of Edinburgh, where she remained till the
last bellmead of her birth. In the moneth of Maie,
Thomas Seat Shirrife, deputy of Perth, & a priest
called sir Henrie Blair, servant to the lord Ruthwen,
were apprehended for being doers in the slaughter
of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their
heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the ab-
beie, and the other on the nether tow.

In the moneth of April this yere, the bishop of
Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his
room succeeded to that bishopricke, a friend and coun-
siller to the earle of Argyle, called Campbell. In the
end of April, the queene, willing to have the earles
of Argyle and Huntlie joined with the rest of the
counsaile, sent for them to come to the castle of Ed-
inburgh, where all griefs and controuersies that
passed betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of
Huntlie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were
referred to the queene, who agreed them, and they all
remained with her the residue of the summer. The
queene hearing that the earle of Morton, the lord
Ruthwen, and the other their adherents were re-
turned in England, and remained at Newcastle, she
sent maister James Axborton chanor of Huntlie,
with letters to the queene of England, and also to
the king of France, and other her friends there; de-
claring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse
and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subiects
against her, desiring them not to receive them with
in their realmes or dominions.

Thortlie after, the queene of England sent a gen-
tleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland,
with letters and message to the queene, promising
to cause them to depart forth of her realme of
England: and withall sent unto them warning to
depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer
then next ensuing. But in the meane time the lord
Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastle, with
great repentance of his former life: giving God
thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him
for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure
himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Morton,
and the maister of Ruthwen, remained secretly
where to Antwerp, and other places of the borders, till
they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this
time there came from the king of France a wise a-
ged gentleman, named monsieur la Croke, as his
ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the win-
ter following.

In the moneth of June, the queene perceiving the
time of her deliverance to approach, wrote unto all
the principall noble men of her realme, to come and re-
maine within the towne of Edinburgh, during the
time of her deliverance; where they assembled: and
the king his husband, with the earles of Argyle, Hun-
tlie, Atholl, and Spar, remained with her in the ca-
stell; and the earle of Huntlie, Bothwell, and the
remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And upon
the nineteenth day of the same moneth of June, be-
twixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, his grace
was delivered of a goodlie man-child, to the great
comfort of his highnesse, and all his subiects, whereof
the nobilitie did greatlie reioice. And incontinentlie
all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all
the lords and people came together in the church of
saint Giles, to give thanks to almighty God for his
great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in gi-
ving to them a prince, and withall made their hum-
ble prayers unto his divine maiestie, to indue him
with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge
to gouerne the realme and subiects thereof, when so-
ever the same should fall into his hands.

The same night at seven, there were great fires
for joy made in the towne of Edinburgh, and in all
the

Execution
came upon the
murderers.

The queene
agreed all the
lords.

The queene
made sure to
the queene of
England.

The queene of
England her
answer.

The lord
Ruthwen
repented.

An ambassage
from the king
of France.

A prince
boyne.

the countie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by advertisement were certified therof. The quene remained still in the castle of Edinburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till she had recovered his health and strength. In the beginning of August she passed by the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certaine daies; the earles of Spurreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Malouin came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quene, who was conveyed by the bishop of Ross to Allowaie, where he was instantly received, courteously entertained, and highly rewarded. The quene of England sent maister Henrie Willgreff to the quene with the like message, resolving for his safe and happy deliverance, who likewise was received in most thankfull manner, and well rewarded.

The princes
godfathers &
godmothers.

Here is to be noted, that shortly after she was brought to bed, she sent one of her gentlemen called monsieur Clarinot, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Savoy, desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name (as godfathers) might receive his son at the baptisme. Whereover, she sent James Meluine to the quene of England with the like message, desiring her maiesty to be godmother (who by her ambassador Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiouslie wrought & enamelled, weighing 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.) These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quene accompanied with the king her husband, the earles of Huntlye, Spurreie, Bothwell, and diverse other, went into Peggat land; there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certaine daies; and returning to Edinburgh, caused the prince to be conveyed unto Strueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quene went on progresse into Glen Arkenie.

Fr.Thin.
I. Stow p. 113
in quart.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan. li. 17.

* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Strueling, after which the quene determineth to go to Jedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a tourne into Lidisdale, where he was hurt with a calaver by a base theefe. Whereupon with uncerteine life he was carried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwell, and from thence having scene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwell, whether she caused Bothwell to be brought: after whose coming thither, the quene fell so grievouslie sicke, that she was in danger of her life, at what time the king came thither unto hir.

1567.

In Januarie the king came to Glasgou, where he fell sicke, and removing from thence went to Edinburgh, and the quene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but he was lodged at a house within the towne, nere to the Kirke a field; within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of February in the night he was shamefullie murdered; together with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and here with the house was blowne by with gunpowder. [Some give report of his death, but touch not the manner thereof, onelie saying that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a beaute brakfast) by his owne (but onerall and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood getteth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in justice will (when he seeth due time) give them their position with malefactors agreeable to their merits.

The king
murdered.
1566. Stow.

The earle of Bothwell was even at the first beheld as the principal offender in this most heinous and detestable murder. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquitted by an allgess, but also shortly after married the quene, upon a hope of the suspicion that men had already conceived, that she should be also privie to the murder, was nothing diminished. But as I have not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottish nobilitie, fore repining and maligning at such the quene's advancement of Bothwell, she & divers men persuaded himselfe, was the principal author of the murder; got them to armes at the last, before the quene at Bothwell were advertised of their meaning, they being then at Bothwell castell, eight miles distant from Edinburgh.

The earle of
Bothwell
murdered
the king.

The lords
got them to
armes.

* This leading the lords nobilitie at Edinburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the quene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, having at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of her husband, whom she had caused to be buried not farre from Dunblane his secretarie, Maister (as was thought) by the means of the king of Scots (the quene I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murder of her husband, was forceably taken (as he was on his tourne) by the earle Bothwell, and carried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorable intertained. Which fact of his bred great dislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life; had not the quene (of his clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a marriage to be solemnized betwene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a dispute had betwene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the judges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemnization asked betwene the said earle James Hepburne; and the quene Marie Stewart) was with great dissimilitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting thereto) consummat at Edinburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Dornie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassador then in Scotland would not be present; being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edinburghers to dislike of the quene.

Which marriage breeding some evil opinion of the said quene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of foereine nations, the wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and provide to save herselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and interrections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid upon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our uncles, that our marriage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by any messengers. This excuse (as likewise to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chieflie to the offices and duties of the duke or capitaine of the Duncades towards us, even unto that day in which I saw med god to be to take him to his husband. For the opening of the discourse whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescence (youth, or years of discretion, as we terme it) in this sort.

That when he first began to manage his owne affaires

16
of
b
16
10
li. 17.

“faires (being from the death of his father one of the
“chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe
“to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of
“Scotland, as one borne of a famous familie for his
“ancient nobilitie, & of great revenues in this king-
“dome which he possesseth by right of inheritance. At
“that time also he did especiallie and altogether con-
“secrate himselfe to our mother, whilst she had the
“gouernement of the realme.

“In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie
“perseuere, that although the greater part of the no-
“bilitie, and almost all the towne were fallen from
“hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet hee
“would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a per-
“son that could not be swayed by anie promises or be-
“nefits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his li-
“uings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but
“that he would rather suffer his principall house, which
“was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull
“and pretious store of furniture therof to be taken
“from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile
“to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother.
“Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs
“and our people (when the English host was brought
“by our domesticall enimies into the bowels of our
“kingdome, which directed their weapons to none o-
“ther marke, than that our now husband at that time
“earle Bothwell, should by force be enforced to flee) he
“fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where
“he honored me with all dutie and seruice (that hee
“might) untill my returne into Scotland.

“Neither are those exploits to be omitted, which
“were done by him in the warres against the Eng-
“lish befoze my returne into mine owne countrie,
“where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and
“graue wisdom, that he was iudged (being then be-
“rie pong) meet to haue the gouernment of ancient
“persons, to be made chiefe captaine of the armie of
“the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute depu-
“tie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which of-
“fice he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which
“men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiant-
“lie actiued) he left a singular praise and fame of
“him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst
“the enimies.

“After our returne into Scotland, he employed
“all his induror to the enlarging of our authoritie, and
“spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing
“those rebels which dwell about the borders of Eng-
“land. The dispatch wherof being shortly performed,
“and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to
“do the like in all the other parts of the kingdome.
“But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, so
“the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of innova-
“tion, did labor to diminish our fauour towards him
“for his great labors (imploied in our behalfe) in mis-
“construing his good deeds.

“By which in the end they wrought so much with
“me, that we committed him to prison; partly to sa-
“tisfie the minds of such as were emulous against
“him, and could not brooke the increase of his follow-
“ing honor and greatnesse; and partly to appease such
“seditions as were likelie then to breake forth to the
“destruction of the whole kingdome. But he (escaping
“out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to
“the power of his enimies, where he remained almost
“two yeeres next following. At what time the authors
“of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie to-
“wards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise
“warre, and toke weapons against their queene.

“From thence was he called backe into Scotland,
“& being restored to his former honors & possessions,
“he was againe made generall of all the armie: by
“whose helpe our authoritie began afresh so to flourish,

“that all the rebels (suddenly forsaking their coun-
“trie) were enforced to flee into England, untill part
“of them vpon humble submission were receiued a-
“new into our fauour. But his reason, and the way
“handled by the rest that were rebeldes (and especially
“such, whose actions I had with beneuolent obser-
“uation) our people is not ignorant, and therefore we
“will touch that no more.

“Neither is it to be ouerpast in silence, with what
“diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as
“detained me prisoner, and with what speed (and singu-
“lar prouidence of his) I did both escape from prison,
“and recovered my former authoritie: after that I
“had dispersed the factions of the conspirators and se-
“ditionous persons. In which reule I am enforced to
“confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time
“shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me,
“that I could neuer after forget it. These things al-
“though they be great of themselves, yet he hath hi-
“ther to increased them with such diligence and careful-
“nesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or with
“more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found
“in him; untill these last times which followed the de-
“ceasse of our husband.

“But from that time, as his thoughts did seeme to
“tend higher, so his actions did after a sort seeme to be
“more insolent. And although the matter went so far,
“that we were to take all things in the best part: yet
“these things did then most grievously offend me; but
“especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that
“there were not other sufficient abilities in vs, to re-
“compense his desertings, whilst we gaue out selfe
“to him in marriage. Touching which, at the first he
“sed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when
“he saw them not to succeed after his mind, at length,
“shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled
“to the benefit of violence, and used force (to the end
“his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me
“vnder his gouernement.

“Wherefore all this course of his life maie be an
“example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue
“their drifts (in attempting great things) untill they
“haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that
“all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spee-
“die obediens of my commandements, had not issued
“from anie other fountaine, than of a vehement desire
“to shew his obedience and good will towards me:
“neither did I hope that a little more fauourable coun-
“tenance (which we are accustomed to be to the more
“worthy persons, to the end to win their minds to be
“more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised
“his stomach (more than anie others) that he would
“promise to himselfe anie larger good will to proceed
“from me towards him, than he had befoze.

“But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing
“all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his
“purpose, and keeping all his counsels secret from me,
“did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old
“fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by
“the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe
“with such speedie diligence, that (unknownen to me)
“he obtained of the peeres of the realme (in the assem-
“bly of the parlement here) a writing with all their
“hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same.
“In which writing was contained, that they did not
“onlie assent vnto the marriage; but that they also fur-
“ther promised to spend their life and goods (offered to
“all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they
“would be better enimies to all such as should labor to
“hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose con-
“sents in this sort, he had perswaded the said nobilitie,
“that the same was not done against my mind and
“consent. At length, when he had purchased this writ-
“ting from them, he began by little and little (with ear-
“nest

nest intreaties & flatteries) so obtaine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempts of such matters.

First, the outward tokens of our good favour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enemies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being objected or unwillinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune favouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he foure daies after having conuenient time and place therefore in the high waie, set upon me with a strong band, as I was coming from seeing of my deere sonne, and with great speed caried me to Dunbart.

Which euill deed how greuouslie we toke (especially done by him, from whome all our subjects neuer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did obtrude him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him, and of his conditions in my speech vsed to others, and of his unthankfulness to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers therunto were more mild, and tempered with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still vse all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our own castles, he humbly craved pardon therefore (in that he was enforced therunto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subject ought vnto vs. Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so greuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpasse anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

But especially in this, that their great enuie had burdned him with the murder of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enemies, whome he could not know; because they did in theys and speeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the quenes vnichangeable fauour towards him. Which certaintie of his fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuaide hir selfe to receiue him into the marriage bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obiect hir as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Therunto he added the delights of such speeches as that matter required.

But in the end, when he saw that we could not be moued therunto, either with praiers or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leane to the consideration of the king, the quene, our vnckles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of another man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisdom I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had seene all these to haue bowed themselves to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a prey for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatie did fill vnto the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawn to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a little pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

And further, how greuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnacquainted, and not inuized with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to liue vnmarried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and practised by a man which could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to bryble the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealthe: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our coming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were enforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which afterwarde also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) enforce our owne subjects to take arms against vs.

For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserve the dignitie of kinglie maiestie, that they would enforce me to marriage, that our people could not abide a forein prince, and that amongest our owne subjects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdom and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did trying from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of marriage.

Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuaasion obtaine of him (feearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and quene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby attained the first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to ioine importunat praiers to his persuaasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence enforce vs to set end to the wayke begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination.

The que
gatheret
ces.

Carbar
hill.

The n
of the q
power.

The
the loy

“ nation . In which matter I cannot differ, but
“ that I was otherwise treated by him, than either
“ I would, or had deserved .

“ For he was more careful to satisfy them, by
“ whose consent (the first at the beginning) he thought
“ himselfe to have obtained his purpose (though he did
“ both deceive them and me) than to gratifie me, or
“ to see how meet it were for me, being brought up
“ in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,
“ neither he nor any man living, whilst I did live, 10
“ could draw me awaye (alike) by any action. In which
“ thing trulie, though we do acknowledge our error,
“ yet we willinglie desire, that the king and quene
“ his mother, our uncle, or any friend of ours, do not
“ expostulat with him, nor any waie laie the fault
“ to his charge.

“ For sith things be now so ended, as that they
“ cannot be againe undone, we take all things in the
“ best part : as he is in deed, so he is to be accounted
“ our husband, whome from henceforwards we have
“ determined both to love & reverence. Wherefore all
“ they which profess themselves to be our friends,
“ must also shew the like to him which is joined unto
“ us with an indissoluble knot . And although he hath
“ in many things behaved himselfe lesse diligentlie, &
“ almost over-rashlie, which we willinglie impute to
“ his immoderat affection towards us; yet we desire
“ the king, the quene, our uncle, and the rest of our
“ friends, no lesse to love and favour him, than if all
“ things had till this day bene done after their advice 20
“ and determination; in the behalfe of which our hus-
“ band, we promise that he shall in all things (which
“ shalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
“ fie them in what he maye.

These remedies being found to defend the quens
credit amongst forein princes, other remedies were
to be sought for defense of hir owne person against
hir owne subjects . Wherefore (after that the earle of
Mortreie was appointed to remaine as banished be-
yond the seas in France, whither he took his jour-
nie through England) the quene (delivered of such a
feare as he was to hir, & therefore better able to rule;
or at least to make better shift, with such other as
were consiured, to use Buchanans word, against hir)
used that diligence she might to gather forces, espe-
ciallie in the West and east Lothian .

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had
bene broken and disappointed, they marched from
Dunbar on saturday the fourth of June, first to
Dunblane, & there resting till the even, set forward
to Glasfrowe, and taking there deliberation in the
matter; they lodged that night at Seton, and in
the morning marched in order of battell towards
Carbarrie hill, and there chose forth a plot of ground
of great advantage, appointing to fight on foot, be-
cause the power of the lords in number of horse-
men, was stronger than the quens, and of greater
experience . There were with the quene and Both-
well, the lords Seton, West, and Bothwellke; al-
so the lords of Walsington, Bas, Dunsin, Wile-
derburne, Blackater, and Langton . They had with
them also two hundred harquebussiers wages, and
of great artillerie some few peeces . Their whole
number was esteemed to be about 2000: but the
more part of them were commons & countreimen .

The earles of Morton, Atholl, War, Glencarne,
the lords of Burne, Lindesie, Ruthven, Sempill,
Sagquhar, the lords of Dunsin, Culbar-
den, Orange, and young Seton, were assembled
together at Edinburgh with a power like in num-
ber to the quens; but for the more part consisting
of gentlemen, although not furnished with any num-
ber of harquebussiers, except a few of the townsmen
of Edinburgh; that willinglie joined with them in

that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came
forth of the towne, and approached their adversaries.
But there was monsieur la Croque, the French
kings ambassadour, who take great paine, in tra-
veling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some a-
greement. * Who by his interpreter laid before them
how carefulle he had studied for the commoditie &
tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before
this; and that now also he carried the same mind with
him . Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it
were possible) that the matter might be so taken up,
for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be
ended without force or bloodshed . For the compas-
sing whereof, he would imploie all his travell, sith
the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell &
persuasion of peace. For the more certaintie whereof,
he did at that time promise them pardon and brief
forgetfulness of all things passed before time; & did
with great holinesse there pledge him selfe, that no
hurt should fall unto any man there, for taking
weapon against the highest gouernour.

After that the interpreter had delivered these
things, the earle of Morton answered, that he did
not take arms against the quene; but against him
that had killed the king. Whome if the quene would
deliuer to punishment, or separat him from hir, the
should well understand, that they & the rest of hir fol-
lows held nothing more deere unto them, than to con-
tinue in their dutifull obedience: without which gran-
ted to them, there could be no agreement made; be-
cause they came not thither to crave pardon for any
offense which they had committed (whereunto the
earle of Glencarne added) but rather to give pardon
to such as had offended .

Wherefore the ambassadour Croque returned backe
to Edinburgh, and the quens part began to de-
crease, diuerse speaking awaye from hir, so that af-
ter it began to grow towards the evening, Both-
well fled to the castell of Dunbar . But the quene
desirous to talke with William Maccabie the lord of
Orange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one
capteine, and after some talke with him, she passed
to the lords, who took hir with them to Edinburgh,
[she being in a short garment, bare, & loose, com-
ming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan)
of which lords she requested that they would suffer
hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that sort .] The Ma-
miltons were on the waie coming to assist the
quene, with seven or eight hundred horsemen; but
before they could reach to the place, the quene was
in the hands of the lords, and so they returned.

The lord of Cragnall [then promitt of Edin-
burgh] and sir James Balfoure also the capteine of
the castell, were joined in this confederacie with the
lords, as shortly after it appeared . The quene after
this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to
Auchtermuchty, where she was appointed to remaine in
ward vnder the safe keeping of William Douglas
lord of that place . The earle Bothwell, escaping to
Dunbar, found means to flee into Denmark, where
he was staied and committed to prison, where-
in at length he died . Diuerse persons afterwards
were apprehended as parties to the murder of the
king, and thereupon condemned, were executed,
confessing the said earle to be the principall executor
of the same murder . * Leaving the quene therefore
in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget (for
the honor she once had) to set downe certaine verses
made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commen-
dation of hir ancestors, and of hir; who in the first
peeces of hir gouernement did hir selfe to the good
liking of all hir subjects . In which verses Seton
doth further meane, that Lesle should hereafter set
forth hir gouernement, as he had done that of the

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 8.

The quene
commeth to
the lords.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
is sent to
Auchtermuchty.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
gathereth for-
ces.

Carbarrie
hill.

The number
of the quens
power.

The power of
the lords.

An. 6.

other

Lesleus be-
fore the pre-
face of his
eight booke.

offering before him. The verses be as followeth.

*Claris acutis, gemis antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nymphæ Caledoniæ gloria rara soli,
Mæuriam hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Diuisit, totis cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decem, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut dimes gæla, fasque virum;
Sed pietatis bonus, fides constantia; morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Quæ tua maiores superet quam visuida virtus:
Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit aqua tuis?
Primum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda:
A prociis ne sim degener ipse meus.]*

James the
sixt.

The nineteenth of Julie, Charles James the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Knox, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certaine letters of commission and procuracion, with the quæns priue seale at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for his resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the young prince his sonne. The second, to authorise the earle of Murray to be regent during the kings minority. The third, to giue authoritie and power to seuen other joining with the said earle of Murray, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chastelleraunt, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Montgomerie, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuracion doe here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprieu printer to the king of Scots, the first of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parliament begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fiftenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murray lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth
his gardians, and maketh the earle of
Murray regent.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiects, quhome it effectis to quhair knalege thir our letteris sall come, greting. For sameble as by lang trefsome and tedious trauell taken by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa verit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogether become inhabill langer to trauell in that royaume: and therefore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauouris of our anellie maist deir sonne, native prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to be the said gouernament in his atwin person, during his minority, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murray, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis foirsaidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and be and exerce the samin during our saidis derrest sons minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his decess haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsaillours,

James duke of Chastelleraunt, earle of Arrane, lord Hamilton, Mather earle of Lennox, lord Dornie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Loche, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Montgomerie, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murray cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular person, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeine, our traist consingis and counsaillours foirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Quand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie five of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentres, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, elchis, officis, and otheris casualiteis and priuilegeis, quhat summeuer concerning the said office, signaturis thair vpon to make, subscribe, and cause be past through the seillis. And to be and exerce the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegeis, and commoditeis, siclike as scelle and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouerno: to vs or our predecessours vntil the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of a prince, to quhat summeuer thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premissis.

Charging beifore John all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiects foirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis foirsaidis in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sons minority, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentene yeiris complet. As he and like ane of John will declair John liuing subiectis to our said maist deir son, your native prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that he and like ane of John male commit and toun againis his maiestie in that part. Subscript with our hand, and giuen vnder our priue seill, at Lochleuin, the fource and thertith day of Julij, and of our reigne the five and thertith yeir.

The commission, authorising certeine
noble men in the queens name, to re-
nounce the kingdome to hir sonne,
and authorising others to receiue
the same in hir sons name.



Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effectis to quhair knalege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. For sameble as sen our arriual, and returning within our realme, we willing the continuall commoditie, welth, profit, and quietnes thair of, liegis, and subiects of the samin, haue emplotit our bodie, spirit, baill sensis, and foris, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honnorable estate might stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our iusting and kind liegis might insale the quietnes of true subiectis. In trailling quhairin, not anellie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa verit, broken, and inquietit, that langer we are not of habillite be onie waye to indre sa greit and tollerabill painis and traillis, quhair with we are altogether werit, but als greit commotionis and troubles, be thir occasiounis in the meantime haue entraid vnto us, for our greit greit.

And being it has bene the pleasur of the eternal
God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, merite, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be besett, will, and richt, and of equitie man, and ought to succede to us and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that inuincibill decret of the eternall, aims to render and gif up this life tempoall (the hour and tyme quhair of is maist vncertaine) and in cais be decreit we be taken fra this life, during the tyme of his yingnitie, it maie be dovitit greittie, that resistance, and troublis maie be maid to our said son, now natie prince of this our realme, in his tender yeres (being now deistit of us) to succede to that royaume and kingdome, quhill maist iustlie of all lawis, aperteneis to him. Dubill inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud providence we mene to prevent, in such maner, that it fall not in the power of onie tyrannicall, subiects to resist Godis ordinaunce in that behalf. And understanding that na thing, eirdlie is maist solous, and haggie to us, nor to se our said decret sone, in our awin life tyme peccabillie placit in that royaume, and honoraill estate quhairto, he schall aucht and man succed to: we of the motherlie affectioun we heir toward our said onlie sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris frellie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and governing of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all intronissoun and dispositioun of onie casualiteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis aperteneing, or heir to soir is knawin, or heirefter fall happen to apertene thairto, in fauouris of our said decret sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possedit thairin, vse & exerce all thingis beलग- and thairto, as natie king, and prince of the samis, & schlike as we or onie our predecessours, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypast.

Attour, that this our dimissoun maie tak the maist solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, gentis, grantis, & committis our commissioun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist counsillis, Patrike lord Lindesae of the Biris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctie and seuerallie, to compeir before sa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and ither pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assembleit to that effect in our burgh of Striuling, or anie ither place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie daie or dais, and thair publiclie in thair presence, for us, in our name, and upon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all intronissoun with the propertie, casualtie, or itheris thingis aperteneing to us thairby, and all richt, and tittle that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rotomit thairin, and the crowne rotall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessours hes bene in times bypast.

And in likewise be thir presents gentis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traist counsillis, James earle of Spoutoun, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Spar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Pentecith, John maister of Graham, Alexander lord Home, Adam bishop of Dunelm, the processis of Dundee, Spontrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiatioun, and dimissoun in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressaueing thair of, to plant, place, and inaugu-

raissin in the kingdome, and to do all ceremonies requisit to put the crowne rotall upon his head; the figure and tabir of the quhalesing of him thairin, and in his name to makit, and gif to the said nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and itheris our kingis, his painces, and kinglie githers, & lauchdrie as officers, and to ressaue thair othis, for the said lawful be mage to be maid be thame to him, in all times coming, as becomis subiects to thair naturall king and prince: And generallie all and sundrie ither thingis to do, exerce, and vse, that for sure performance and accomplishment betwixt made, or can be done, firme and stable halband, and for to hold all and quhatsum ever thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promeis of our prince. And ordanis thir our letteris, gif neid be to be publiit at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our preue seill, at London, leugh the foure and twentieth daie of Julis, and of our reigne the five and twentieth yere, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yoong king, and of his kingdome.



Arie be the grace of God, quene of Scots, to all & sundrie our iudgis, and ministteris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it efteris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greting. For samelke as efter lang, greit, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be us sen our arriuall within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelie bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at length as altogidder sa verit thair of, that our habillitie, and strenght of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because na thing eirdlie can be maist confortabill and haggie to us in this eird, nor in our life tyme, than to se our deir son, the natie prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne rotall set on his heid, we of our awin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and governing of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heirefter, he maie peccabillie, and quietlie enioie the samin, without troublis, an be obeyit as natie king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And understanding that (he resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habillitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kinglie royaume and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the yeres of discretioun; and als knawing the yorritie of blude standand betwixt us, our said sone, and our decret brother James erle of Spoutoun, lord Abrenethie, &c: and hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times borne, and presentlie betres towardis us, the honour & estate of our said sone, of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, for, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, seirit, reuerencit, and obeyit be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the certanetie, and notoritie, of the honestie, habillitie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said decret brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis fair saidis, during our said sonis yingnitie: we haue maid, namit, appointit, comittit,

Print.

state, and ordaine, and be our letters patent, ap-
pointed, thakis, constitutis, and ordais, we said ber-
rest brother James erle of Moray, regentis and
said berrest sone, realme, and liegis forsaikis, con-
fessing his unworthie and les age; and ap and howill he
be of the age of seintene yeres compleit. And that
our said brother be callit, during the said space, re-
gent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis, of right.

So that our said sone after the completing of the
yeres forsaikis, in his awin person may tak upon
him the said government, and use, and exerce all
and thair privileges, honours, and thair immu-
nities that appertenis to the office of ane king, als
weill in governing his realme and pepill, according
to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as
wald invade, or invadlie resist him or thame, or his
authoritie resist. With power to our said berrest bro-
ther James erle of Moray, in name, authoritie, and
behalf of our said maist deir sone, to ressaue resigna-
tions of quhat summever landis halbot of him, or of
offices, castels, towris, fortalices, milnes, fishings
mooris, benefices, or pertinencis quhat summever, the
samin againe in our said sonis name to gif, and de-
liver signatouris thair upon: and upon the giftis of
waicdis, nonentredis, and relevis of landis, and ma-
riages of aircs falland, or that fall happen to fall in
our said sonis handis as superiour thair of.

And als upon presentatioun of landis, benefices,
eschettis of guidis monabbill and vnmouabbill, bettis
and takkis, ressitis, remissidittis, supercedettis,
and upon the dispositioun of offices vacant, or quhen
they fall happen to baik, to subertie, and can be
past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to use and
exerce in all thingis, privileges, and commoditeis,
sichlike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony
regent, or gonerour to be, or our predecessouris
hist in ony times bigane, and sichlike as gif enere
heid, privilege and article concerning the said office
wer at lench expressit and amplifit in thir our let-
teris. By our said to hald firme and stabill in the
word and faith of ane prince, to quhat summever
thingis our said berrest brother in the presentis hap-
pinnis to do. Charging heirfor to all, and sinder
our iudgis, and ministris of law, liegis, and suber-
tis forsaikis, to answer and obey to our said berrest
brother, in all and sinder thingis concerning the
said office of regentrie, as he and like ane of to
will declar to us luffing subiectis, to our said maist
deir sone, and under all paine, charge, and offense
that he and like ane of to may commit, and thir
againis his mathe in that past. Subscriuit with
our hand, and genin under our prent seill, at Loch-
leven the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the
twentie five yetr.

These commissions being read, the bishop of Ar-
gyle, with two superintendents, proceeded to the co-
onation: the earle of Moray, and the lord Home
tuke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the
faith, feare, and love of God, and to mainteine the
religion then preached and exercised in Scotland,
and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The
whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English
tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at
that time prisoner in Lochleven. * But before we
enter into the augmentation of the historie of this
kings time, I thinke it not unmeet to deliever one
thing, which I haue with some wonder observed in
all the kings of Scotland descended of the Ste-
wards: that neuer anie one of them except the first
second king of that name was of the age of man,
or of one and twentie yeres when they put on the
kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not unmeet to
be considered of, although we can not enter into the

secret judgments of God. The proofe of which mat-
ter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a ca-
lendar of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the
conspiration of the yeres of whose age and first
coming to the crowne I haue followed Lelous.

Robert Stewart the first king of that surname,
was 27 yeres old when he began his reigne, in the
yere of our redemption 1370. John Stewart son
of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two
alike were of full age, when the title of the king-
dome descended vnto them. James Stewart, the
first of the name of James, the third of the name
of Stewards, was within age at the death of his
father, when the title and crowne descended vnto
him: who although he receiued not the crowne at
Scotland because he was about eightene yeres ho-
norable kept as a prisoner in England, until he
was of manis age: yet being king in right, and the
revenue intrested in him when he was within age,
I doubt not to make him king from the death of his
father, and so within age to haue obtained the king-
dome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, begin-
ning his reigne in the yeres of our redemption
1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Ste-
wards, was six yeres old when he was crowned, in
the yere of Christ 1436. James the third, and sixt of
the Stewards, being seven yeres old, was crow-
ned king of Scotland in the yere that the word be-
came flesh 1460. James the fourth, and first of the
Stewards, being threene yeres of age, was ado-
ned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yere
of our saluation 1488. James the fifth, and the se-
uenth of the Stewards, being one yere, five mo-
neths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scot-
land, in the yere from the birth of Christ 1513. Ma-
rie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but
seven daies old, was crowned quene of Scots, in
the yere of Christ 1542. Henrie Stewart, sonne
to the earle of Lennox, and husband to the said
Marie Stewart, was not one and twentie yeres
old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife
Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he
was slain, as before in the yere 1567. Charles
James Stewart, the first of the name of James, and
the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the
said Henrie Stewart and Marie Stewart, being
about a yere old, began his reigne in the yere that
God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Mel-
vine (this yere 1585 in England) did whilste he
was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer patribus das iura vocati,
Et populi pensas crimina lance paris,
Iura tibi, tuum ille solon, tuum ille Lycurgum,
Quarecti puris fontibus haurita dedit,
Nobilius regum exemplis obsequat enis,
Hic, ubi quid fugias, quidue sequaris habes.
Felix, si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!
Felix cum populo tuq, patre, tuo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of
the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose,
touching the discipline of excommunication, and the
excommunicated, diuided into these heads: that is
to say, what crimes be worthy of that severe cen-
sure of the church by excommunication: how the
minister shall behaue himselfe in publicke audience
of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the
offenses which merit publicke repentance: of the or-
der to proceed therein: the forme and the order of
publicke repentance: an admonition to the church:
a thanksgiving for the correction and repentance
of the censured: the forme of the excommunication:
the prayer for the obstinate that will not repent af-
ter that censure: the prayer before the excommuni-
cation:

The kings
oth.

Fr. Thin.

390
hold
rent

And
the p
thor
scu

The
Dut
thet
And
rati

Fr. T
Buck
lib.

Out of the
booke printed
thereof.

cation: the matter to imocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receive the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Knox minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblie, in the yere of Christ 1569, beinge scene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblie: whose names were John Willike, maister John Crag, Robert Pont, John Kohn, David Lindsete, William Christison, James Greg, &c.

A parliament
holden at
Edinburgh.

On the fifteenth of December a parliament begun, beinge holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Spurreie lord regent, in the which divers acts and statutes were devised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignation thereof made to hir sonne king James the first. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Spurreie in the regencie of the realme, which he took upon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to his letters of commission and procuracion above specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his usurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parliament for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine received by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorized in the same parliament. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had leaved warre, and apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of Iulie last past, and concerning the detaining of hir in Lochleven.

In act for
the abolishing
of the popes au-
thoritie in
Scotland.

The castell of
Dunbar and
the castell of
Insketh to be
rased.

Fr. Thin,
Buchanan,
lib. 19.

Moreover, it was ordeined by an act passed in this parliament, that the castell of Dunbar, and the castell of Insketh, should be demolished and rased downe to the earth. To be brieve, there were one and forty acts or statutes made and established in this parliament, as by the register thereof it maye appeere. In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to administer law: which he ment to doe, to the end that he might amend and establish such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter workinge diuerse opinions in those of the quenes faction, did cause that Metellane and John Balfurie sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison. Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who (beinge next to the crowne, if the young king were gone, and the quene made a waie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did soine with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whose part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntly refused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Spurreie of Tilbartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, beinge estranged and grieved from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he showed great diligence in takinge the quene) but did also drawe with him a great companie of his friends intituled therewith no small hope of benefit to rise vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessity, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of advancement, and necessity of alliance to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time, whilst the regent was at Glasgowe to minister lawe to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) this determination of settinge the quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleven, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troupe of women: but none were admitted to see the quene, save such as were well knowne or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household companie, there was none that seemed to meet to the quene to execute anye matter, as was George Doolglas the youngest brother of the regent, beinge a man of a pleasant wit, and easilie to be overtaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quene to playe at cards, and to vse hir with other courtlie pastimes: who determininge to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fauour him and his enterpryses. Whereupon this Doolglas (not unwitting as was thought to his mother) omitted nothinge that might seeme to serue for the quenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & took not in verie good part, giuinge intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Island. This said George, when he passed into the next countrie adioininge to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the quene of all his affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) beinge drawn into that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had bene regent not manie yeres before) and James archbishop of Glasgowe solicited therewith, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and the French promised their helpinge purse. Shortly about the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France requiringe in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were denied, he made shew that he would presentlie depart. Wherevnto the gouernor answered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anye thinge herein without the knowledge which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by decree confirmed that deed: but he would not deale in pleasinge his sister, and such a friend as the king (his maister) was, to doe all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an assemblie of the nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill which time the ambassador seemed somewhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.

On the second of Maie, in the yere 1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Lochleven, by the meanes and helpe of George Doolglas brother to the lord of Lochleven. The lord Seton, the lord of Riccarton, and James Hamilton of Dalrymple, were readie to receiue hir, and conueyed hir ouer the quenes ferrie, first to the house of the lord Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirtieth daie of Maie beinge thursdaie, gatheringe in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Spurreie lord regent was in Glasgowe, at that time the quene escaped out of Lochleven; and upon knowledge had thereof, ment at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to Sterling: but suddenly changinge his purpose in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glas-

1568.
The quene
escape out of
Lochleven.

The quene
gathereth a
power.

cow,

The regents determination to stae at Glasgow.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan, lib. 19.

coto, which is not pass eight miles from Hamilton, because he was perswaded, that if the should spynke backe neuer so little, he should incourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequenly weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boyd (unto the quenes part) having untill that time twome a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decate of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kined did) was now content to seeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernment was possted ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Boyd firmelie continued untill the quenes returne out of France. By meanes thereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conspired or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defence of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argyle (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene euerie thing that was done in the same assemblee, from which time this Boyd was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Arrerrie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such proofe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priue counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after his escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Cleve toward Dunbarton; and out of Glasgow on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glasgow.

The armies met at Langside.

Lords on the quenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They ioine in battell.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argle, Cassiles, Eglington, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chateleault, the lords Seton, Hammerpill, Pesser, Borthwicke, Leningston, Herries, Haywell, Saugubar, Boyd and Kofse, lords and knights, Lochinwar, Was, Mauchton, Dalhousie, Kollen the striffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Dorton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ogiltre and Cathcart, of lords and knights, Bargaup, Blacubhan, Drumlanrig, Selsford, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and sir James Balfour. At the first ioining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after three quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were fourtene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about three hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Kofse, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltre in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindie, and the lords of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, failing not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capitaines. The quenes part was thought to benere at the point of sir thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be four thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, that vpon the one side and the other.

The quenes part discomfited.

Fourtene of the Hamiltons slaine, prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntlee was coming forwarde to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was stricken, and his people discomfited (as ye haue heard) yer he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the valiance of an Ireland gentleman named Spacferlane, stood the regents part in great need. For in the hottest brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countiemen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Spacferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Arrerrie) he recompensed that elemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.]

The earle of Huntlee coming forward to aide the quene.

Fr.Thin.

The quene perceiving the overthorn of his people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and with hereto to Crawford towne, and so by the Saugubar to Dunbarton in Gallowate: and after she had taried there two or three daies, she took ship and passed to Worthington in England, where she was staied & conuied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewsburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceived of his former hope, changed his copie, and with hisse and guides hastied all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iourne he was robbed by thieves: but James Dotoglasie, capitaine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

The quene of Scots fleth into England.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib. 19.

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasgow, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Draxan was also yelded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Perns, Angus, Fife, Mers, Lothian, Kife, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittells for sixtene daies, and to meet him at Beggan the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine thieues, and other disobedient persons. Herevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched south of Edinburgh, and came that night to Beggan. The army being assembled, contained foure or five thousand

The regents iourne into the south west parts of Scotland.

land horsemen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen gunners and halberdiers: of boies and young men that went with the cariage, there were about four thousand.

The castell of
Boghall.
Shirling castle.
Crabfoz.

The castell of Boghall, pertaining to the lord Fleming, was surrendered to them. The twelfth of June Shirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other understanding thereof, might be put in greater feare. That night they came to Crabfoz, where the castell was to them surrendered; it belonged unto sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendered they spared, because the lord Greyhoun the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh. The fourteenth of June they came to Barbacast, where they late that night, and the lord Medborne was sent to speake with the lord of Louchinware. Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they marched to a place called saint John Schlagan, staing there in trust of the lord of Louchinwares coming unto them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie being the sixteenth of June, they rased the house of Benmore, and an other house also, for that the owners were friends to the said Louchinware.

Saucher.

Barbacast.

Saint John
Schlagan.

Benmore.

The water of
Dunfreis.

The seventeenth of June they came to a gentlemen house, standing by the water of W, where divers gentlemen came in, and were received. The eighteenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Sparwell, was offered unto them. Divers of the Sparwells, Johnstons, Pretwines, Grahams, and Bels, came unto the regent, and offering themselves to be obedient, were received. Two daies before this, the lord Sparwell, the lords of Johnson, Colvill, and Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Sparwell would have come in, if the other had not counselled him to the contrarie. The twentieth of June they marched to Hobdorn, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirnish; two or three were taken, they late within a mile of the regent that night.

Hobdorn pe-
teth to the re-
gent.

The lord of
Dumlanrig.

The one and twentieth the house was pebbled, and the custodie thereof committed to the lord of Dumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might have kept it longer if they had bene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie; a pint of wine was sold at seven shillings Scottish; and no bread to be had for aie monie. The regent sent south the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might have drawn the broken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not tarry it. The two and twentieth of June the campe late still; but the regent with a thousand men went to Anland, and had it delivered unto him. Here he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The three and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben and received the castell, the which the regent delivered to Dumlanrig: but some of the Sparwells being close by him within an orchard of the house; after the regent was gone, they came and set the house againe into their hands.

Anland deli-
vered to the
governor.
Lochmaben.

Two houses
of lord John-
ston taken by
the regent.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lord of Johnson, the one named Lochmaben, and the other Lochmaben, were taken, but not burnt: because the lord Johnson had put in writte to come in by a day unto the regent. The same daie they took great store of cattell; and that night with a shot of the great artillery, they smitten threes among the Scots.

thers that came and approached verie nere to the armie, as the maner of the pickers is. The armie late that night at Milton holms. The four and twentieth of June they came to Pæples, and the next day to Edinburgh, so ending that iourne; in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidestdale, Gallowaie, Biddesdale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Much a doo and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that governed under the king; whereof as I have no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Great trouble
in Scotland.

* Whilist these things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England; for she was persuaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done unto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir enill subiects, in which chieflie the kinglie authoritie was reuiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which enill of expelling kings, was spædillie and soundlie to be prevented, least it might crepe aie further. By which and other persuasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 19.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grievous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in by a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forein iudges and kings who were their enimies, and first persuaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same seemed dangerous and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that enforced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were uniuersall. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agree who they should be, sith the chieffest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iourne upon him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Spetellan, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he caried the said Spetellan with him (savouring the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were James Douglas, Patrike Lindesie, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fermilidon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnane, lawyers of the college of iudges. To whom as the ninth was joined George Buchanan author of the Scottish historie: with whom the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horse; took his iourne into England, and came the fourth mones of October to Poike, to the assemble appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controversy of the Scots, the earle of Suiler, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did complayne of hir unkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to his kingdome. These men being heard (fundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not unto them as iudges, having aie right to make lawes to bind

bind them) with manie words open the injuries which the Scottish subjects had done unto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either she would perswade hir kinnd people to receive their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would give them an armie, with which they might compell them thereunto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbiters) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not bind the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them to severellie to pronounce against their quene; the regent answered that he did chiefly see that matter, least he should be driven to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to laie abroad to foren nations his wicked deeds, as Buchanan fearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be enforced, unless the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie prove, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots hir husband. Whereunto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to leave both parts, and to declare their whole request unto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Arrreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged unto hir. Which letters received, the earle of Arrreie sent Metellan (a man before suspected, and that did after toime in conference with John Lesle bishop of Rosse) to the court of England, associated with James Hargill. Now after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most convenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated upon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Forke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Balfoure more warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hirs and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vying him to tell the cause (which being untold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued the m to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how unwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would use their witness in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England required, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home: for therewithall gaining the regent away, to this came this the re-

nengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene; although the erle of Arrreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appeale the troubles there, and that he should leave some one of his behind him, to answer all such enils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusers might be brought out. Whereupon the accusers being present, and saing that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake vp without anie finall sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene governor) being grieved with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie unto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (removed from all companie, and onelie attended upon with a man or two) he did secretlie live to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Arrreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Arrreie, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he committing out of his den abode into the world, intrusted by the French with a few golden crownes, and overcharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Arrreie to deliver by his regentship of Scotland unto him; sith that place was of right due unto him; (by the maners and lawes of all nations, but chiefelie by the custome of his countrie) as next in blood, and next in succession.

For the proofe whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memorie of historians from the first times, considering: it is knowne to all men, that governors haue bene given to those of young yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene next of blood. For so after the death of James the third, Robert his uncle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Murdac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albanie did gouerne the young yeares of James the fifth; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome; did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland: who now by certaine rebels, was through vniuersall hatred, expelled there of with force and violence, and that (which is worse) a bastard is advanced thereto in contempt of lawfull blood: which honor, if it were restored unto him, he would forthie appeale all those cruell hatreds; and restore the quene of Scots unto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes. Whereunto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most uniuersall, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusus, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as nearest of blood; but as persons most worthy to 10 twield a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kindreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be advanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right 20 of the chiefest magistrat-must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also unfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leaving the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murrie, 30 Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murrie, John Randolph, & Robert Stewart. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors together; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Levingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the young king.

Which may not be excused, in saying that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time 40 were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: James Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt; and Douglas also, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Douglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whom, none 50 did ever complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed thereunto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanye was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeares of James the first, and confirmed in the same by publike decrees of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearnesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre 60 aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted thereunto for nearnesse of blood? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end furnished David the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the younger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue 10 made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what sooner was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinal Beaton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beaton, thartrusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the emptie place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeares after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him; when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how uniuersall it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weak, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which doth bailie either looke or will for the death of the pupill? Whose whole familie hath alwaies bene at bailie and deadly 40 warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by nearnesse of blood against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeeres of discretion; and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spared not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enemies do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which desperately expect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some nearer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this late 50 he done, that he knoweth not that Calcas Sforza (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnknown, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slayer? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to utter destruction: the familie of the Sforzas, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padua. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, with these did not feare to do such euils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie enforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise worthie persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe knowe? Whose vnskillfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters? And (which is moze) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilst he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poze father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold his kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage the (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the counsell of England, the queene thereof by his said counsell declared to Hamilton, that he requiured an vnusult thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from him; and that he hath promised the kings ambassador, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassador had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferentlie dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honozable conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especially the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honoz for his maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (vpon his letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of February, hee was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authorisied with a new and arrogant letter: in that he called him his father, and made him his vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obieie anie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon soldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the vttermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemble of the common people at Hamilton, moze than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefe gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in vaine: all which he promised to doe, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honozs the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if anie of the said part would so doe, they should also be receiued on the same covenants, wherevnto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntley refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their consents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Aprill: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) he would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Marwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntley was moze hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogilvie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemble at saint Andzeus, whither the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme anie moze, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their young yers. But when the cause of Huntley (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon anie iniuries done to any other. And if Huntley, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willingly laboz that arbitrazors chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischief, whether all they which took part with Huntley should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things seemed indifferentlie well pacified.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene, either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with his sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in his owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisdom and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the queene of England. Whilst these things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the counsell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfurie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends some obtained pardon; and Pettellan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whom certeine horsemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble young man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Bircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeitt letters signed with the hand of the earle of Spurreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettellan, which he did accordingly. Wherevpon Pettellan was caried by Bircadie into the castell, to the great mislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the deed to Bircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vniacquainted with the boldnesse of Bircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

Buchanan,
lib. 19.

Proclamat
made at Bl
swize by Sir
Jo. Foster

The castel
dnewike
warkewoz
fortified by
Jo. Foster

Sir John
Foster he
with Hew
fell again
the rebels.

Sir Henry
Berke aga
his brother
the earle o
Northumb
land.

1569.
Proclamation
in the north
of England, b
the earles of
Northumb
land & West
merland.

of the gouernour had not before bene sufficientlie knowne.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised a rebellion against the queenes maiestie of England; but by the good diligence and prudent circumspection of the earle of Souther, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by his direction as was giuen by his maiestie and his counsell, for the leuening of an armie vnder the leading of the earle of Westmerland, and the lord admerall Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare, that they durst not aduance farre forward in their march began entrepasse, but were constrained to retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle of Souther, supposing that their meaning was for their last refuge and safegard to take the castells of Alnecoke and Warkeworth, he wrote vnto sir John Forster lord warren of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his hands the possession of those two castells, and the same to fortifie with such number and garisons of men as to his discretion should be thought convenient, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Forster, being at his house nere to Alnecoke, when he receiued these letters, accompanied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some soldiers that were come to him from Berwick, marched vp to the castell on foot, where finding the house garded with a great number of the earle of Northumberland's seruants, retainers, and tenants, he made proclamation before the castell gate, that euery of them within the castell should come forth, and withowt to their owne houses, vpon paine to be reputed rebels to the queenes maiestie: and that which of them sooner did refuse to obeye this proclamation, staing either in the castell or elsewhere in anye vnlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for euery man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he made resistance.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they with in the castell, at the first refused to yeld it vp. And thereupon sir John Forster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberland's tenants, for their repairing home to their houses. And coming here with backe towards the castell, they within perceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John Forster to increase in power, did vpon better aduise yeld themselves vnto him, who saued all their liues. After the same manner he got also the castell of Warkeworth, and fortified them both with sufficient number of men. This done, he assembled such forces as he was able to make, so that he got together to the number of eleuen hundredz horsemen, and took order to forsaie and stop the passages, so as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland should not go vnto him.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Dugle, and Thomas Forster his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Newcastell, where with Thomas Coluer equier, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he took order for the defense of that towne against the rebels. With came to him sir Henrie Perrie, offering his seruice against his brother, and other the rebels, to the uttermost of his power. Whereupon diuerse excursions were made south of Newcastell into the bishopricke, where the two earles were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The erles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcastell. Sir John Forster, and sir Henrie Perrie, hauing intelligence thereof, fled south of Newcastell with

all their forces, and certeine peces of great ordinance. They had also with them certeine bands of the soldiers of Berwick, meaning betwixt to haue some battell with the earles: but Henrie Perrie theiueing himselfe as willing and forward thereto as anye other in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcastle, the armies approached the one nere to the other, a small brooke running in a hollow diuiding them asunder, so that there was no passage for them to conuene their ordinance ouer, the banks on either side being so deepe and cumberlome. Whereupon the erles, perceiving that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the horsemen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Berham, and after being in vtter despaire, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those that shifted him aboute so from place to place, that he escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in libertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie that was betwixt the two princes, the queenes maiestie of England, and the king of Scots.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding through Lifford) was suddenly shot in with an harquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other ble.] * But the night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Bar also of Frenshurst entered into England to spoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine of anie booties. Besides which, the captiue of the castell where Spettellan was prisoner, was now commanded to set the same Spettellan at libertie: who vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the same at anie time when day should be appointed to him the refoze. After which, there was an assemblie made for the election of a new gouernour.

At what time Thomas Randolph, being sent thither ambassador for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him: whose message was, to demand the deliuerie of such rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambassador the deceased gouernour had before refused to heare at Striueling. Whereupon, with all things were then in a turmole by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parliament for the choosing of a new regent, Randolph which had bene in Scotland some yeres before, because he seemed best to knowe the men and their conditions of Scotland, and because he had before dispatched some other ambassages for the benefit of the realme, was held nere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therefore was brought into the counsell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that he would not now abbate the same vnto them in these troublesome times, no more than he had before done. After which he centembred the inuasions made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and burnings committed a litle before: all which he well knewe was not done by the counsell or labor of the publike state: and therefore his queenes sance was not diminished to them, but that the same god will

Do, j.

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland.

1571. Buch.
1570.
The earle of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland.
Fr. Thia.

Buchan. Lib. 20.

1569.
Rebellion in the north of England, by the earles of Northumberland & Westmerland.

Proclamation made at Alnecoke by sir John Forster.

The castell of Alnecoke and Warkeworth fortified by sir John Forster.

Sir John Forster killeth with Newcastell against the rebels.

Sir Henrie Perrie against his brother the earle of Northumberland.

uchanan, b. 19.

did remaine to them now, as ample as ever it was. And where the was grieuouſlie offended (and that without hir deſert) yet ſhe was not now determind (although by right the iuſtie might) to demand publicke reſtitution and recompence for ſuch enuill; nor to exact puniſhment of the whole nation for the ſinfull doing of a ſeu.

For the was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raiſed amongſt them. Notwithſtanding this euill, ſhe did not yet a nie whiſt doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that ſhe would not onlie for their cauſe ſeparate the offence from the publicke content: but alſo (if they themſelues for the domeſticall ſeditious could not inforce the diſturbers of the quiet to make reſtitution of ſuch ſpoiles) that ſhe would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counſell they might take iuſt puniſhment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then do by that meanes, that yet the would proſecute thoſe iniuries with hir owne people, whoſe armes ſhould without a nie damage to them paſſe through ſuch places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The reſt of the partes of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull aſſemblies, but moſt neceſſarie for the preſent ſtate of Scotland.

Whereof the firſt aduiſe was for the deſenſe of religion, with an eſpeciall care of diligence therein: ſith the ſame alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equal, & chriſtian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it ſelfe can long continue: for which cauſe they muſt chieſlie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with ſaile and oyes, that peace and quiet maie be holie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongſt their people. For ſith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernment ouer this nation, it is iuſt and meet that they obeie their princes; and in dutifull ſort beſtow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; ſith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to be) is moſt acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the leaſt hinder) the thirſt and ſhedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth moſt hate.

Which brittle increaſing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations moze fearefull to their enemies, and is the preſeruer of iuſtice: whole chieſe part conſiſting in puniſhing the euill, is eſpeciallie to be imbraced: when contrarie diſſention and treaſon is a thing moſt deteſtable to all lawfull gouernement: ſith ſuch kind of people are to be purſued with all extremite, and not be ſuccored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie ſoener they ſee for refuge of their hated wickedneſſe. All theſe things did Randolph both godlie and wiſelie admoniſh vs of, and iuſtie and modeſtie require from vs.

But becauſe there was no regent choſen for the ſupreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be giuen therevnto: for which cauſe he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Aprill. At laſt, William and James Dotuglaſſe, brothers of the ſaine regent by one mother, were heard in this parliament, who required that the vntowardie death of their brother might be reuenged, ſith the ſame was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cauſe. Vpon the opening whereof men were of diuerſe opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders ſhould be puniſhed: for ſome would haue a day giuen to ſuch as were ſuſpected of the murder: for the names of manie perſons were there ſhewed to answer the

ſaine. But it better pleaſed other not to wait for ſuch appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they ſhould not onlie raiſe their weapons againſt them, but alſo againſt all ſuch as were condemned in that aſſembly of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and ſouldiours did ſome agree, who yet could not hold their determination, eſpeciallie ſith the earle of Atholl and Forſyth did diſſuade them from it: whereof the firſt would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater aſſembly of the nobilitie: and the other ſuppoſed that it would come to paſſe; that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would periſh and come to nothing, and the matter would burſt out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would ſee to the part of ſuch as were guiltie of the murder. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were poſſible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing ſhould be done or changed vntill the kalends of Aprill, on which there was an aſſembly or parliament appointed.

Vpon which perſuaſion the companie was diſſolued, though the greateſt part of the nobilitie did condemne this delaie, as moued therunto: becauſe that the other would ſaie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vaniſh in the meane time, and the aduerſe faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For preſentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie ſpread abroad) James Hamilton (mortgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Canineſhame) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the reſt of his friends, he ſent to his ſauozers (to hire ſouldiours) being warned before, that they ſhould alwaies be ready at all times, and for all cauſes which ſhould happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enemy, the earle of Arrerrie: neither after that time did the quenes factions ceaſe from meeting in diuerſe diſtant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did aſſemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme thoſe that toke the quenes part) to deuile of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argyle, and the lord Boyd did write vnto earle Forſyth, that they would willingly (ſith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were conſenting therevnto) conſult with the other nobilitie about the ſame matter, both to ſearch out and to puniſh the ſame: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be ſo perſuaded, they would willingly come to Liſſquo, to Frankirke, or to Strueling, there to meet with them. Wherevpon, the earle of Forſyth, conſulting with Aſtellan about the ſame (for ſo it was deſired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the ſame time, Thomas Har wrote to Lincolne (to be Buchanan's word) to the gardian of the caſtell, to ſee if he could obtaine of the quene of England to ſaie hir armie: which if he brought to paſſe, that then he would take ſuch order, that he would eaſilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they ſhould remaine in that dutie which they were bound: but if he did reſuſe this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good ſubiects would ſee to their obedience towards their impriſoned quene, & would ioine themſelues together, becauſe and would ſhortlie come out of France vnto them.

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argile, and Boid came to Lithquo, but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their de-
uise by a sudden tumult that was raised the rebpon.
Wherefore the next day after the archbishop of saint
Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of
the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Hunt-
leie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume,
Seton, and Metellan, met at Cdenburgh: in which
the earle Morton was accompanied with a small
traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Spar were
come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March
the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of
the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie
slowlie, by reason of the absence of the earle of Ar-
gile, whose power and authoritie was then verie
great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to perswade to ioine
with the rest of the faction, but he returned without
doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men)
through the subtiltie of Metellan, which would haue
things long deferred, that more convenient meane
might be had in that troublesome state of the king-
dome, for the innonation of things. The grea-
test thing done in this assembling, was the argu-
ment for the choise of a new gouernor, which (as it se-
meth) came to no effect. Now when all these assem-
blyes tended to little purpose, those of the quenes fa-
ction returned to sove sedition by procuring Eng-
lish warres, thereby to draw the common-people to
assist their part. Wherefore they send the capitaine
(that before had done the like) afresh at this time to
execute the same, who left nothing undone that
might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction do reproch
the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of
Scotland, as though they were the clients and fol-
lowers of the English; further threatening abroad in
euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the
French and Spanis, if the lord of the congregation
praised in aid of the English. Much about that time,
(as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at
Dunbreton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the
French king, which aduanced the mindes of the
quenes faction, with manie large promises: by
meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assem-
blye of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemble was made
of the quenes faction, they began there openlie to
treat of those things which before were whispered
in secret: which was, that the death of the king and
regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold
in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making
warre vpon the English. After which consultation,
they determined to go to Cdenburgh the third ides
of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities
which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vn-
to them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe
of god successe to be receiued. Which they thought
they might easilie bring about, by reason that Wil-
liam Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and
towne, against which deuise the citizens did yet con-
tend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the
quenes part was admitted into the towne. After
which, not thus contented, they perswaded the citizens
to deliuer by the keyes of their towne, which they
most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Metel-
lan then lieng of the govt, for which cause his house
was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselte
the scholemaster. In which meane time, the earle of
Atholl did not spare to traueil thither and thither, to
draw those of the other faction to that assemble at
Cdenburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appoi-
nted for the parlement) vnlesse they knewe some iust
necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if
there happened anie thing of moment, which might
not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the
same to the earle Morton, whose house was but foure
mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledges
thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle
of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet
at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalkeith,
which place did not like the quenes faction, whose
strength was much holpen by such prisoners as Kirk-
caldie had set at libertie out of the castell of Cden-
burgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction
were quailed, by the rumoz of the English armie
comming to Berwikke. Whereupon, Alexander
Hume, and John Partwell latelie deliuered out of
prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to
set them free, went home to defend their owne pos-
sessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had
gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord
Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas
Kear, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue
made some roads into England by the persuation of
the bishop of saint Andrewes, whereby wars should
rise in England) being forsaken of those which inha-
bited neere these places, & fearing their owne estate,
sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe
of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they
should come to Dowther the next towne; and from
thence shew or make warre vpon England. Which
when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the publike
monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands
in great anger.

After this, whilest manie other things passed, as
that the quenes faction sent an ambassado to the
earle of Suffex, to fraie his iourne into Scotland;
that they also sent letters to the quene of England
concerning their cause; and that a seruant of mon-
sieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the
quenes factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) di-
rected also vnto other that were indiffernt, to ioine
with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised
them aid out of France; and that the quenes people
were assured, that the kings part would come to
Cdenburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these
things (I say) they of the quenes side departed to Lith-
quo, supposing that place most commodious to as-
semble their confederats. Whither when the Hamil-
tons and their clients were come, they beset all the
way to Cdenburgh: for when they vnderstood that
John Arskine earle of Spar was comming thither,
they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap
him.

But he knowing the insurie of the place, passed
the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Cdenburgh
the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after,
the kings part remaining at Cdenburgh, and the
quens at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile,
and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the
three nones of August. The other faction sent Ro-
bert Percarne ambassado to the quene of Eng-
land, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the
common enemie; and further to let hir vnderstand,
that such were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir,
that they would chuse a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with
generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Len-
nox, then remaining in England, to repaire home
with all convenient speed into Scotland. & He maie
read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle
of Suffex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entering
into Wuldale the seven & twentieth of Aprill, burnt
Do. ij. the

The earle of Lennor sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chateleraut gathereth a power.

The duke returneth to Glas-cow.

Captains and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

the Holle tower, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernherst, the towne of Hovvike, and the castell of Baurton, that belonged to the laird of Buckleugh, with diuerse other castels, piles, towne, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernherst, Buckleugh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Suffer wan the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe over, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwik towards the latter end of April, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourtene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, seeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was laine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of three thousand men, and came downe to Edinburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was coming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safeguard of the young king, as also for the safe conuoy of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselves from Edinburgh to Glascow, where they besieged the castell by the space of five or six daies, untill the earle of Lennor approched thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Dzurie; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant captains and gentlemen that went with him in that iourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie captaine of an hundred lances, Henrie Aulfell captaine of fiftie lances, William Curleie captaine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie captaine of two hundred light horsemen, captaine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbards, sir Thomas Paners, captaine of fiftie men, captaine Caruill, captaine Came, captaine Lambard, captaine Crington, John Constable, and Humfreie Berwik leaders of the footmen. Captaine Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Jerome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaelel Carie, maister Calodie, maister William Dzurie of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grevill, brother to sir Fulke Grevill, maister Contweie, brother to sir John Contweie, maister Edmund Arneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen late the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Dzurie and the horsemen ouertoke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came through to Edinburgh, where they found the earles of Morison, Durreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthuen, Lindie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who receiued the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edinburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it may appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Fankirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Dzurie and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glascow, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spinto and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slaying (as hath bene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the more speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the coming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glascow, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinned and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennor and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Dzurie, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Perinton was captaine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peces of great ordnance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiving themselves in danger to be taken by force, the captaine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saved. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme with in a certaine terme, and herevnto they were sworne. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blown vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Hoplocke, the abbat of Biltwinings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clid-dedale.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus toone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The erle of Morison went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies took their way towards Glascow, and from thence euerie of the

Fankirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Dzurie rode to Sterling.

The castell of Glascow besieged by the duke of Chateleraut.

The brethren by his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

See more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blown vp and razed.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A corner of the log: The earle Lennor regent.

The ear Huntley

A parler proclaim both the tions at day and

The ear Huntley meth no ver than chine.

The ear Huntley peth.

Execu

The a Down den.

Comm ners t Engl

the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortly after, there was a convention of the lords at Striveling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other convention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie toke upon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the quene of Scots that remained still in England, and thereupon in his name summoned a parlement to be holden at Lishquho the one and twentieth of September then next following. Unto the which parlement, aswell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused a parlement to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Lishquho, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntlies comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no nêarer than Brechine.

Whereupon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Douglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horsemen to have taken him upon the sudden in the towne of Brechine, before he should have any warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie having warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowly; in somuch that some of his footmen were so put to their shifts, that they were driven for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechine: the earle of Huntlie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being straitlie besieged, and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yielded themselves and the castell unto the regents mercie.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had bene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthis to die. After this, the regent returned to Striveling, and from thence passed to the castell of Dohne, and besieged it; being kept by the servants of the lord of Saint Colmes Inch, who yielded it to the regent after three daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his servants called John Spone, with letters into England, directed to the quene of Englands counsell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enemies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiving of their letters to be conveyed also, and hereunto discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed unto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretlie received being found upon him, and the matters aforesaid proved against him, he was by law executed.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, clearkes of the register, were sent into England commissioners upon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Levingston, appointed for the quene then being in England. In January following, the regent then being at Edinburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

teleraunts sonnes, entered the house of Halseie, then being kept by the servants of the lord Semple; and seizing upon all things which they found as stodd with his pleasure, he fortified the house with munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Halseie, or nere therabouts. The regent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to advise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yield the house, so manie of them as had not borne armes before that time against the king and regent, should have their lives saved, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Whereupon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them having not served in any tourne or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yield; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselves. Whereupon they were ready to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded themselves, upon such condition as the regent had prescribed: whereupon five of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their lives. The capitaine John Hamilton, lord of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasgow, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glasgow, and for that Gilbert Kennedy with the erles of Cassilis & Gylenton refused to shew themselves obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasgow, and with the same marched towards Arbrin and Air, and so forward to the earle of Cassilis countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission. Whereupon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striveling, to answer such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Gylenton, and Robert Boyd leaved their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance given) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbarton, & the other in the castell of Dohne. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, untill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to give an attempt to the castell of Dunbarton, which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Murreie late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere or more, but could not by any meanes compasse to win it.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thitherward capitaine Thomas Crawford, and capitaine Hume, with an hundred soldiers, chosen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the soldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deevises, found meanes to cline by the rocke,

Halseie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Halseie.

Halseie is surrendered to the regent.

1571.

The regent goeth against the earle of Cassilis.

The earles of Cassilis and Gylenton committed to ward.

A truce for twentie daies.

which

like.
earle of
or and
litan
le ride to
teling.

A convention
of the lords.
The earle of
Lennox made
regent.

The earle of
Huntlie.

A parlement
proclaimed by
both the fac-
tions at one
day and place.

affell of
ow be-
by the
of Cha-
ult.

eacheth
a siege.

The earle of
Huntlie com-
meth none
nearer than Bre-
chine.

ffer of
thou-
Scots.

The earle of
Huntlie esca-
peth.

more
in
land.

castell of
niltan be-
d.

Execution.

delive-
o the
jthment.

The castell of
Dohne yel-
ded.

lord
ngill for

castell of
niltan
sen by
raced.

Commissio-
ners sent into
England.

towne
palace of
niltan
it.

The castell of
Dunbzyeton
taken by a
politic.

Captaine
Crawford &
captaine
Hume.

The lord
Fleming es-
capeth.

John Hall.

The strong
situation of
the castell of
Dunbzyeton.

The ladie
Fleming ho-
norable in-
treated.

which is of an exceeding great heighth, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heighth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Kamsie, ensigne-bearer to captaine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was straightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Herewith captaine Crawford & captaine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, strooke by the drum, & cried: A Derneleie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming captaine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argyle. The souldiers of the castell, persecuting their captaine fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yeilded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Meriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lord of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Leuingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbzyeton was thus strangely toone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the captaines and souldiers together, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterpryse, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be toone, by reason of the great heighth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being incircled almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was sofull to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The regent dealt verie honorable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Meriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouslie to achieve so high an enterpryse, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloodshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next ensuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lord of Drumhassell, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be captaine of that castell, and leaving him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Arrureie the late re-

gent.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath bene said) and before the regent declared, that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the erle of Arrureie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Wherewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forsailed afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edenburgh the fourteenth of Maie next ensuing, and passed from Striueling to Lith-qao.

Here the earle of Moriton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edenburgh, where they thought to haue bene receiued, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lord of Orange, who after the death of the earle of Arrureie, was reuolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsailed. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

In the meane time the earle of Moriton, hauing certeine stufte come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lord of Carmichell with his household seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being five miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stufte, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their powder: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edenburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

But the earle of Moriton, hauing knowledge of their intention and coming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the powder which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Moriton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the five & twentieth day of Maie following, captaine Cullen issued forth of Edenburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife over the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Moriton, who kept still at Dalketh.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterpryse, aduertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his coming thither,

The archb-
shop of saint
Andrews
executed.

A parlement
summoned.

The castell of
Edenburgh
kept by the
lord of Orange
against the
regent.

The lord of
Carmichell.

The earle of
Huntleie and
lord Hume
put to flight.

The earle of
Moriton put
to the worse.

A skirmish

The abbot
of Dunblane
slaine.
The lord
Hume and
captaine C
lentaken.

Fr. Thin.
Lath forth
ed.

A proclamation.

The chal-
lenge of the
lord of
Orange.

The lord
Carmichell.

John Che-
holme.

thither, Cullen had not tuff a bote upon the water, wherein were aboard five and twenty shot, whom he took prisoners, and led them along with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Spontoun came to Leith, where he met with sir William Dornie, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Dornie passing forth of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captains, and other gentlemen for his comrade thither, they within Edinburgh perceiving them coming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and caſtell to encounter them.

So that being readie on either ſide to begin the ſkirmiſh, ſir William Dornie, being come to talke with the parties for ſome accord to be had, took in hand with great diligence to appeaſe them: and at length procured them to agree upon a truce to endure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts ſtaied in the fields for the ſpace of an houre, because they could not agree whether compaigns ſhould firſt retire from the field, they ſell at length in ſkirmiſh (notwithſtanding the truce) and fought verie ſharply for the time, till in the end they of the towne and caſtell had the overſhoin: the abbat of Ballochnaing being ſlaine, with diuerſe other; and there were taken about an hundred priſoners: amongſt the which the lord Home, and capitaine Cullen were accounted principall. Thoſe that eſcaped were chaſed, & conſtrained for their ſafetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capitaine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent ſurowed at this ſkirmiſh came with all ſped to Leith, as well to fortiſie the towne, as to make ſome further attempt againſt his aduerſaries within the towne and caſtell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith (whoſe capitaine was Patrick Lindſeie) interchanged round about, being eſteemed a place of great importance, ſtanding both in the face of the enemies, and ſo readie to annoy them, and alſo ſeruing well to prevent them of ſuch ſuccour as they looked for daile out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capitaine of the caſtell, and promiſſ of the towne of Edinburgh, raiſed proclamation to be made, that all thoſe inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, ſhould depart out of the towne. Whereupon, manie of them departed thence, together with their wives and children, and took with them alſo ſuch goods as they could ſecretlie conueie: and coming to Leith, offered their ſervice unto the regent, who thankſullie accepted their offer: and ſo they remained at Leith, ſeruing againſt the contrarie faction upon their owne expenſes.

After this, the lord of Grange, underſtanding that report had bene made by ſome of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enemy to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iuſtifie the ſame. Which being aduerſified to them with in Leith, diuerſe gentlemen were deſirous to undertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carliſh, being a ſteward, & his kinſman, who had earneſtly requeſted it. Whereupon, after diuerſe meſſages by heralds ſent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuſe being made on the behalfe of the lord Grange, that by reaſon of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought convenient that he ſhould hazard the whole cauſe upon his owne perſon.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Cheſholme, who was ſent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his ſouldiours: he brought with him alſo a certeine quantitie of powder, and

ſome hundred caliverers. Upon his enterie into the locher of Forth, and coming up the ſame, he knew not how the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Bontland, and afterwards for feare his himſelfe betwixt two cliffs of a rocke, not farre from the quenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of ſaint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the ſaid regent laie about two moneths, ſending ſundrie messages, as well by gentle and polite, as by force to have taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time ſundrie ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, and diuerſe priſoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent cauſed a parliament to be ſummoned, appointing the ſame to be holden at Strueling: the two & twentieth of Auguſt next following. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindſeie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himſelfe to Strueling, where at the preſcribed date was aſſembled the earles of Spontoun, Spar, Caſtelford, Sutherland, Spontroſſe, Eglington, Glencarne, the lords Hay, Glen, Glanis, Gethſen, Scrimill, Ogiltre, and Cathcart, with manie lords and gentlemen. The firſt day of this parliament the king was conueied thither, the croſſe, ſcepter, and ſword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he uttered a certeine ſpeech as had bene taught him, touching the aſſembly of that parliament, which matter the regent more at large declared unto the whole houſe: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth. Speaker in this parliament, the duke of Chateaufort with his two ſonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Adam Hamilton, the earle of Huntly, the lord of Grange and ſundrie others were ſeſſed. This parliament continued by the ſpace of ſeven daies: at the end whereof, to wit, upon the ſecond of September, Adam Hamilton, the lord of Bonclugh, the lord of Dornick, and diuerſe others, to the number of three hundred horſemen, betwixt earlie in the morning entered the towne of Strueling, and ſuddenlie beſet not onlie the regent, but alſo the reſt of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great uprore raiſed within the towne (in which George Keith was ſlaine) and not underſtanding the cauſe, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceived how the houſe wherein he lodged was beſet on eith ſide, he defended the ſame againſt the enemies for a good ſpace: but at length deſpairing of ſuccours, and doubting leaſt the houſe had bene underlaid with ſome barrells of powder, and that it would be blown vp if he yelded not as ſome told him: and the enemy to increaſe that doubt, crying ſtill, Blow vp the houſe, what ſhould he ſtand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeld to the lord of Dornick, but not before he ſaw that ſome of his ſtouteſt captains had yelded themſelves before his face. He yelded, with condition to have his life ſaued: but promiſſ in that behalfe was not long kept. For thoſe that had thus taken him, when they perceived reſcue coming doſome from the caſtell, ſo that they ſhould not be able to carrie him awaie, capitaine Cauder with a piſſolet ſhot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The reſt of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Spontoun, Eglington, and Glencarne, and diuerſe other being taken priſoners, were preſentlie reſcued by thoſe that iſſued out of the caſtell. The earle of Spontoun being in the hands of the lord of Bonclugh, took the ſame lord priſoner, he yelding himſelfe unto him: and

A parliament ſummoned.

The duke of Chateaufort ſeſſed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

and likewise the earle of Glengorne to be his prisoner, and so did by that others take their shares: but Claude Hamilton, with others their companions, having first gotten all the horses that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was coming, shifted for themselves, and fled away. The regent, being mortally wounded, but yet delivered from his enemies, rid up to the castle, and calling there unto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceived his end to approach, he bled these wordes (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of
Lennox his
wordes before
his death.

My lords, it is not unknowne unto you all, that my coming hither to take this regiment upon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chiefe in me hereunto, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whom by nature and dutie I was bounden to have carefull consideration, and that in his minority, the good and quiet government of this common-wealth might be advanced, and justice executed upon those that most cruelly did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his uncle the good earle of Arreris, late regent: whose mischance and cruel death I devise if in time you do not prevent by your wisdoms and discretions: they will procure the small overthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I have spent my blood, and have played the last part of my tragedie, and now I see death to draw nere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you have of your duties, first to almighty God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, whose to imploy your service in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onely accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can justlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendly protection, my poor servants, who

for their good service have well deserved, and yet remaine yet recompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me unto the most charitable Margaret my deare wife, now being in England: unto whom I beseech God to be a comfort. And now my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my leave of you all; desiring you to pray to God for me: These wordes being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in prayer unto the end, with in a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Striveling.

The earle of
Lennox de-
parteth this
life.

Thus have I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland; not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could have wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; having delivered nothing unto you to impair the credit of the Scottish nation, othertwise than I have found in authors, or learned by credible report (as I take it) having put off the partiall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seeme to twist the words of writers, either to the advantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike government, warlike exploits, civill demeanour, and other vertuous exercises: which as I have found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall, so have I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I have found it recorded, either for love or hatred, dread, favour, or enmity: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I have said) to use mine owne censure, but rather leaving the judgement of other mens reports unto the readers discretion. To whom I wish such understanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and rebound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & governours, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his divine wisdom some meth most expedient. To whom be glorie, honour, and praise for evermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshed*, and others.

The sequelle, concerning the continuation of this Scottish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.

